











THE  
**Archaeological Journal.**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE COUNCIL

OF

The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and  
Ireland,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF

RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

The Early and Middle Ages.

1881

VOLUME XXXVIII.



LONDON :

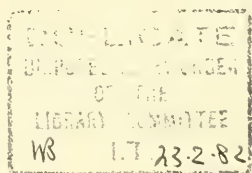
PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE INSTITUTE, 16, NEW  
BURLINGTON STREET, W.

(DISTRIBUTED GRATUITOUSLY TO SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS.)

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MDCCCLXXXI.

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# ERRATA.

P. 231, l. 9, for "cuj<sup>s</sup> anis" read "cui aic ; ib., l. 13, for "Andrewes" read "Andrew ;" ib., l. 16, for "decsid" read "deccsid ;" ib., for "per ;" read "per" ib., l. 17, for "robant" read "cubant )" ib., for "pbt<sup>i</sup>" read "pbri ;" ib., l. 18, for "Cheslyhurst" read "Cheslyhurst ;" ib., l. 19, for "de<sup>s</sup> au<sup>s</sup>" read "de' aic ; ib., for "Notary" read "Notarii."





# The Archaeological Journal.

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MARCH, 1881.

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## SOME EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. Prebendary PERRY.

THE history of a Cathedral (like the history of a country, a city or a Church) is partly external and partly internal. The external history comprises those facts in which the institution is brought into contact with the outer world and with bodies extraneous to itself. It also includes such developments as are patent and manifest to all, as for instance the erection of new buildings or the acquisition of new property. The internal history is the record of the dealings of the members of the body one with another, the growth and exhibition of any special spirit or temper, and other matters more or less concealed from the outside world. There is very much in the external history of the great Cathedral, under whose shadow we are assembled, which is full of deep interest, but this is easily ascertainable by any from the Chronicles and other sources. I desire now to touch a few points in the internal history of the Cathedral, the conduct and proceedings of the members of its Chapter—points not so easily ascertainable as the other, but gathered from the MS. registers and records connected with the Church, as these are more or less mixed up with the Visitations and enquiries of bishops.

It appears that Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, was the first bishop in England who practised a regular and systematic Visitation of his Diocese. This at least may be inferred from his own words. He says, "At the commencement of my episcopate I began to make a

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Historical Section at the Lincoln Meeting, July 28th, 1880.

circuit of each archdeaconry, and caused the clergy of the several deaneries to be summoned by the rural deans on a certain day to a fixed place, and the people to be warned to come at the same time and place with their children to be confirmed, and to hear the Word of God and confess. . . In my first circuit some came to me finding fault and saying, 'My Lord, you are doing a thing new and unaccustomed.' To whom I answered, 'Every novelty which does good to a man is a blessed novelty.'<sup>1</sup>

And if Grosseteste was the first Bishop who practised systematic Parochial Visitation, he was certainly the first in England who attempted the Visitation of a Cathedral and its dependent Churches. On the occasion of the dispute which arose between the Bishop and Chapter on this point, Matthew Paris tells us distinctly that a Bishop had never visited a Cathedral and its affiliated Churches.<sup>2</sup> "The Bishop of Lincoln," he says, "even rose up against the Canons of his Cathedral Church who had elected him, and insisted that, putting aside the Dean of Lincoln, they should submit to be visited by the Bishop himself against the custom of that Church time out of mind."<sup>3</sup> In the long argumentative pamphlet which Bishop Grosseteste himself wrote in support of his claim to visit the Cathedral we do not find him attempting to support the claim by quotation of precedent. On the contrary he relies on Biblical arguments, such as that Moses exercised a visitatorial power over the elders appointed to assist him at the advice of Jethro; that Jacob had full power over the shepherds of Laban; on Samuel's circuits as Judge, &c.; that the right to visit is implied in the Fifth Commandment, and is inherent in and inseparable from the Episcopal office. He draws a strong distinction between the duties of a *visor* and a *visitor*. The Dean who constantly resides in the Cathedral is properly the *visor* or superintendent; the Bishop coming at intervals to see if all be well, its *visitor*. His pamphlet is in fact an elaborate argument as to the value and use of the visitatorial power rather than an attempt to prove its legal right.<sup>4</sup> Indeed in one part of his argument the

<sup>1</sup> Anglia Sacra, ii, 347.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. Par. Hist. Maj., Ed. Watts, p. 485.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. Par., ib.

<sup>4</sup> Gross. Epist., ccxxvii., Ed. Luard, pp 357-431.

Bishop plainly admits that custom was dead against him. He says, "You may not allege for a custom the fact that the bishop has never visited, nor can those subject to a bishop pretend custom because they have not been visited and corrected. For custom is not a negation, nor a privation, nor a neglect, but custom is the frequent repetition of a lawful action. But *not* to visit, and *not* to do the things belonging to the episcopal office is a negation and neglect of the bishop. This is not a custom but a corruption."<sup>1</sup> Whether however it was to be called *consuetudo* or *corruptela*, the fact is evidently admitted by the Bishop that the Chapter never had been episcopally visited. The defence made by the Chapter to the claim of the Bishop to visit them, in addition to their allegation of its novelty, was an unfortunate one and little creditable to that body. They produced a Charter which purported to be the re-foundation of the Cathedral of Lincoln in the time of William Rufus, and which expressly gave authority to the Dean to govern all things, and only if his discipline failed was he to call in the bishop, and after him the king."<sup>2</sup> This Charter was altogether a forgery.

The matter after six years' of dispute went to the great Appeal Court of the Pope, and was finally decided by a Bull of Innocent IV., dated Lyons, August 25, 1245, in favour of the Bishop. The way in which the decision was procured it is perhaps as well not to investigate too closely, but a salutary power and privilege had thus been obtained for the See of Lincoln, and consequently for all the English Sees. Bishop Grosseteste immediately proceeded to make use of the authority which he had thus acquired. He had intended to visit the Chapter first and then to pass to the Prebends, but at the earnest request of the Chapter, who felt probably that some preparation and consultation were necessary before this vigorous Reformer could be welcomed among them, he changed this arrangement and visited first the Prebendal Churches.<sup>3</sup> What his proceedings were when at length Bishop Grosseteste came to the Cathedral, I am not sure whether there is any record remaining to show,<sup>4</sup> but he would

<sup>1</sup> Gross. Epist., p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. Par., Hist. Maj., p. 571.

<sup>3</sup> Gross. Epist., p. 344.

<sup>4</sup> There is mention of a *Laudum* made by Bishop Grosseteste in Aluicius Laudum, p. 87.

probably find plenty of matter for censure. There was, for instance, the "Feast of Fools," which Grosseteste had described in his Constitutions as an "execrable custom" and which he had strictly forbidden; which seems however to have flourished in Lincoln Cathedral. Concerning this he wrote to the Dean and Canons of Lincoln, "Inasmuch as the House of God is, as the Son of God beareth witness, the house of prayer, it is an infamous thing to turn it into a house of joking, scurrility and trifling, and to desecrate a place dedicated to God by diabolical invention. It is an execrable thing to profane the venerable feast of the Circumcision of the Lord with the filth of libidinous pleasures. Wherefore we command you in virtue of your obedience and strictly enjoin you that you by no means permit to be holden this Feast of Fools, since it is full of vanity and defiled with pleasures, in the Church of Lincoln on the venerable feast of the Circumcision of our Lord."<sup>1</sup>

Grosseteste was succeeded in the See of Lincoln by Henry de Lexington or Laxton,<sup>2</sup> who had been Dean when the Bishop had visited.<sup>3</sup> His episcopate was very short, and as in all likelihood he was strongly committed to the opposition to episcopal visitation, and perhaps owed his election to this, it was not probable that he would visit the Cathedral.

After Lexington came another Dean, Richard de Gravesend,<sup>4</sup> who succeeded his predecessor both in the Deanery and the See. He was a man of very considerable ability and much employed in public affairs. He was a strong partisan of the Barons against Henry III., and in consequence came under the displeasure of the Pope, and had to make his peace by the payment of a vast sum of money. He had also to go to Rome to be absolved. Bishop Gravesend was very much occupied in public affairs, but he found time to attend to the wants of his Cathedral Church. Whether he held a formal Visitation of it is uncertain, but at any rate he was one of its chief benefactors. He procured for the Cathedral the advowson of the Church of Gumley, and he gave to the High Altar

<sup>1</sup> Gross. Epist., p. 118. The date of this letter is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Succeeded 1254, died 1258.

<sup>3</sup> He was made in 1245, the year in which the Pope decided the case.

<sup>4</sup> Succeeded 1258, died 1280.



a sumptuous chalice of gold and a chalice of silver, a beautiful silver cross with a foot to be carried processionally at double feasts, a silver image of the Blessed Virgin with two silver cherubs, and divers relics of saints, caskets and cases of silver, chasubles, choral copes, tunics, dalmatics, and other vestments, and a lenten veil of great beauty and comeliness.<sup>1</sup> And besides the Church of Itley, which he appropriated to the Archdeacon of Oxford, and ten pounds a year given by him to the community of Vicars Choral, the daily common allowance of the Canons was increased by him from eight pence to twelve pence by his gifts of the Chapels of Bierton, Quarrendon, Stoke and Buckland; the Churches of Paxton, Hambleton, Bytham-with Holywell, the moiety of Glentham with Tathwell. And that which seems to be still more excellent he appointed twelve boys with their master to minister in the Church and to live together, assigning to them a competent maintenance for all things needed from the Church of Little Ashby,<sup>2</sup> the fourth part of the Church of Hilbaldstow, pensions also from some religious houses. The Chapter Act, which records these benefactions, further gives directions as to the *Obit* of Bishop Gravesend. The full service for a deceased Bishop is to be used, and five marks to be distributed out of the common fund among the clerks and officers of the Church.<sup>3</sup> Gravesend was bishop all the time that the Angels' Choir was being erected, but I believe not a single notice of the building is to be found in his Register.

On the death of Gravesend, for the third time in succession the Dean of Lincoln was raised to the episcopate.<sup>4</sup> Bishop Sutton is famous in history as having been the one Bishop who supported Archbishop Winchelsea in his struggle against Edward I. as to the taxing of the clergy. He was probably also the best abused man of his day in the monasteries and parsonages of the country, inasmuch as he was the person who, in

<sup>1</sup> The *Consuetudinarium*, of which there are several MSS. at Lincoln, was written in his time. It relates almost exclusively to the bell-ringing and ceremonies which took place in the course of the services within the Cathedral, with a slight notice of what was done in *Capitulo* and *ad Prandium*. The invitation *ad prandium*

was given at service time, and the meal itself was part of the Capitular life.

<sup>2</sup> Hence called Ashby Puerorum.

<sup>3</sup> From a Chapter Act, *Line. MS.*, printed in Appendix H, to *Girald. Camb.* vol. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Oliver de Sutton, succeeded 1280, died 1299.



conjunction with the Bishop of Winchester, made the new assessment of clerical incomes, known as the Valuation of Pope Nicholas IV. ; the valuation being (according to the Chronicler Bartholomew de Cotton and the Oseney Annalist) of unheard of severity.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Sutton's own registrar, John de Schalby, acknowledges that this was his own fault.<sup>2</sup> The bishop indeed seems to have been somewhat sharp in his work. For not content with the valuation made by his commissioners, he in many cases personally revalued, and raised the estimate to double or treble what it had been put at.<sup>3</sup>

Bishop Sutton, we know from John de Schalby's record, *did hold a Visitation* of the Cathedral, and did order that the Priest Vicars should live together as a college in the new buildings which he was erecting for them. It is probable also that at the same Visitation he ordered the enclosure of the Cathedral Close by a crenellated wall, the removal of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen from within the Cathedral to a place outside it ; the removal of the Canons' stable, which stood between the Church and the Chapter House, and the erection of the south-side of the cloisters.<sup>4</sup>

After Sutton came John de Dalderby,<sup>5</sup> who had been Precentor of the Church, and who was so famous for his piety in his day that his Canonization was applied for. There is no doubt that Bishop Dalderby held Visitations of the Cathedral,<sup>6</sup> inasmuch as his *Laudum* remains in the *Liber Niger*. He both regulated it in many points and gave benefactions to it. He gave three Churches to the Dean and Chapter, assigning the great tithes of two of them (Normandy and Russenden) to the Priest Vicars. And as this body was now put to extra expense by having to keep up the new buildings constructed for them by the direction of Bishop Sutton, Bishop Dalderby secured for them for this purpose an annual payment of two marks each from two monasteries of the Premonstratensians. He completed the arrangements as to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, uniting it with All Saints, and providing

<sup>1</sup> Barth. de Cotton, Chron. pp. 183, 189, 198 ; Ann de Oseney, Ann. Monast. iv., 333.

<sup>2</sup> Gir. Camb. vii., 209.

<sup>3</sup> Ann. de Dunstapliâ, Ann. Monast.

iii., 382.

<sup>4</sup> See John de Schalby in Appendix to Giraldus, vol. vii., and Mr. Dimock's notes.

<sup>5</sup> 1300—1320.

<sup>6</sup> *Laudum Willelmi Alnwick*, p. 87.

for the rights of the Chancellors of the Cathedral, who were *ex-officio* Rectors of All Saints.

Dalderby was succeeded by a man of an entirely different stamp, Henry Burghersh, a man of high family and great political importance, but I am afraid, by no means immaculate. I do not find any record that Bishop Burghersh held a Visitation of the Cathedral, but he gave a body of Statutes to the Consistorial Court, which exist in MS. in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

The next Bishop was Thomas Beck, in whose time the Cathedral was by no means in a happy state. The Dean was a Roman Cardinal residing at the Papal Court. In one of the Chapter Registers we find under the year 1363 a pathetic letter addressed by the Chapter to the Pope. They complain of the long absence of their Dean at the Papal Court. All sorts of difficulties were put in the way of the Canons in the execution of their duties by those whom they describe as the *Sequentes* of the Dean. The Canons were so perplexed and disturbed that they did not know when to celebrate. The Dean, they said, was so great a man in the Papal Court that they did not dare to litigate with him there, inasmuch as in times past they had had bitter experience of his power to their great trouble and expense. Yet they could not for that reason forego the defence of their ancient customs, and though placed in a great strait they must still strive to do their duty. The non-residence of the Dean caused the cessation of his accustomed charities. When in residence it was the custom of the Dean of Lincoln to give to twenty-five poor persons every day their food, and every week from the feast of S. Michael to the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula* to give to each poor man that came, twice in the week, a certain measure of beans and peas. All this however had long been in abeyance through the Dean's absence, and so they pray the Pope to give them another Dean, mentioning as fit persons among their body Simonde Islip (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), John de Offord, and William of Exeter.<sup>2</sup>

There is evidence to show that Bishops Beaufort, Repingdon, Flemyng, and Gray, all made orders and

<sup>1</sup> Cotton MSS., Vitellius A. X. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hutton's Extracts, vol. v., Harleian MSS. (B. M.) 6954.

arrangements for the Cathedral, and in particular Bishop Flemyng drew up a Laudum, upon which the disputes afterwards referred to Bishop Alnwick turned.<sup>1</sup> This brings us to one who stands in a very close relation to the Cathedral, as the author of the Statutes by which the Church is now governed. William Alnwick was a man famous in his day for piety and learning; he was the chosen confessor of Henry VI., that most devout prince. He succeeded to the See in 1436, and he soon found that the task of regulating the affairs of the Cathedral was one to which he was imperatively called to address himself. By the care and munificence of the present Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Alnwick's Laudum or Settlement of the matters then in dispute between the Dean and Canons, has been printed from the Bishop's Register, together with the Statutes afterwards drawn up by Bishop Alnwick and known as the *Novum Registrum*. This volume also contains the grounds of quarrel and the accusations mutually made by the contending parties. The Bishop has also most kindly furnished me with notes and extracts made by him from the Register, and I have myself carefully examined it as well as the Chapter Acts.

From these sources I must now endeavour to give a sketch of this famous quarrel. The Dean of Lincoln at the period of Bishop Alnwick's incumbency of the See was John Mackworth. Between him and his Chapter there had long raged an internecine war. Mackworth in addition to his Deanery held the Prebend of Nassington, and was usually non-resident. The Chapter was compelled to act a great deal without him, and this seems to have specially exasperated him. We learn incidentally from the introduction to the Laudum that there had been some severe quarrels between the Dean and the other members of the Chapter, but that these had been composed by the arbitration made by Bishop Flemyng.<sup>2</sup> But the peace which had been made was soon broken on the accession of Dean Mackworth. The Chapter bring against this Dean to the Visitor no less than forty-two charges, of which the following are some of the chief. (1.) That he will not entertain the choir on festivals when the Bishop is

<sup>1</sup> See Alnwici Laudum, pp. 85, 87, 106.

<sup>2</sup> Laudum Willielmi Alnwick, p. 82.

not present, and he is the principal celebrant, that being the ancient custom of the Church. (2.) That he shirks the obligations properly belonging to him both on principal feasts and on the obits of kings and bishops. (3.) That all the time he is non-resident at Nassington he takes away the Vicar, whom he ought to keep in the Cathedral Church to supply his place. (4.) That when non-resident he will not pay his sevenths, which ought to go to the common fund of the Canons, but (6) nevertheless insists on having a share of the sevenths paid by the other non-residentiaries. (7.) That he puts out monitions and orders as coming from the Dean and Chapter without any consultation with the Chapter. (8.) That he brings his clerks with him to Chapter meetings, and thus the secrets of the Chapter get known. (11.) That in processions he will not walk straight and in a line, as he ought according to the custom of the Church, but walks crookedly, or anyhow, without regard to the proper direction; sometimes behind the celebrant, sometimes along side of him, this being quite against the customs of the Church. (13.) That he allows his servants to hinder the porter of the Close from shutting the door at a proper time. (15.) That he has fraudulently kept back from the Chapter 25s. 8d. which he ought to pay at the *Obit* of Bishop Henry Lexinton. (16.) That he receives fees for inductions and does not account for them, seizes for himself monies due to the Chapter. (17.) That he summons his subjects in the Prebends and even the Residentiary Canons of the Church on matters of discipline to any place that he pleases, not observing the proper place for doing this. (18.) That he comes to the Chapter attended by armed men to the great terror of the Canons, when at such times there ought to be only one verger keeping watch at the door of the Chapter House. (19.) That he admits people as poor clerks who are no better than idiots, without any examination, and allows such persons to form part of the poor clergy of the Church.<sup>1</sup> (20.) That at vespers and prime he makes the bell stop before the officiating priest has arrived, and on the contrary makes the choir wait for him, if he is late, even though the celebrant has begun mass, "to the great scandal of the Church." (21.) That

<sup>1</sup> For the office and duties of the *pauperes clerici* see *Novum Registrum*, p. 70.



he takes away from the Church the Consuetudinary of the Church, vulgarly called "the Black Book," which always ought to be kept in the vestry, in charge of the Treasurer. (22.) That he insists on inspecting the muniments of the Church, which ought not to be done except in the presence of the Provost of the Canons and another residentiary Canon appointed by the Chapter for this duty. (23.) That he won't attend to the table of services, but insists on celebrating on double feasts, when he is not set down for this. (24.) That he utterly despises the regulations made by Bishop Grey. (25.) That he has pulled down part of the wall of the cloister to build a stable. (26.) That he prevents the Archdeacon's official from paying the dole to the poor in St. Giles' Hospital. (27.) That he tries to expel the Proctor sent by the Chapter to the Convocation.

These formidable charges and many others were made to the Visitor by the Chapter against the Dean, and his interference is earnestly sought. On the other hand the Dean had something to say against the Chapter. He accuses them of wasting the common funds of the Church in senseless and useless quarrels, of granting leases and concessions of rights, privileges and immunities, under the common seal without consulting the Dean. And whereas each Residentiary ought to have a special Chaplain attendant upon him in the Church to wait upon him in the performance of the altar services, instead of this the Residentiaries take one of the Vicars Choral or the Chantry Chaplains to do this office. They also, according to the Dean, failed to present to Chantries in the Church which were vacant, and appropriated the revenues ; other monies bequeathed for pious uses they had misapplied. They had appropriated the cloth bought out of the common fund of the Church for clothing for the poor to the use of themselves and their servants. They neglected to repair their houses and in many ways misconducted themselves.

This very pretty quarrel between the Dean and the Chapter Bishop Alnwick was called upon to settle and appease, and it must be confessed that his task was no slight one. The *Laudum* or Arbitration which he set forth under date of June 23, 1439, is a document of considerable length and minuteness, and attempts a detailed



settlement of all the points in dispute. But it seemed to the Bishop that this was not enough. He declares that though he had happily put an end to the long-standing quarrel between the Dean and the Chapter, yet inasmuch as the customs and ordinances by which the Church was governed were very obscure and contradictory, he greatly feared that dissension would again arise. Therefore he had applied himself to the arduous task of recasting the whole of the statutes of the Church and constructing out of them a new body of statutes, which henceforth were to be the only laws by which the Church was to be governed. The Chapter had been summoned, and had agreed that the Bishop should draw up for them such a new body of statutes, and in order to allow time for its construction the Chapter Meeting had been adjourned till after the Feast of S. Michael, 1440. Probably the body of statutes drawn up by Bishop Alnwick, and known as the *Novum registrum*, was finished and promulgated soon after this, but there is no actual date given for its publication, nor is there any record of its formal acceptance by the Chapter. But it would seem that as the Chapter had previously formally agreed that the Bishop should draw up a body of statutes for them, they were in fact committed to whatever the visitor should determine to promulgate and were cut off from the right of objecting. This, however, does not appear to have been the opinion of Dean Mackworth, who, finding the new statutes bear hardly upon some of his practices, made a formal objection to them (not, however, until some two years after their first promulgation) and declared he would never be bound by them. Hence arose an internecine war between the Bishop and the Dean. In 1443 the Bishop issued a commission to the Dean of Christianity, the Rural Dean of the city, to enquire into certain acts of violence alleged to have been done by the Dean who is called the *alleged* Dean. It was said that he had called the Precentor in the choir a *buffoon* and a *vile tailor*, and had offered personal violence to him. From a long entry in the Bishop's Register with regard to the mode of *censuring the Dean*, I gather that the cause of Mackworth's anger was some infringement of his dignity in this respect. Next year there was another commission addressed to the Sub-Dean

to enquire into the Dean's conduct. Mackworth was now put under suspension or inhibition, but he did not choose to recognise the sentence. Consequently, in 1444, the "pretended" Dean, as he is called, is summoned to Bugden to answer why he had presumed to act when suspended. I suppose he did not appear, as he was afterwards excommunicated by the Bishop. One of the last acts of Bishop Alnwick was to issue a commission for his trial, and there is every reason to suppose he would have been deposed had the Bishop's life lasted a little longer. But Bishop Alnwick died in December, 1449, and the Dean survived him by two years.

Although this episcopal visitation of the Cathedral had not caused the cessation of strife, which was probably impossible so long as such a litigious person as Mackworth was at the head of the Cathedral, it had nevertheless laid the foundation for peace in the future. The quarrels which had been so frequent between Deans and their Chapters in the past seem, under the wholesome influence of Alnwick's *Laudum* and *Novum registrum*, to have been quiescent during the remainder of the fifteenth century. But at the beginning of the next century the Cathedral was unhappily presided over by a Dean who was a worthy successor of Mackworth, and in his time a visitation of the Cathedral occurred, as to which we are furnished with many curious and interesting details. The Dean alluded to was George Fitzhugh, fourth son of Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, a family which was possessed of several fair lordships in Yorkshire in the time of the Conqueror.<sup>1</sup> Belonging to a powerful family, and enriched with numerous benefices, Dean Fitzhugh had allowed a state of things to grow up around him in Lincoln Cathedral, which was probably almost unparalleled even in that, perhaps the worst age of the English Church. William Smyth, the pious founder of Brasenose, was then Bishop of Lincoln, and knowing probably that there was much amiss in his Cathedral church, he determined to hold a visitation of it in due state and solemnity. In the register of this Bishop, which is written in a beautifully clear hand, differing herein from many of the episcopal registers, which are sore

<sup>1</sup> Churton's *Life of Smyth*, p. 122, from Dugdale, *Bar. i.*, 405.

trials to the eyes of students, is contained a full and minute account of this visitation.<sup>1</sup> It took place on Monday after the Feast of the Annunciation, March 29, 1501. The mass of the day having been said, and the other hour services which ought to be said before noon having been duly performed, the Bishop, issuing from his palace through the great gates, approached the western door of the Cathedral, the bells in the western bell-tower being rung, the Dean, the Canons Residentiary and non-Residentiary, the Vicars, the Choristers, and all others having any office in the church, waiting his approach in the nave of the Church, all vested in silk copes, and arranged in order, with the cross, the taper-bearers, the thurifers, as is accustomed in solemn processions. A bench, covered with silk, being set on the topmost step before the western door, the said reverend father bent the knee before the bench, and adored the image of the crucified one, [placed upon it.] And then they received him with honour, and the Dean and Chancellor (the Precentor being infirm and absent) censed him, and the Dean on his knees handed him the holy water, and he on his knees aspersed and kissed the cross. Then the Dean supporting him on the right and the Chancellor on the left, the Canons and Prebendaries preceding him, they conducted him through the nave and the centre of the choir, the chanter beginning and the choir answering responses to the Holy Trinity. Then, as the Bishop knelt before the High Altar, the Dean said prayers over him in the accustomed form, and the Bishop made an oblation at the image of the glorious Virgin placed in the midst of the altar; and then the afore-said reverend father put on his canonical habit, viz., a surplice (or rochet), an amice, and a black cope, and went in procession to the Chapter-house of the church, with the Dean and Canons. A vast crowd also, both of clergy and laity, accompanied him. The Bishop then sat upon his accustomed seat in the Chapter-house, the Dean and Canons sitting in order, and the Word of God was preached in the Latin language by Master Edward Polwhele, scholar in the University of Oxford, on the text—"Go and see whether all is well with thy brethren." (Gen. xxxvii, 14.)

<sup>1</sup> It is given in most of its details in Churton's *Life of Smyth*, but I have carefully consulted the original Register.

Then an Indulgence of forty days having been granted by the Bishop, those not immediately interested withdrew, and the visitation began. The Dean, Dr. George Fitzhugh, exhibited certain letters certificatory directed to the Dean and Chapter, appointing the Visitation. These were duly read by the notary public, the Registrar of the Bishop, William Miller, clerk. Then the names of all holding office in the Cathedral being called over, all were called upon to take an oath of obedience, which the Dean did in these words. "In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Georgius Fitzhugh, decanus ecclesiæ Cathedralis beatæ Mariæ Lincolnensis juro vobis reverendo in Christo patri et domino domino Willelmo dei gratiâ Lincolnensi episcopo, vestrisque successoribus episcopis Lincolnensibus, canonicam obedientiam quatenus de more teneor, sicut me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia." Then came Geoffrey Symeon, Chancellor, William Skelton, Treasurer, Simon Stalworthy, Sub-Dean. Then the Canons non-residentiary. Then were exhibited the letters of those absent excusing themselves by their proctors. William Smyth, Archdeacon of Northampton, was absent for the study of letters beyond seas. John Waller was employed in the king's business, in which many great interests of the Cathedral Church were concerned. Henry Hornby was Dean of the Chapel and secretary to the illustrious Countess Margaret, the King's mother, and was occupied with weighty affairs.<sup>1</sup> Then many of the other Canons, Priest Vicars and others appeared personally, and the Visitor pronounced all those who had not appeared contumacious. Then it being dinner-time he prorogued the Synod till four o'clock, at which time all being assembled the Dean exhibited certain letters apostolical with the lead, granted by Sixtus IV. (Pope), and containing a dispensation to him *in the sixteenth year of his age*, to hold any benefice with or without cure of souls, even if it were of the next dignity in the Cathedral after the pontifical. He also exhibited certain letters of Dr. John English, lately collector of the Pope in the kingdom of England, containing a dispensation granted to the said Dean, that being in the twenty-third year of

<sup>1</sup> In Churton's "Life of Smyth," much interesting information as to these Canons is to be found.



his age, he might be advanced to the sacred order of Priesthood. He also exhibited certain letters of Sixtus IV. (Pope), containing a dispensation that he the Dean might accept and retain three mutually incompatible benefices even with cure of souls, so long as between the three there were not more than two parochial churches. He also exhibited Apostolical letters of Sixtus IV. (Pope) containing the union of the parish Church of Bingham in the Diocese of York, to the Canonry and Prebend of Whittingdon in the Cathedral of York. Also letters of Innocent VIII. (Pope) authorising the union of the parish Church of Kirby Ravensworth to the parish Church of Bedall for the Dean's life, which Churches the Dean as Rector of them at present possessed. Also his letters of orders, and letters certificatory of his collation to his Prebend of Cropredy, and his induction and installation in the Deanery, but he exhibited no letters of the confirmation of his election to the said decanal dignity, nor any other letters whatsoever. The aforesaid Dean was then interrogated by the reverend father as to the state of the Church, its regimen, the morals and the conversation of those belonging to it, especially as to matters which might be reformed by the present Visitation. He answered that to the best of his belief all things were satisfactory, and that there were no grave and serious matters requiring reformation, or needing the intervention of the reverend father. In one matter, however, the Dean did desire the interference of the Visitor. He wished to have it laid down as a rule by the Visitor, a point which the custom-book had left uncertain, viz., that on the principal feasts, when the Dean was celebrant, the Canons should be obliged to serve him. This he said the Residentiary Canons frequently refused to do. The Dean's matters being disposed of *Geoffrey Simeon*, the Chancellor, appeared. He exhibited his letter of orders. Letters apostolical of Pope Innocent VIII, containing a dispensation to him to hold three incompatible benefices with two parish churches, letters of collation to Chancellorship and Prebend of Stoke. *Simon Stallworthy*, Sub-Dean, exhibited the same dispensation as to the three incompatible benefices with two parish churches, and his letters of collation to Algarkirk

and Bottesford, to the Sub-Deanery and the Prebend of Buckden. At the next session of the visitation some more important matters came up. (1) The Chancellor appeared and desired an enquiry into the state of a fund of £100 left by some unknown benefactor to the Senior Vicars who had lost their voices, to enable them to purchase corn and ale when those necessities might be bought cheap, the sum to be repaid each year by those who used it. He declared that many of the Vicars who had received portions of this sum had not repaid it. Some were dead, others were still in the Church. He prayed for an immediate inquiry into the accounts of the treasurer for that year. (2) He also stated that of old custom the fines arising from the Vicars absent from divine service in the Choir were converted to the use of the fabric and the repair of the houses in which the Vicars dwelt, but now it was the custom to divide the fine money equally among the Vicars, so that they cared very little about being absent from service as they all got a share in the spoil, and this he said tended to the great injury of divine service. (3) The Chancellor also made complaint and said that the Dean and Chapter having undertaken to spend 20 marks yearly at the obit of John Russell, lately bishop, and (?) 50 marks at the obit of Thomas Fitzwilliam Esq., and having received large sums of money from the executors for this purpose, nevertheless have not assigned the lands and possessions left them for this purpose, but hold possession of them and pay the obits out of the common fund of the Church.

Then came Master *William Skelton*, the Treasurer, and complained that the Archdeacon of Lincoln had withheld the allowances due to the poor in the hospital of St. Giles, outside the City of Lincoln, and specially the payments due for certain obits, all which payments had been made by his predecessor time out of mind.

The Treasurer further complained that the Master of the Choristers did not use any diligence in teaching singing, and that he was often absent and scarce gave one lesson a day. He had also a complaint against the house of the choristers interfering with the arrangements of his own house which adjoined it.

*Simon Stalworthy*, Sub-Dean, alleged that the Provosts

of the Vicars used to appear every Saturday in the Chapter House before the Dean and Chapter, and exhibit an account of the fines incurred by the Vicars for being absent from services, so that delinquents might not go unpunished, and the money might be applied to the sustentation of the Vicars' house. This, however, was abandoned, to the grave loss of the Church.

Master *Richard Trafford*, Priest-Vicar, complained that the statutes having provided that none should be admitted Vicar-choral who had not been approved by four senior Vicars choral both for his singing and reading, yet that now persons were admitted as Vicars who were altogether unfit, as notably a certain Bailey, admitted at the request of Thomas Fitzhugh, the natural son of the Dean.

*John Lamberd*, Vicar-choral, deposed that the antiphonary and grail books of the church were much broken in their bindings, and unfit for Divine worship, and that John Goutry, the singing-master, caused the chant books belonging to the choir to be carried away to the choristers' house, and there taught the choristers out of them, so that the books were often broken, and also often not to be found in the choir when they were wanted in the service.

*Richard Burton*, Vicar-choral and Chantry-priest, complained that John Helmester, a citizen of Lincoln, unjustly kept back from him a rent of six shillings, which ought to be paid from a certain house on the High Bridge.

Some graver scandals followed, the names of the informers being withheld.

(a) It was stated in writing that a certain Mrs. Wygnerpole, wife of a gentleman in the service of the Dean, was very frequently entertained in the chamber of Master *Matthew Blackburn*, in a chantry within the church, and had access thither at any hour of the day or night, and that by pretext or reason of the said woman the Chaplains often resorted thither and played at dice (*taxillos*), bones and cards,<sup>1</sup> beyond midnight, losing their money terribly, and that great suspicion of incontinency attached thereto.

(b) It was also complained that whereas in former times on Feasts and sometimes on common days the Resi-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Churton remarks that this passage shows cards to have been in vogue in England at this time, when it had been thought that they were little known here,

it being often asserted that they were introduced by the Princess Catherine of Spain, who did not arrive in England till the autumn of this year.

dentiary Canons used to be present at processions in the dress of their order, they now absented themselves altogether from processions.

(c) Again that the Dean admitted "poor clerks" to the church just as he pleased, without any regard to their learning and instruction.

(d) It was also complained that the servants of the Dean, and even those of the other Residentiaries, did enormous mischief to the fabric of the Cathedral Church by breaking the glass windows and the stone tracery by their arrows and cross bow bolts, and piercing the lead on the roof with their missiles.

(e) A complaint was also handed to the Visitor that whereas it was provided in the statutes of the Burghersh Chantry that the master should never admit any boy of his kin or affinity, nor any boy who did not know *playne song* (sic) and his Donatus, yet that it was sufficiently evident that Master Henry Apjohn, the Precentor of the Church of Lincoln, and Master of the said Chantry, had lately admitted a boy who was his near relative, being led by carnal affection thereto, which said boy did not know his Donatus, nor how to sing in any manner whatsoever.

After having received these presentments which scarcely seem to justify the Dean's assertion that all things were well in the Cathedral, the Bishop entered into a minute examination of the accounts. Master Thomas Hiller, residentiary, and William Gaske, clerk, Guardians of the Rubra Cista, vulgarly called the Red Tike, exhibited certain accounts as to the monies received and disbursed by them. The Bishop found that large sums had been spent on the fabric, but that there was such urgent need of further repairs that it was held to be necessary to appeal to the public. He directed therefore that the Archdeacons and non-residentiary Canons should be summoned to treat upon this matter and other matters connected with the well-being of the Church.

At the conclusion of the Visitation the names of those attached to the Church are given. The list includes thirty-two Chantry priests, nine poor clerks, seven choristers, eleven officers of the Church, fifteen priest vicars, nine lay vicars.

Bishop Smyth issued his schedule of injunctions as to



the amendment of the matters brought to light in his Visitation on the 20th April, 1501, dated from his Castle of Banbury, but no immediate steps were taken by the Dean and Chapter. It was not till October 7th, 1503 (that is two years and six months afterwards) that they undertook to reform some of the abuses which had come to light. Under that date we find in the Chapter Acts a paper in which the Dean and Chapter promise to the Bishop as follows: (1.) That they will restore all the monies which they have *borrowed* from the funds left for the obits of Bishop Russell and Mr. Fitzwilliam. (2.) That the Vicars shall be compelled to show the state of the chest in which the £100 was wont to be kept, in order that the restitution of the monies may be enforced. (3.) That the money due from some of the Canons to the fabric fund shall be restored. (4.) That an inventory shall be made of all the ornaments of the Church in the custody of the treasurer. (5.) That the Vicars and other ministers of the choir shall be compelled to observe their duties more diligently in the matter of the celebration of the divine service, especially as regarded early matins, and that the fines for their absence shall be paid to the building fund. (6.) That the Chantry priests shall be compelled to observe the foundations of their Chantries, and that they shall attend in the choir at the performance of service for the dead, and not go away before it is ended. (7, 8.) That all the good customs of the Church shall be observed, and that the Dean and Chapter shall be in amity. (9.) That the Vicars and poor clerks shall have a Canon chosen to report about them. (10.) That Chapter secrets shall be religiously kept. (11.) That the vestments, ornaments and jewels of the Church shall not be let go out of the Church without permission of the Dean and Chapter. (12.) That the Treasurer shall find good and wholesome wine for those who celebrate at the high altar and for the other chaplains whom he is bound to supply. (13.) That Chantry Chaplains shall not frequent the houses of laymen. (14.) That women of notoriously bad character shall not be allowed to reside in the Close. (15.) That the common funds of the Chapter shall be spent in proper uses. (16.) That the foundation of the Chantry of Mr.

John Alford shall be finished. (17.) That a general statement of the debts and revenues of the Church shall be drawn up.<sup>1</sup>

As a good many of the points complained of at the visitation are not mentioned in the schedule of promises, it may be inferred, perhaps, that they had been already amended—that the Dean's servants had left off shooting their cross-bow bolts at the coloured windows, and that the Archdeacon of Lincoln had resumed his doles to the poor in St. Giles' Hospital. We may trust also that the games at dice and cards in very questionable company had ceased, and that, if Mrs. Wygnerpole were not already banished from the neighbourhood of the Cathedral, the undertaking that no such ladies should be allowed to live in the Close would have the effect of removing her. We take leave of Dean Fitzhugh and his Canons with the best hopes for their reformation, but I think it will be admitted that the state of the Cathedral church of Lincoln, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, did somewhat need episcopal correction.

1 Act. Capit. Line. 1503, f. 71-3.

## EARTHWORKS OF THE POST-ROMAN & ENGLISH PERIOD.

BY GEO. T. CLARK.

But little is recorded of the internal condition of Britain between the departure of the Legions A.D. 411 and the arrival of the Northmen in force thirty or forty years later, but whatever may have been the effect of Roman dominion, or of the infusion of Roman blood, upon the social or commercial character of the Britons, it is at least certain that they had made little progress in the construction of places of defence. The Romans, as has been remarked, dealt rather with the country than with the people. The foreign trade under the Roman sway was no doubt considerable, and much land was under cultivation, but the Britons seem to have acquired but few of the Roman arts, and nothing of the Roman discipline. Neither have their descendants, the Welsh, many customs which can be traced distinctly to a Roman origin; and although there are many words in their language which shew its origin to be cognate with the Latin, there are comparatively few which can, with any probability, be shewn to be derived from the Latin. How far against the Scots and Picts they made use of Roman tactics or employed Roman weapons is but little known. In defending themselves against the Northmen they, no doubt, took advantage of the Roman walls at Richborough, Lymne, and Dover, and afterwards of Pevensey, but on the whole, without success; and from these they were driven back upon the earthworks of their probably remote predecessors. There is not a shadow of evidence that they constructed any new defensive works in masonry upon the Roman models, or even repaired those that were left to them in the same material.

There do however remain certain earthworks which seem to be laid out according to Roman rules, but which contain no traces of Roman habitations, are not connected

with Roman roads, and the banks and ditches of which are of greater height and depth than those generally in use among the Romans in Britain, and which therefore there seems reason to attribute to the post-Roman Britons. Such are Tamworth, Wareham, Wallingford, possibly Cardiff, though upon a Roman road, and the additions to the Roman works at York. The name Wallingford, "the ford of the Welsh," may be quoted in support of this view. It is difficult to understand how it is that there are no remains in masonry which may be attributed to this period, for it is impossible that with the example of the Romans before their eyes, and a certain admixture of Roman blood in the veins of many of them, the Britons should not have possessed something of the art of construction. This difficulty does not occur in Gaul, whence the Romans were never formally withdrawn. On the Continent indeed, generally, buildings are found of all ages, from the Roman period downwards. Gregory of Tours, in his *Historia Francorum*, written towards the end of the sixth century, describes the fortified place of Merliar as of great extent and strength, in which there were included a sweet water lake, gardens and orchards; and M. de Caumont cites a description of an episcopal castle on the Moselle in the same century, which was defended by thirty towers, one of which contained a chapel, and was armed with a balista; and within the place were cultivated lands and a water-mill; and there were many such, like the defences of Carcassonne, of mixed Roman and post-Roman work, that is, of work executed before and about the fifth century.

In Britain the course of events was different. The Northmen, men of the sea, and accustomed to life in the open air, had no sympathies with the Celts, and utterly disdained what remained of Roman civilisation; slaying the people, and burning and destroying the Roman buildings, which, in consequence, are in England fragmentary, and in most cases only preserved by having been covered up with earth or incorporated into later buildings. The Roman works were mostly on too large a scale for the wants of new settlers, and even where these occupied the Roman towns they cared not to restore or complete the walls, but buried what remained of them in

high earthen banks, upon which they pitched their palisades, and within which they threw up their moated citadels. The Northmen respected nothing, adopted nothing. Their earliest mission was one of violence and destruction. They appear, in the south and east at least, in a large measure to have slain and driven out the people of the land, and to have abolished such institutions as they possessed. But not the less did they carry with them the seeds of other institutions of a far more vigorous and very healthful character. Whether Saxons, Angles, or Jutes, though landing on the shores of Britain in quite independent parties, they had the substance of their speech, their customs, and their gods in common. They had the same familiarity with the sea, the same indisposition to occupy Roman buildings, the same absence of all sympathy with the native Britons. If they still, which is doubtful, held most of their lands in common, the house and the homestead were already private property. Their family ties were strong, as is shewn in the nomenclature of their villages. As they conquered, they settled and practised agriculture, and as they embraced Christianity, they gradually established those divisions, civil and ecclesiastical, soles and rapes, tythings, hundreds, wapentakes, and parishes, which still remain to attest the respect to which they had attained for law and order, for the rights of private property, and their capacity for self-government.

Much akin to and before long to be incorporated into the English nation were the Danes, or rather the Norsemen from the seaboard country north of the Elbe, the Danes of English history and of local tradition, who in the eighth century played the part of the Saxons in the fifth. They scoured the same seas, and harassed the Saxons as the Saxons had harassed the Britons, only the invaders and the invaded being, generally, of the same blood, finally coalesced, and the distinctions between them became well-nigh effaced; still, for three centuries, the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, the Danish name was the terror of the British Isles. They infested every strand, anchored in every bay, ascended every river, penetrated and laid waste the interior of the country.

Orkney is full of their traces, their language is the key



to the topographical nomenclature of Caithness, the gigantic works at Flamborough Head are attributed to them; the great cutting, by which they carried a branch of the Thames across Southwark, is on record. In the year A.D. 1,000, Ethelred found them forming much of the population of Cumberland. Such terminations as Eye, Ness, Holm, and By, so common along the shores of England, or over the lands watered by the Trent and the Humber, the Tees and the Tyne, and not unknown on the western coast, show the extent and permanence of their settlements. It does not, however, appear that the Danish earthworks differed materially from those thrown up by the other northern nations in England. Camps tending to the circular form and headlands fortified by segmental lines of bank and ditch belong to all, and all when they settled and acquired property underwent very similar changes in their habits and modes of life.

No doubt, among the earlier works of the Northmen, those thrown up to cover their landing and protect their ships, were the semicircular lines of ditch and bank, found on capes and headlands and projecting cliffs on various parts of the sea-coast. Usually they are of limited area, as the invaders came commonly in very small bodies, but the Flamborough entrenchment has a line of bank and ditch three and a half miles long, of a most formidable character, and including a very large area.

Along the coast of South Wales are many small camps probably of Danish origin, such as Sully, Porthkerry, Colhugh, Dunraven, Pennard, Penmaen, five others on the headland of Gower, and five or six along the southern shore of Pembrokeshire. Besides these material traces of the invaders are a long list of such names as Haverford (fiord), Stackpole, Hubberton, Angle, Hubberston, Herbrandston, Gatcholm, Stockholm, Skomer, Musselwick, Haroldston, Ramsey, Strumble, Swansea, savouring intensely of the Baltic. The Dinas' Head between Newport and Fishguard bays, though bearing a Welsh name, is fortified by an entrenchment due without doubt to the Northmen.

These and similar works evidently belong to the earlier period of the northern invasions, when the long black

galleys of the vikings visited at not infrequent intervals the British and Irish shores, before they settled in either land. In the fifth and sixth centuries settlements began to be formed in Britain, and speedily assumed dimensions very formidable to the natives. The south-eastern coast of Britain, known as the Saxon shore, had been fortified by the Romans, but the works, intrinsically strong, were too weak in British hands to stem the progress of the foe. In A.D. 530 Cerdic and Cynric took the Isle of Wight, and slew many Britons at a place where Wightgar was afterwards buried, and where he probably threw up the work which bore his name, and afterwards, as now, was known as Carisbroke. In 547 Ida, the "flame-bearer" of the Welsh bards, founded Bebbanburgh, now Bamborough, and enclosed it first by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall; and in 552 Cynric engaged the Britons at Sorbiodunum, afterwards Searo-burh, and now Old Sarum; as did in 571 Cuthwulf or Cutha at Bedcanford or Bedford, in each of these two latter places, as at Carisbroke and probably at Twynham, or Christchurch, throwing up the works which yet remain. The conquest of the Romano-British cities of Cirencester, Bath, and Gloucester, and the whole left bank of the Severn, from the Avon of Bristol to that of Worcester, was the immediate consequence of the victory of Deorham in 571, and was followed by the possession of Pengwern, afterwards Shrewsbury, a most important post, and one by means of which the Mercians, and after them the Normans held the Middle March of Wales. All along the line from Christchurch and Carisbroke, by Berkeley and Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick and Shrewsbury, earthworks were then thrown up, most of which are still to be seen.

With the social changes among the invaders changed also the character of their military, or rather of their mixed military and domestic works. The British encampments, intended for the residence of a tribe having all things in common, were, both in position and arrangements, utterly unsuitable to the new inhabitants. The Roman stations, intended for garrisons, save where they formed part of an existing city, were scarcely less so, nor were the earlier works of the Northmen suited to their later wants. These were mostly of a hasty character, thrown up to cover

a landing or to hold at bay a superior force. No sooner had the strangers gained a permanent footing in a district than their operations assumed a different character. Their ideas were not, like those of the Romans, of an imperial character; they laid out no great lines of road, took at first no precautions for the general defence or administration of the country. Self-government prevailed. Each family held and gave name to its special allotment. This is the key to the later and great majority of purely English earthworks. They were not intended for the defence of a tribe, nor for the accommodation of fighting men, but for the centre and defence of a private estate, for the accommodation of the lord and his household, for the protection of his tenants generally, should they be attacked, and for the safe housing, in time of war, of their flocks and herds.

These works, thrown up in England in the ninth and tenth centuries, are seldom, if ever, rectangular, nor are they governed to any great extent by the character of the ground. First was cast up a truncated cone of earth, standing at its natural slope, from twelve to even fifty or sixty feet in height. This "mound," "motte," or "burh," the "Mota" of our records, was formed from the contents of a broad and deep circumscribing ditch. This ditch, proper to the mound, is now sometimes wholly or partially filled up, but it seems always to have been present, being in fact the parent of the mound. Berkhamstead is a fine example of such a mound, with the original ditch. At Caerleon, Tickhill, and Lincoln, it has been in part filled up; at Cardiff it was wholly so, but has recently been most carefully cleared out, and its original depth and breadth are seen to have been very formidable. Though usually artificial these mounds are not always so. Durham, Launceston, Montacute, Dunster, Restormel, Nant cribba, are natural hills; Windsor, Tickhill, and the Devizes, are partly so; at Sherborne and Hedingham the mound is a natural platform, scarped by art; at Tutbury, Pontefract, and Bramber, where the natural platform was also large, it has been scarped and a mound thrown up upon it.

Connected with the mound is usually a base court or enclosure, sometimes circular, more commonly oval, or



horseshoe-shaped, but, if of the age of the mound, always more or less rounded. This enclosure had also its bank and ditch, that in its rear being the ditch of the mound, and the area was often further strengthened by a bank along the crest of its scarp. Now and then as at Old Sarum, there is an additional bank placed outside the outer ditch, that is, upon the crest of the counterscarp. The use of this it is difficult to understand, as it would afford cover to an assailant ; unless, indeed, it was intended to carry a palisade, and to fulfil the conditions of the covered-way along the crest of one of Vauban's counterscarps. Where the enclosure is circular the mound is either central as at Old Sarum, where it is possibly an addition to an older work, such as Badbury, or it stands on one side as at Tutbury. Where the area is oblong or oval the mound may be placed near one end as at Bramber. At Windsor and Arundel it is on one side, and where this is the case a part of its ditch coincides with the ditch of the place. Where the court is only part of a circle it rests upon a part of the ditch of the mound. At Sarum the two ditches are concentric. At Berkhamstead the mound is outside the court. On the whole, as at Lincoln, it is most usual to see the mound on the edge of the court so that it forms a part of the general "enceinte" of the place. Where the base court is of moderate area, as at Builth and Kilpeck, its platform is often slightly elevated by the addition of a part of the contents of the ditch, which is not the case in British camps. At Wigmore and Builth, where the mound stands on the edge of a natural steep, the ditch is there discontinued. The base court is usually three or four times the area of the mound, and sometimes, as at Wallingford or Warwick, much more. No doubt the reason for placing the mound on one side rather than in the centre of the court was to allow of the concentration of the offices, stables, &c., on one spot, and to make the mound form a part of the exterior defences of the place.

The mound and base court, though the principal parts, were not always the whole work. Usually there was on the outside of the court and applied to it, as at Brinklow and Rockingham, a second enclosure, also with its bank and ditch, and often of larger area than the main court,

being intended to shelter the flocks and herds of the tenants in case of an attack. At Norham, the castle ditch was used for this purpose as late as the reign of Henry the VIII. There are a few cases in which the mound is placed within a rectangular enclosure, which has given rise to a notion that the whole was Roman. Tamworth is such a case, and there, fortunately, the mound is known historically to have been the work of Aethelflaed, as is that of Leicester, similarly placed. From this and from the evidence of the earthworks themselves a like conclusion may be drawn as to the super-added mounds at Wareham, Wallingford, and Cardiff. At Helmsley, as at Castle-Acre, Brougham and Brough, the earthworks stand upon part of a Roman camp, and at Kilpeck and Moat Lane near Llanidloes, part of the area may possibly be British.

The group of works, of which the mound was the principal feature, constituted a Burh. The burh was always fortified, and each inhabitant of the surrounding township was bound to aid in the repair of the works, which seem almost always to have been of timber, which the Saxons, like other German nations, appear usually to have preferred to stone, though some of their towns were walled, as Colchester and Exeter, and Domesday records the custom of repairing the walls of Oxford, Cambridge, and Chester.

In these English, as before them in the British works, the ditches were sometimes used to contain and protect the approaches. This is well seen at Chūn and Kilpeck. At Tutbury the main approach enters between two exterior platforms, and skirts the outer edge of the ditch, until it reaches the inner entrance. The object was to place the approach under the eyes and command of the garrison.

As there are still some archaeologists whose experience entitles their opinions to respect, who attribute these moated mounds to the Britons, it will be necessary to point out that the attribution of them to the English, though materially strengthened by the evidence of the works themselves, does not wholly, or even mainly rest upon it. While the British camps are either prehistoric or unnoticed even in the earliest histories, and the age of the Roman works is only deducible from their plan and style,

and the known and limited period of the Roman stay in Britain, English works are continually mentioned in the chronicles, and the names of their founders and date of the construction of many of them are on record. Thus Taunton was founded by Ine a little before 721-2, when Queen Aethelburh destroyed it. The original earthworks still remaining are considerable, and formed part of the defences of a fortress erected long afterwards. In the ninth century, as the Danish incursions became more frequent, works of defence became more general and are largely mentioned directly, or by implication, in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. In 868-9 the Danish army was at Nottingham, a strong natural position, in which it was besieged by the West-Saxons. In 870 the Danes were a whole year at York and wintered at Thetford, where large earthworks remain. In 875 they were at Cambridge, and in 876 at Wareham, a West-Saxon fortress, whence they attacked Exeter, and at all these places are earthworks. In 878 we read that Alfred "wrought" a fortress "werede geweore," at Aethelney, and in 885 the Danes laid siege to Rochester, and "wrought" another fortress about their position, no doubt the great mound that still remains outside the castle and the Roman area. In 893 the Danes ascended four miles along the Limen or "Lymne" river in Kent, and there stormed a fastness "foestine," which was but half constructed. In the same year Haesten entered the Thames and "wrought" him a work at Milton, and other Danes landed at Appledore, at the mouth of the Limen. In 894 Aelfred fought with the Danes at Farnham, where the episcopal keep still stands upon a burh. Haesten or Hastings had already constructed a burh at Benfleet, which was stormed by Aelfred, who in the same year blocked him up at Buttington, on the Severn. In 896 the Danes threw up a work on the Lea, twenty miles from London, on which Aelfred threw up another work on each bank of that river lower down, obstructing the stream and shutting in the Danish ships. The Danes, in consequence, marched inland, and crossed the country to Quatbridge, on the Severn, and there "wrought a work" and passed the winter. Some of these works remain.

In the tenth century the number of English fortresses was prodigiously increased, chiefly by the energy of

Aethelflaed. Aelfred died in 901, and was succeeded by Eadward, his son, who attacked, in the fortress of Badbury, his cousin Aethelwald, who held Christchurch and Wimborne. In 907, Chester, the Roman walls of which had long lain in ruin, was strengthened, probably by the earthworks still to be seen in its south-western corner; the mound indeed has been almost entirely removed. In 910 Aethelflaed, sister to Aedward, and Lady of the Mercians, comes upon the scene, as the greatest founder of fortresses in that century. In that year she built a burh at Bramsbury, and in 913 one at Scergeat or Sarat, and at Bridgenorth (Oldbury). In 913, about the 14th of April, Eadward built the north burh at Hertford, between the rivers Memera or Maran, the Benefica or Bean, and the Lygea or Lea, and after May and before midsummer he encamped at Maldon while Witham burh was being built. Then also the second burh of Hertford, south of the Lea, was built. In the same year, 913, Aethelflaed and her Mercians built the burh of Tamworth in the early summer, and in August that of Stafford; and in the next year, 914, also in the summer, that of Eddesbury, and towards the end of autumn, that of Warwick.

In 915 Aethelflaed constructed a burh at Chirbury, probably in the field still known as the King's Orchard, and at Wardbury, and before mid-winter that of Runcorn, where was afterwards a Norman castle. In that year the Danes ascended the Bristol Channel and entered Irchenfield, west of Hereford, remarkable, amongst many others, for its burhs of Kilpeck and Ewias-Harold, whence they were driven back by the men of Hereford and Gloucester, and of the surrounding burhs. In 916 Aethelflaed stormed the mound of Brecknock, and took thence the Welsh king's wife and thirty-four persons. Late in the year Eadward was some weeks at Buckingham, and there constructed two burhs, one on each bank of the river. In 917 Aethelflaed took Derby, the gates of which town are mentioned, and in 918 the burh of Leicester, soon after which she died in her palace in Tamworth. In 919 Eadward went to Bedford, took its burh, and there remained for four weeks, during which time he threw up a second burh on the opposite or south bank of the river Ouse. In 920 he con-



structed the burh at Maldon, and in 921, in April, that at Towcester, which in the autumn he girdled with a wall of stone. In the following May he directed the burh at Wigmore to be built, and in August the whole Danish army spent a day before Towcester but failed to take it by storm. In that year the Danes abandoned their work at Huntingdon and wrought one at Tempsford, and thence moved to Bedford, whence they were repulsed. They also attacked the burh at Wigmore for a day, but without success. This was a busy year. In it the English stormed Tempsford burh, and beset Colchester burh, and slew there all but one man who escaped over the wall. Maldon burh also was attacked by the Danish army, but without success. In November Eadward repaired the burhs at Huntingdon and Colchester, and raised that at Cledemutha. In 922 the same great English leader, between May and midsummer, "wrought" a burh at Stamford on the south bank of the Welland, opposite to that already existing. He reduced the burh at Nottingham, repaired it, and garrisoned it with Englishmen and Danes. In 923 Eadward erected a burh at Thelwall, and in 924 one at Bakewell, and at Nottingham he erected a new burh, opposite to the existing one, the Trent flowing between them. In 943 Olaf the Dane took Tamworth by storm. In 952 mention is made of the fastness of Jedburgh, and of the town of Thetford. In 993 Bamborough was stormed.

Of the fifty burhs named in the chronicle, about forty-one have been identified, and of these about twenty-nine still exist. Of this number twenty-two are moated mounds, mostly with base courts also moated. At Taunton there is reason to suppose that there was a mound, and the works at Chirbury, Exeter, Rochester, Colchester, and Pevensey, which are Roman, probably succeeding earlier British works, have been taken possession of and altered by the English, as is the case also at Chester, where, as at Pevensey, are traces of a mound. At Rochester is a large mound, though outside the fortress. Rougemont in Exeter is itself a natural mound, and Bamborough from its great height and size, needed neither mound nor earthwork of any kind. Of double burhs, commanding the passage of a river, the chronicle mentions Nottingham and those on the Lea, Hertford,

Bedford, Stamford, and Buckingham. Unfortunately none of these are perfect. At Nottingham and on the Lea both mounds have long been removed; one is remembered at Stamford and Buckingham, and one may still be seen at Hertford. But the only double mounds remaining to show how, in the tenth century, the English defended the passage of a river, are those at York, which are not mentioned in the chronicle.

It appears then that setting aside works that have not been identified, or which have been destroyed before note was taken of them, there are above a score of burhs, the date of the erection of which, and the name of the founder, are entered in a trustworthy record, and which are still to be seen. What then is a burh? A burh is a moated mound with a table top, and a base court, also moated, either appended to one side of it, or within which it stands. But the burhs, the dates of which are on record, and which are thus described, are but a very few only of those of precisely the same character found all over England, in the lowlands of Scotland, and on the marches bordering on Wales, and which may therefore safely be attributed to the ninth and tenth and possibly to the eighth centuries, and to the English people, that is to the Northern settlers generally, as distinguished from the Britons and the Romans.

It happens, also, that, in very many cases where these burhs are found, they can be shewn to have been the "caput" or centre of an estate. It is probable that this was always the case, but as a rule it is only with respect to the very large estates that this can be proved from records. Thus the mound of Wallingford was the seat of Wigod, whose heiress married Robert D'Oyley; Bourne or Brum was held by Earl Morcar in 870; Edwin, Earl of Mercia, Lord of Strafford Wapentake, in Yorkshire, had an "aula" at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, and Conyngsborough was the centre of a royal fee. The English Earl of Richmondshire had a seat at Gilling, the mound of which has not long been levelled. The mound at Halton was the seat of Earl Tosti. At Berry Banks, near Stone, dwelt Wulfer, Lord of Mercia. The chief seats of the English lords of Hallamshire are not known, but in that district the later thanes were Waltheof, Tost, Sweyn Lord



of Sheffield, and Harold, whose seats must be sought for in the mounds and banks of Castle Hill and Castle Bailey, near Bradford; Castle Hill, at the meeting of the Sheaf and Don; Tickhill, Wincobank, and Mexborough, all moated mounds; to which may be added Melling and Hornby in Lonsdale, Castle Hill at Black Bourton, Robin Hood's butt at Clapham, and Sedbury or Sedda's burh, a well-known mound with oval courts; such also, in Yorkshire, were Castle-dykes at Ledescal and Langwith, Maiden Castle at Grinton, and Kirkby Malessant. The great mound at Clare was the fortified seat of Earl Aluric, who held an enormous estate in that district. Eye, in the same county of Suffolk, the seat of Earl Eadric, has a fine mound, and such are Thetford and Haughley. The hill of Hedingham and that of Norwich are natural, but the latter was occupied and fortified with a double ditch and horseshoe appendages, probably in the ninth or tenth centuries. Dudley also was a great English residence, as was Bennington mound in Hertfordshire. Hereford was fortified by the great Harold, Ewyas by another Harold, Kilpeck and Richard's Castle were also early seats, as were the mounds of Clun, Oswestry, and Whittington, in Shropshire. In Scotland upon the mound called the "Butte of Dunsinane," tradition places the residence of Macbeth early in the eleventh century. The butte stands within an oval area defended, says Pennant, by banks and ditches. Opposite Kingussie on the Spey is a very curious natural mound, rising on three sides out of the marshes of the river, and which is known to have been the residence of the celebrated Wolf of Badenoch.

The burhs are mentioned in the early laws of England, but by this time the signification of the word had become extended, so that it was applied not only to a moated mound but to the town that had sprung up around it. By the laws of Aethelstan, every burh was to be repaired within fourteen days after the Rogation days, and money was allowed to be coined at royal burhs. By the laws of Edmund the king's burh was a place of refuge, and under those of Aethelred, he who fought in a king's burh was liable to death. Burh-bryce was the violation of a castle or dwelling. Burh-bote, a payment for keeping burhs or fortresses in a state of defence, was a branch of the well-

known "*trinoda necessitas*." Originally the English burh was a fortified house, the "*Domus defensabilis*" of Domesday, the "*Aula*," the German "*Saal*," of the owner of the surrounding estate or manor, which the tenants were bound to defend; of which the designation may be Norman, but the thing designated is undoubtedly of far earlier origin. The term burh naturally became extended to the cluster of surrounding huts, and a hedge with a ditch was their primary enclosure, the repair of which is provided for in very early Saxon laws. A good stout hedge, even of quickset, is not to be despised, and the cactus and bamboo hedges of India will turn a band of soldiers. The word "*Haia*" is not infrequent in Domesday, and it there means an enclosure into which wild beasts were driven, "*Haia in qua capiebantur ferate*." It was also used for the enclosure of a park, as the Haye Park at Knaresborough, and the Hawe Park attached to Skipton Castle. King Ida's hedge at Bamborough was for the defence of annexed pasture lands, for the castle scarce needed any such addition to its surpassing strength. The word was also extensively used in Normandy both for a defence, and for an enclosure. One of the older Herefordshire castles bears the name of Hay.

The Edictum Pistense of Charles the Bald, in 864, (cap. i) expressly orders all "*Castella et firmitates et haias*," made without his license, to be destroyed "*disfactas*," because they were injurious to the district. "*Vicini et circummanentes exinde multas deprædationes et impedimenta sustinent*." (*Rerum Gallicarum Scriptores*, vii, 677.) Hedges therefore were not always mere enclosures, but sometimes a military defence.

These mounds, where they have descended to us, and have undergone no change at the hands of the Norman architect, are mere green hillocks, clear indeed in their simplicity, though having lost by time the sharpness of their profile and more or less of their height and of the depth of their ditches. No masonry has ever been observed upon them which could by any possibility be attributed to their founders, or which could be supposed to be part of their original design. It is evident, however, that the earthwork was only the support of some additional defence. On the mound was certainly a residence, and both its crest and base, as well as the appended courts, must have been encircled by some sort

of barrier besides the earth-bank. We read that Towcester was defended by a wall, which however was built very quickly, and probably was like a field wall, without mortar. But with or without mortar no wall could have been placed upon a fresh heap of earth, and that spoken of must have stood upon the natural ground at or around the base of the mound. No doubt Exeter was walled by Aethelstan, and Colchester had walls, partly, as we see, Roman, but partly no doubt, English; and Derby had gates, though of what material is not stated. At Corfe is some masonry, certainly older than the Conquest, and part of its outer defences, but Corfe is a natural hill. It is well known that the English were from a remote period conversant with masonry, and constructed churches of stone or timber as suited them best, and nothing is more natural than that they should have employed the former where the object was to resist an attack. But upon a burh, or upon an artificial earthwork of any height, masonry of any kind was obviously out of the question. Timber, and timber alone, would have been the proper material. Timber was always at hand, and it was a material of which, possibly from their early maritime habits, the English were very fond. Also the rapidity with which these burhs were constructed shews that timber must have been largely employed. They were thrown up, completed, attacked, burnt, and restored, all within a few months.

There are not wanting descriptions of these timber-defended works. M. de Caumont cites a curious passage from Ernaldus Nigellus, an author of the ninth century, who relates an expedition under Louis le Debonnaire against the Breton king Marman, whose stronghold was protected by ditches and palisades.

*“Est locus hinc silvis, hinc flumine cinctus amoeno.  
Sepibus et sulcis atque palude situs.”*

*Intus opima domus, . . . . .*

This however was a Breton work and there is no mention of a mound. Two centuries later the mound was in general use, and another quotation taken also from M. de Caumont, from the life of John, a canonized prelate of the church of Terouane, by Archdeacon Colmier, gives an account of the fortress of Merchen, near Dixmude, in which

the material employed and the mode of construction are clearly set forth. The original, taken from the "*Acta Sanctorum*," is appended to this paper, and is in truth a description of a moated mound, with its fence and turrets of timber, its central dwelling, and the bridge across the ditch rising to the top of the mound. The description is illustrated by the representation of the taking of Dinan, in the Bayeaux tapestry. There is seen the conical mound surmounted by a timber building, which two men with torches are attempting to set on fire, while others are ascending by a steep bridge which spans the moat and rises to a gateway on the crest of the mound.

Many of these mounds under the name of motes (*motae*) retained their timber defences to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that on the Shropshire and Welsh border, crowded with castles of masonry.

In viewing one of these moated mounds we have only to imagine a central timber house on the top of the mound, built of half trunks of trees set upright between two waling pieces at the top and bottom, like the old church at Greensted, with a close paling round it along the edge of the table top, perhaps a second line at its base, and a third along the outer edge of the ditch, and others not so strong upon the edges of the outer courts, with bridges of planks across the ditches, and huts of "wattle and dab" or of timber, within the enclosures, and we shall have a very fair idea of a fortified dwelling of a Thane or Franklin in England, or of the corresponding classes in Normandy from the eighth or ninth centuries down to the date of the Norman Conquest.

The existence of these mounds in distinct Welsh territory is very curious and requires explanation. That this form of dwelling was in common use among the Welsh is certainly not the case. Where moated mounds occur in Wales it is usually on the border, or near the sea coast, or in or near the open valleys accessible to the English, and which the English or Northmen are known to have invaded in the eighth and ninth centuries. The mound near Llanidloes is an exception, being distinctly within the hills. But that of Tafolwern, from which the Welsh princes dated several charters, is near the open valley. That of Talybont, whence Llewelyn dated a letter



to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1275, and which was afterwards visited by Edward the First, is on a plain within easy reach of the sea. Still, as the Welsh princes intermarried and had frequent communication with the English, they must have been familiar with a form of fortification very simple and easy to construct, and yet very capable of being held against a sudden attack. It must be observed, also, that the English hold upon the Welsh border was of a very fluctuating description, and the Welshmen must not only have been perfectly familiar with the English method of construction, but from time to time have been actually in possession of their strongholds. That the Welsh used timber for defensive purposes appears from their law by which the vassals were to attend at the lord's castle for its repairs or for rebuilding, each with his axe in his hand.

It is very evident, both from the existence of Offa's dyke, and from the immense number of these moated mounds thrown up along its course, that the English had early and long possession of immense tracts of the border territory. Offa ruled over Mercia from A.D. 757 to 796, and his dyke extends from the mouth of the Wye to that of the Dee. At its northern part, for about forty miles, is a second work, known as Wat's Dyke, a little in its rear, and thought to be a somewhat earlier work, also by Offa. Before the actual line of a work so galling to the spirit of a turbulent people could have been decided upon, there must have been many years of contest along the border, and the English must have had something like permanent possession of the land on either side, and have held estates of which the mounds still existing were the "capita" or chief seats. The dyke, it should be remembered, was rather a civil boundary than a military defence.

It is further to be remarked that moated mounds corresponding precisely in pattern to those in England, are very numerous in Normandy. In size they vary within much the same limits. All have or had a proper ditch, some, as Briquessart and des Olivets, stand in the centre of the court, some at one end, others on the edge. The court is sometimes circular, most commonly oblong, very rarely indeed rectangular. The outer enclosures have their ditches, which communicate with those of the inner

defences. M. de Caumont gives a list of fifty-four of these mounds, within a radius of sixty miles from Caen, and since he wrote many more have been observed. These also were, from an early period, the seats of great land-owners, and from very many of them came the knights and barons who accompanied William to England, and there settled in posts very similar. Sir F. Palgrave gives a list of 131 in the Cotentin, the Avranchin, and the Bessin, which includes only six of those mentioned by de Caumont. A large number of those earthworks seem never to have had, at any time, defences of masonry. Others, upon the mounds, had Norman shell keeps.

In concluding this paper a few words must be added upon certain of these mounds which are rendered peculiar, not by anything in themselves, but by the position in which they are placed. It happens occasionally that the English lord took up his quarters within a Roman camp or station, and when he did so he employed the Roman banks or walls as his outer line of defence, and placed his mound inside, and usually in one corner, thus not only giving more space for his dependents and their wants, but strengthening his outer works. Thus at Pevensey, Leicester, Cambridge, Lincoln, Southampton, Winchester, Chichester, Caerleon, Chester, English mounds and inner base courts are placed within Roman enclosures which either are or were walled; also at Auldchester, near Bicester, the Roman Alauna, in a camp of a thousand feet square, is a mound called the Castle Hill, which is pronounced to be of later date than the camp. At Plessy, Tamworth, Wallingford, Wareham, Cardiff, where the areas though banked only, are rectangular, are found mounds of very decidedly later date than the larger work. There are also some others where a mound is placed within an earthwork with something of a tendency to the rectangular, though scarcely to be pronounced either Roman or Romano-British; such are Clare in Suffolk, and Hereford, and at Eaton Socon, where however the mound is very small indeed. Tempsford is very peculiar; it is a small rectangular enclosure, about thirty feet by forty feet, with bank and ditch, close to the river Ouse, in Bedfordshire, and in one corner, upon the bank, is a small mound. As this is the only known earth-



work in the parish, it is probably the work which we learn from the Anglo-Saxon chronicle the Danes threw up and occupied in 921, though if this be the case, here as at Quatford, the earthwork could have been occupied by the leaders only, and the army must have bivouacked around it.

Besides the British theory, these mounds have been claimed as sepulchral. It is of course possible that such mounds as Arundel or Marlborough, may have been originally sepulchral, and therefore older than their defensive additions. To few if any has the crucial experiment of opening them been applied; but this is not a very probable explanation, and could certainly not be applied to those mounds as a class. Among many other reasons for taking this view it may be observed that sepulchral mounds are always artificial, whereas moated mounds are often natural, and still more frequently partly so. No one could suppose Hawarden, or Dunster, or Montacute, to be sepulchres, and yet these are as much moated mounds as Arundel and Tonbridge. Moreover sepulchral mounds are not often placed where a defensive work is obviously needed, and most rude nations are superstitious, and would object to dwell upon, or around a grave. The Tynewald in Man and Cwichelmsley Knowe in Berkshire are the only known sepulchral mounds which have been employed for other purposes, and those are judicial not residential. The barrows round York, though smaller than most burhs, are big enough to have carried residences, but do not appear to have been so employed. Moreover the common testimony of the country has generally given to the moated mounds some name, such as Castle hill or Burh, indicative of their military origin.

It has been observed that moated mounds are usually near the parish church. This might be expected, since the parish, like the manor, was usually a private estate, and the church was originally provided by the lord for the accommodation of his tenants and himself.

In claiming for these earthworks a northern, and in Britain an English origin, it would be too much to assert that in no other class of works is the mound employed, or by no other people than the Northmen, but it may be

safely laid down that in no other class of early fortification does the mound occur as the leading and typical feature. In Roman and Norman, and possibly in purely British works, the mound may be occasionally seen, like the cavalier in the works of Vauban, or as an outwork, as at Caerphilly, or it may be employed to cover an entrance, but such mounds are of irregular shape, mere detached and elevated parts of the general bank, and not likely to be confounded with the moated mound described above.

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### APPENDIX.

Vita Sti Johannis Epis : Morinorum. Ob : 1130.

[*Acta Sanctorum*], Januari 27.

Contigit ut in villa, cui Morehem vocabulum est, hospitii mansionem haberet [Johannes]. Erat autem secus atrium ecclesiae munitio quaedam quam castrum vel municipium dicere possumus valde excelsa, juxta morem terrae illius, a domino villae ipsius a multis retro annis extracta. Mos namque est ditioribus quibusque regionis hujus hominibus et nobilioribus, eo quod maxime inimiciis vacare soleant exerceendis et caedibus, ut ab hostibus eo modo maneant tutiores, et potentia majore vel vincant pares, vel premant inferiores, terrae aggerem quantae praevalent celsitudinis congerere eique fossam quam late patentem, multamque profunditatis altitudinem habentem circumfodere, et supremam ejusdem aggeris crepidinem, vallo ex lignis tabulatis firmissime confacto undique vice muri circummunire, turribusque, secundum quod possibile fuerit, per gyrum dispositis, intra vallum, domum vel, quae omnia despiciat, arcem in medio aedificare, ita videlicet ut porta introitus ipsius villae non nisi per pontem valeat adiri, qui ab exteriori labro fossae primum exoriens est in processus paulatim elevatus, columnisque binis et binis, vel etiam trinis alitrinsecus per congrua spatia suffixis innixus, eo ascendendi moderamine per transversum fossae consurgit, ut supremam aggeris superficiem coequando oram extremi marginis ejus, et in ea parte limen prima fronte contingat.

In hujus-modi ergo asylo Pontifex, cum suo frequenti et reverendo comitatu hospitali, quum ingentem populi turbam tam in ecclesia, quam in atrio ejus, manus impositione, et sacri Chrismatis unctione confirmasset, ut vestimenta mutaret, eo quod coemiterium humandis fidelium corporibus benedicere statuisset, ad hospitium regressus est, unde illo, ut propositum perficeret opus, iterum descendente, et circa medium pontis, triginta quinque vel eo amplius pedum, altitudinem habentis, certa de caussa subsistente, populiue non modica caterva ante et retro, dextra lævaque circumstipante, continuo antiqui machinante hostis invidia, pons ponderi cessit, et dissipatus corrui, magnamque illorum hominum turbam cum episcopo suo ad ima dejecit; fragore autem ingentis vestigio consecuto, transtris, trabibusque tabulatis, et ruderibus magno cum impetu pariter et strepitu concidentibus: nebula quaedam tenebrosa ita omnem illam ruinam repente circumfudit, ut quid ageretur vix quisquam discernere potuerit.

## TRANSLATION.

It chanced that in a town called Merchem, Bishop John had a guest-house. There was also close to the court of the church a strong place, which might be regarded as a castle or a municipium, very lofty, built after the fashion of the country by the lord of the town many years ago. For it was customary for the rich men and nobles of those parts, in order the more freely to wage their feuds and violence, and with the greater power to put down their equals and keep down their inferiors, to heap up a mound of earth as high as they were able, and to dig round it a broad open and deep ditch, and to girdle the whole upper edge of the mound, instead of a wall, with a barrier of wooden planks, stoutly fixed together with numerous turrets set round. Within was constructed a house or rather a citadel, commanding the whole, so that the gate of entry could only be approached by a bridge, which first springing from the counterscarp of the ditch, was gradually raised as it advanced, supported by piers two and two, or even three, trussed on either side over convenient spans, crossing the ditch with a managed ascent so as to reach the upper level of the mound, landing at its edge on a level at the threshold of the gate.

In this retreat the Bishop with his numerous and reverend retinue, after having confirmed a vast crowd of people both in the church and its court, by laying on of hands and the unction of the sacred chrism, returned to his lodging that he might change his vestments, because he had resolved to consecrate a cemetery for the burial of the bodies of believers. With that view, to effect the proposed work, he again descended, and about the middle of the bridge, having there a height of twenty-five or thirty feet, for some reason halting, the people pressing behind and before, and on either side, straightway, the malice of the old enemy so contriving, the bridge yielded to the weight and fell shattered, and the crowd with the bishop fell to the bottom with a great crash of joists, beams, and planks, with great force and noise, while a thick dust at once enveloped the ruin so that scarce any one could see what had happened.

The following is also curious :—

(Ludovicus Grossus, A.D. 1109). “Puteolum regreditur antiquam antecessorum suorum destitutam *Motam* castro jactu lapidis propinquam, occupat. Castrum fundibalariorum, balistariorum, saggitariorum, emissa pericula sustinentes ; etc.”)

NOTE —*Motam* : “Collis, seu tumulus, cui inaedificatum est castellum. Olim castella nunquam nisi in eminentissimis locis extruebantur. In Flandrie vero, humili ac planissima regione, congestis undequaque terram molibus fieri solabant motae quibus arces imponerentur.” [Suger, De vita etc. Rerum Gallic : Script. xii., 39.]

Orderic mentions that in 1119 Fulk of Anjou with 500 knights laid siege “ad motam Galterii” which the king had fortified.

## THE CHOIR STALLS OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. CANON WICKENDEN.

The carved wood-work, and hereof especially, the wood work of the choir, forms a notable feature of the "glorious church"<sup>1</sup> of St. Mary of Lincoln. Erected under the direction of a munificent member of the chapter, at a time of great political and artistic activity, they will bear comparison with the magnificent "silleria del coro" of some Spanish cathedral, and far surpass in effect, and in truthfulness of material, the wonderful 'intarsiaturas' of North Italy.

There are two rows of stalls, with returns: the one raised two steps from the floor, and the other four. The upper row contains 62 seats, (all having lofty canopies) 12 of them being 'returns' and facing east. The lower row contains but 46,<sup>2</sup> and eight of these face eastwards.

On the same level as these last, but with lower desks, provision is made for a large number of "children of the choir."

It must be premised that the throne is modern, having been erected by Essex<sup>3</sup> in 1778: the five canopies opposite to it were executed at the same time to cover a residence pew, in accordance with the notions of symmetry which then prevailed. The pulpit is also modern, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott and presented to the Cathedral in 1866.<sup>4</sup> All this work though modern is, in greater or less degree, good of its kind. Not so the box-like pews into which, until recently, the choir was divided—for which in many places, the old carving was barbarously hacked and

<sup>1</sup> "Cunctis ecclesiis gloriosius copiosiusque."—MS., Nov. Reg. iii., 8.

<sup>2</sup> Two additional seats have been made recently by sub-division.

<sup>3</sup> Cathedral Architect.

<sup>4</sup> A testimonial to the present Bishop of Nottingham.



destroyed, and by which some of the most characteristic work in the cathedral was entirely concealed. These have now been cleared away, and the new oak which has been introduced marks the extent of the damage they occasioned. This then premised, we note that the stall work is due to the Treasurer, John de Welburne, who is described (at the end of a volume relating to his Chantry and other foundations<sup>1</sup>) as "inceptor et consultor inceptionis facture stallorum novorum in ecclesia Cathedrali Lincolnensi," and, the description adds, "The said John died in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighty."

In order to receive this new furniture the vaulting shafts of the choir were cut away, and replaced by perpendicular corbels, while a piece of foliage was introduced into the capitals of the piers to conceal the alteration.

The open space from chorister's desk to chorister's desk is 18 feet; the width of choir from back of upper stalls on north to back of upper stalls on the south side 40½ft.<sup>2</sup> The floor of the upper range is 2ft. 6in. above that of the choir, and the canopies over the stalls rise 22 feet more.

The panels which front the chorister's desk are each of them divided into three: of which the two outermost divisions are filled with tracery, while the middle one holds a sitting figure, alternately an angel with musical instrument and a king: some of these kings wear the long scalloped sleeve and pointed shoes of Welburne's period, while others have conventional robes. It seems probable that they represent the succession of kings after the Conquest, since the numbers very nearly correspond.

Fourteen figures of saints originally occupied the panels fronting the vicars' stalls on each side of the choir at its

<sup>1</sup> Volume 12½ by 9½in. bound in vellum. Headed: 'Copie Cartarum contingentium cantarias fundatas in Ecclesia Cathedr. beate Marie Lincoln et apud Wellburne. .... Scriptura Anno Dni mill<sup>mo</sup> cec<sup>mo</sup> octogesimo secundo.' The shields of Bishop Bokingham and Dean Stretely confirm this date. MS. notes of Precentor Venables.

<sup>2</sup> This is rather more than the width of the Norman choir; the northern arcades of the two churches coincide, but the southern arcade was set a few inches back on the Early English rebuilding. The

foundations of the apse exist underneath the pavement, the circle being struck from a centre covered by the ancient stone inscribed "Canite hic," on which no doubt the great choir lettern used to stand, and on which the Litany desk is placed nowadays. The seats are 1ft. 4½in. from ground. Height to back of stall 3ft. 6in.; from base of shaft to capital 2ft. 7½in.; from cap to bottom of canopy 2ft.; canopy itself 2ft. 10in.; open tracery and niche 2ft. 10in.; canopy to niche 5ft. 9in.; hinder of the flying buttresses 5ft. 9in. Width of seat very irregular.



west end. Three on the Decani side still remain. The boys' seats front the panels further on, and leave only a small portion visible; but in this case the panels are sub-divided into three quatrefoils, and in the centre of each of these is a small subject. Twelve of the original panels remain. Their subjects are:—A wyvern sleeping under an oak, oak leaves on one side, a rose tree on the other; the pelican in piety, a wyvern on one side, a siren on the other; the pelican in piety, a wyvern attacking the nest, between conventional foliage; the wyvern biting its own tail, doves on each side of it. This looks very much like an allegory? Another beautifully suggestive subject is the pelican preening herself, preening her young, and then feeding it with her blood. This is on a miserere. Again, there is a "wild man" in oak tree gathering acorns, a face in oak leaves on each side; lions fighting the man; two men with clubs fighting the lion; man in oak; lion sleeping under oak; man with club on shoulder riding the lion. Again, the fox preaching<sup>1</sup> to birds and beasts; the fox riding the cock and chasing the hen on one side; and the fox first carrying the goose on his back, then riding it on the other. The fox carrying the goose by the neck; and the fox riding on a griffin, a lion on each side. These remind us of the satire, the "Fox of the Rhine," which was so popular in the Middle Ages. There is also, and it is the only one besides which has a humorous aspect, a series in which the monkey figures. Monkeys at play; riding through a forest with mace on shoulder and baldrick at side, one mounted on a unicorn the other on a lion; a monkey being hanged, and being carried to his funeral.<sup>2</sup>

But this has already brought us into the subjects

<sup>1</sup> A common subject in conventual churches, and supposed to ridicule the greed of the preaching friars (whom Wyclif at this very time was denouncing). At Bristol the satire is pointed by the text "*Testis est mihi Deus, quam cupiam vos omnes visceribus meis.*" (How my bowels long for you all.) It is hardly likely that Wyclif himself who (both at Oxford and at Lutterworth) belonged to this diocese was at so early a date as this, the object of satire here. A MS. list of books in the Cathedral library (made in obedience to an order of Chapter, dated

Dec. 1364) has the entry: *Item in margine libri theologie cum diversis tractatibus Augustini et aliorum. . . . Wyelyff in fine ejusdem ejus 2<sup>m</sup> fo. incipit. . . .* As if a writing of his were considered matter of value. And he was at this time protected by John of Gaunt, the great patron of the Church of Lincoln.

<sup>2</sup> This looks like an allusion to some contemporary historical incident: the death of the Earl of Athole or of the Despençers. The same bearded ape appears in several subjects.

represented on the miserere seats (with which both upper and lower stalls are furnished), and those on their elbows, and the finials of their desks.

Now in the upper stalls there are several sacred subjects, the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection, appearance of our Blessed Lord to the Magdalene, the Assumption, and the Coronation of the Virgin. All these appear in misereres, while the pelican, pope, bishop, seraphs, and angels appear on elbows. One subject representing a castle gate and two men piling and blowing a fire, (in which a third figure now destroyed is standing) has been explained most happily by Mr. St. John Hope as "S. John at the Latin gate"; it was doubtless introduced as representing the patron saint of John de Welburne, as well as of the Bishop and the Dean, for all of them had the same Christian name, and John of Gaunt likewise.

A very large number of the carvings however represent foliage of different types, and monstrous animals mostly in combat with each other or with men. It is like reading chapter after chapter of the 'Mort d'Arthur,' to go through these carvings in order; there are suggestions of political allusions and illustrations of manners, beside the veins of satire and religion which have been spoken of, and all wrapped up in a story of adventure and romance, in which woodland and castle, and savage life and civilised, and creatures real and fantastical follow without apparent order or succession. But it seems to me that there was a serious purpose in it all, which preserves it from any savour of irreverence. And though we may not always be able to read the meaning of the carver in a particular incident, we may at least regard the entire work as a faithful picture of the wonders and the dangers and complexities of life.

We may remember that these combinations of man, animal and bird, which to us are monstrous deformities, were supposed to represent real creatures; they may have had a definite symbolical meaning besides, as the emblems of particular qualities or persons, but they were intended for actual beings. Natural History in England in 1362 said nothing else; there was no comparative anatomy to correct it. The grave writings of early travellers

show this. The Hereford map, itself the production of a<sup>1</sup> Prebendary of Lincoln, and a work of extraordinary learning for its time (less than a century before Welburne), shows this ; many others show it ; the very language of our English Bible shows it ; “ dragon,” “ cockatrice,” and “ satyr ” were words unhesitatingly used by our translators (so late as 1611 !) without suspicion of unreality.

Perhaps, too, the visions of Daniel and S. John (which are represented round the Chapter House at Westminster, not to speak of more distant instances), may have suggested some of these strange forms. And what are mere quaint conceits to us, may have been the fruit of devout, though mistaken study of the Bible.

In attempting to find out the purpose of the mediæval artist, it seems necessary first of all to take down *all the subjects* in case that their position or their number may provide a clue ; and then to make sure of our *nomenclature*, to call the same creature by the same name always, in case that the connection between them be one of purpose and independent of locality. We find in the religious scenes that the three subjects represented on a “ Miserere ” are closely connected with each other, though not forming of necessity a single subject. We may presume, therefore, that there is a designed connection in the non-religious scenes. We find that a subject begun in one stall is continued in a second, or a third, and this without distinction of upper or lower rank, of north or south side, of finial, or miserere, or elbow. And also we find, that when there is apparently a series, the various parts of it are never made contiguous.<sup>2</sup>

There are men, both savage and armed, fighting with wild animals ; men taming animals ;<sup>3</sup> men beating down acorns and hogs feeding ;<sup>4</sup> a lion preying on a hog in a beech wood, an owl looking on ;<sup>5</sup> and the lion asleep in the beech wood after his meal.<sup>6</sup> There are lions alone<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ricardus de Bello Preb. of Lafford, Treasurer.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be design in appropriating the subject of the Resurrection to the Miserere of the Dean's stall (the Dean always preaching on Easter Day), and an angel bearing a crown to that of his vicar. The Precentor's miserere is the Christian knight among the deadly sins, his vicar's the virtue of Holy Baptism. The Chancellor's is the Christian

knight fighting a griffin ; his vicar's is destroyed. The Treasurer's is the Ascension of our Lord ; that of his vicar also destroyed. No obvious connection elsewhere exists.

<sup>3</sup> Miserere, Leighton Eccl. : Finial, Dean.

<sup>4</sup> Mis. Arch. Hunts.

<sup>5</sup> Fin. Bedf. manor.

<sup>6</sup> Mis. of Vicar of Arch. of Bedf.

<sup>7</sup> Mis. S. Botolph, &c.

and wyverns alone ;<sup>1</sup> a lion fighting with a wyvern ;<sup>2</sup> lion in a pine wood overcoming the wyvern ;<sup>3</sup> lion in an oak tree, the wyvern dead at its foot.<sup>4</sup> We find ploughing, harrowing and sowing represented in one miserere,<sup>5</sup> the ploughman having a yoke of oxen and horses for leaders.

Bird tending is represented in another ;<sup>6</sup> a crane in a field eating fruit out of a sack ; boy astride upon the young crane and attacked by the parent birds ; boy in field with a sling, the crane dead. There are knights on horseback, the horse falling, dragons near<sup>7</sup> : or the horse held by a lady, the knight fallen, his squire on one side in the wood, his helmet and crest upon the other<sup>8</sup> ; or the horse safe within the castle gate, the warders with their pointed helms and camails of mail at their post.<sup>9</sup> There are heads of barbarian kings and chiefs<sup>1</sup> : and there is a king seated cross legged, sceptre in hand, his throne slung on the necks of two griffins,<sup>2</sup> the boldly carved fleurs-de-lys upon each side of him make one think of King John of France, taken captive by the Black Prince and brought to England in 1356.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the two griffins is not very plain ; elsewhere we find the griffin alone, among birds in foliage,<sup>4</sup> in combat with a wild man, wild men seated on each side,<sup>5</sup> and in combat with a man in armour.<sup>6</sup>

Another miserere represents a lady forcing down the horn of a unicorn, a man somewhat damaged in the background.<sup>7</sup> I do not know whether the unicorn occurs so early as this among the heraldic insignia of Scotland (it certainly did soon after, and does so to the present day,) but the subject very aptly represents the abasement of David Bruce of Scotland captured by Queen Philippa at Neville's Cross, in 1346. A goat footed harper on one

<sup>1</sup> Mis. Arch. of Nottm. and Vic. of Sub-Dean, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Mis. Corringham.

<sup>3</sup> Mis. Gretton.

<sup>4</sup> Mis. Brampton.

<sup>5</sup> Mis. Biggleswade.

<sup>6</sup> Mis. Welton Beckhall.

<sup>7</sup> Mis. Subdean (sometimes described as "Balaam" but Quere.) The only subjects besides which could be taken from the Old Testament are Mis. of Vic. of Langford Ecclesia "Samson and Lion," and Mis. Welton Westhall "Judith and Holofernes" All three seem doubtful.

<sup>8</sup> Mis. Welton Brinkhall.

<sup>9</sup> Mis. Milton Manor.

<sup>1</sup> Mis. Centum Solidorum, and St. Mary Crackpole.

<sup>2</sup> Mis. Sutton.

<sup>3</sup> Or, else perhaps Edward as King of France, the crossed legs being symbols of kingly rule.

<sup>4</sup> Mis. Nassington.

<sup>5</sup> Mis. Stoke.

<sup>6</sup> Mis. Chancellor.

<sup>7</sup> Mis. Liddington. The unicorn was always entrapped by a maiden, according to the legend. Isidore, quoted by Bevan and Phillott, *Mediæval Geography*, 1874.



side, and a man-lion with a grotesque shield (a symbol which occurs in connection with wyverns on another seat) on the other: these might indicate Welsh or Highland foes.

A knight and lady with dog at their feet support a human head,<sup>1</sup> a page with sword under arm on one side, a lady in wimple carrying a pet dog on the other. It seems reasonable to interpret this of the devotion paid by the court to the head of our own S. Hugh.

At the risk of wearying I will mention the subject so well-known in the Catacombs and earliest Christian art, of peacocks feeding on fruit, and birds drinking at a fountain.<sup>2</sup> And another scarcely less obvious in its meaning, of children rising out of whelk shells<sup>3</sup> armed with tridents, a dragon attacking one of them, and the child fearless thrusting his trident into the dragon's mouth. The whelk shell occurs once again,<sup>4</sup> and then a vine is springing from it; surely a symbol of the two sacraments! The knight fully armed, surrounded by seven dragons, cannot be any other than the Christian soldier and the deadly sins.<sup>5</sup>

The words of William Caxton's prologue to "King Arthur," suit well enough to the subject of these carvings. "For to pass the time," he says, "this book shall be pleasant to read in. But for to give faith and belief that all is true that is contained in it, ye be at your own liberty. But all is written for our doctrine, and for to beware that we fall not to vice, nor sin; but to exercise and follow virtue, by the which we may come and attain unto good fame and renown in this life, and after this short and transitory life, to come unto everlasting bliss in Heaven. The which He grant us, that reigneth in Heaven, the blessed Trinity. Amen. . . . In this present volume may be seen chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin!"

But this is sufficient on the subjects of the carvings. The canopies are hexagonal, supported on shafts, which have clustered niches above their proper capitals; and it

<sup>1</sup> Mis. Clifton.

<sup>2</sup> Mis. Stow Longa.

<sup>3</sup> Mis. of Vic. of Precentor. Child rising from a whelk shell, found also on

Font at S. Peter's, Sandwich, as I am told.

<sup>4</sup> Mis. of Vic. of St. Mary, Crackpole.

<sup>5</sup> Mis. Precentor.



is noteworthy that the stall at the extreme east on both sides of the choir (the stalls that were appropriated to the Chancellor and Treasurer respectively) are both distinguished from all others, by winged seraphs in their capitals. The canopies have ogee gables bowing forwards in front of their true gables with various small heads and faces on the hip-knobs. A second story of the canopy contains a niche, square in plan, but set lozenge wise, covered with a lofty pinnacle, and flanked by open screen work with high flying-buttresses. The niches are all emptied of the statues which they once contained, to the great damage of the general effect; the various light and shadow, and the play of line, and the added mass, were essential features in the great design. It is only by supplying these figures in imagination that we see the exceeding beauty of the proportions of the stalls—the balance of simplicity and richness, of regularity and variety—the subordination and yet fulness of detail which answer to what we call “breadth” in painting.

All this wood work was grey with age,<sup>1</sup> looking like decayed stone, until on the enlargement of the organ in 1851, it was repaired and oiled and consequently darkened. The flying buttresses were crocketed originally,<sup>2</sup> but they have been replaced by plainer work, and the oak by poorer wood, in many places.

After so much upon the architectural aspect of the choir stalls it may be well to add a little upon their uses and appropriation.

In the “Black Book” or “Consuetudinary” of the Cathedral (of which several copies are preserved in the Muniment Room) the following notice occurs:—“It is an ancient usage of the church of Lincoln to say one mass, and the whole psalter daily, on behalf of the living and deceased benefactors of the church.” The psalter was for this purpose divided into portions, and for the daily repetition of one of them the Bishop and each member of the Chapter became responsible. Tablets still hang at the back of most of the stalls in the choir, containing the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Logsdail, the Verger, remembers it.

<sup>2</sup> See those in the neighbourhood of

the Chancellor's stall, and one on the Cantor's side.

name of a prebend, and the title of the psalms assigned to it; and on the installation of each prebendary the Dean, or his representative, still calls the attention of the newly installed to the titles of the psalms hanging over his head, and reminds him of his obligation to repeat them "daily if nothing hinders." The recital of the psalter therefore still survives, at least in theory, though the daily commemoration of benefactors in the Holy Communion is disused, as well as the short office<sup>1</sup> connected with it, which is also given in the Black Book. We have the means of tracing this observance for more than 650 years, and since it was considered an ancient custom, and requiring readjustment in the time of Bishop Hugh the saint, (that is in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion) it is probable that it dates from the transfer of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln by Remigius, and the endowment and building of the first cathedral of St. Mary, soon after the Norman Conquest.

In a blank leaf of a MS. Vulgate preserved in the Chapter library is a list of 43 persons headed by the Bishop and the Dean; the remainder being christian proper names, as "Gaufridus, Robertus, . . . Sampson," to each of which one or more psalms is attached, the whole 150 Psalms being pretty equally divided between them. This list evidently relates to our "ancient usage." The style of writing fixes it as before 1200; the occurrence in it of the uncommon name of Jordan, which was that of the Treasurer from 1190—1205, seems to confirm this.<sup>2</sup> The agreement between many of the names and those given by Henry of Huntingdon<sup>3</sup> as belonging to members of the original chapter, "men whom he had known," suggests

<sup>1</sup> The office is as follows :—

Kyrie eleison; Christe eleison; Kyrie Eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos inducas.

Salvos fac servos et ancillas tuas.

Anime famulorum famularumque tuarum requiescant in pace.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Dominus Vobiscum. Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum, omniumque misereris quos tuos fide et opere futuros esse prenoscis, te supplices exoramus; ut pro quibus effundere preces

decrevimus quosque vel præsens seculum adhuc in carne retinet vel futurum jam exutos corpore suscepit, pietatis tue clemencia omnium delictorum suorum veniam et gaudia consequi mereantur eterna per Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum. Dominus Vobiscum. Benedicamus Domino.

<sup>2</sup> The name Jordan is found in several title deeds of the period in the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii, 694.

an even earlier date. While the inconvenient method of denominating the prebendaries by their christian names only (there being in the list no fewer than eight "Williams") looks as if it were the product of the first days of the institution. The list too is continuous without distinction of Decani and Cantoris side: the portions of the Psalter follow in regular sequence, without the dislocation and disturbance which are observable later on; and lastly the number of portions as compared with the 62 stalls now existing, indicates that it is the arrangement which obtained in the Norman choir which began to be removed for the building of the present one about 1190. It is somewhat of a digression, but it will be pardoned, to read part of Henry of Huntingdon's account. It is pleasant to see again these stalls filled with their first occupants, and to think of the long lines of their successors who have preserved a continuous unbroken history. I will take the Bishop of Truro's<sup>1</sup> beautiful translation:

"The founder *Remigius* I never saw, but of the venerable clergy to whom first he gave places in his church, I have seen every one. *Ralph*, the first dean, a venerable priest. *Reyner*, first treasurer, full of religion: had prepared a tomb against the day of his death and oft sate by it singing of Psalms, and praying long whiles, to use himself to his eternal home. *Hugh*, the chancellor, worthy of all memory, the mainstay, and as it were the foundation of the church. *Osbert*, archdeacon of Bedford, afterwards chancellor, a man wholly sweet and loveable. *William*, a young canon of great genius. *Albin*, (my own tutor). *Albin's brothers*, most honourable men, my dearest friends, men of profoundest science, brightest purity, utter innocence, yet by God's inscrutable judgement they were smitten with leprosy,—but 'death hath made them clean.' *Walter*, prince of orators. *Eislebert*, elegant in prose, in verse, in dress. With so many other most honoured names I may not tax your patience. Amabant quæ amamus; optabant quæ optamus; sperabant quæ speramus."

We are justified then in thinking that we possess in that old list the very earliest form of the yet existing usage.

<sup>1</sup> Cathedral, p. 12.

The notice in the Black Book goes on to say that the appropriation of the Psalms to the individual Canons had been forgotten ; that each Canon had sworn to observe the reasonable customs of the Church, and therefore incurred peril from omitting to recite them ; and that therefore "R. the Dean," and select members of the Chapter associated with him, had provided, the whole Chapter had instituted, and the Lord Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, being present, had confirmed a list which follows, as the order in which Bishop, Dean, and Canons were from henceforth to say their Psalms. The Dean, whose initial alone is given, was doubtless Roger de Rolveston, whose rule lasted from the time of S. Hugh, through that of his successor and far on into that of Bishop Hugh de Welles. We may note also, that, the express mention of him notwithstanding, there are no Psalms in the list which follows, assigned to him for recitation, nor to the four dignitaries, those which belonged to him in the first list being otherwise appropriated.

The reason of this, however, is not far to seek, since in early days an endowment was provided for each of the great functionaries of the Cathedral by the concurrent holding of some prebend together with his office. Aylesbury for one hundred and fifty years was held by the Dean, who was thus responsible for the Aylesbury psalms; Welton Westhall by the sub-Dean, who had not even a stall distinct from the prebend, and of course repeated the Welton psalms. There were also seven, if not eight, archdeaconries from the first in this enormous diocese, which extended from the Humber to the Thames. Seats in the choir were given them, but unless they held prebends they seem to have been outside the cathedral body,<sup>1</sup> and unaffected by its special institution. Now the endowments of the stalls are some of them as old as the time of Remigius. So Aylesbury, Caistor, Lafford, S. Martin, Buckingham, and Welton "*cum appendiciis suis*" are mentioned in the Conqueror's grant. Others as Asgarby and Biggleswade date from Henry I ;

<sup>1</sup> This was the general rule, except in "Cathedral," p. 57n.  
Italian Chapters. Bishop of Truro,



Brampton and Langford from Henry II; Marston from Richard I; and *Decem librarum* seems to represent a payment originally made to the crown from the Wapentake of Stow, which was remitted in 1215 by King John, and then appropriated by the Dean and Chapter to the endowment of a stall. Yet, though the still existing names of the stalls at Lincoln represent endowments of this great antiquity, it does not appear that they were appropriated each to each much before the year 1200, and the great majority of them not till seventy years later. Before that time witnesses to deeds are mentioned simply as "canons," while after that time, a specific designation is always given, so that continuous lists can be constructed, as Le Neve and Browne Willis have, of the successive occupants of every stall.<sup>1</sup>

It has been said, that there are several copies of the Black Book extant. MSS. on vellum of different dates, all of them earlier, apparently, than 1383,<sup>2</sup> but a modern transcript in the Muniment room represents what seems an earlier text than any one of them, for it gives the titles of fifty six prebends, with their Psalms attached, consecutive in order, and complete,—the Bishop repeating the three first Psalms, and the last prebendary in the list the Litany, as he is presumed to do at the present day. In all these ancient lists, as in the choir-tablets, the Psalms are designated by their opening words in Latin, according to the division adopted in the Vulgate, so that a little care is necessary in identifying the various portions: Ps. x belongs to Corringham, and Ps. cxv to Nassington, though neither of their titles are given in the tablets, because they formed part of the psalms whose titles *are* given, at the time when those Psalms were assigned.

<sup>1</sup> One prebend, that of Kilsby, is of yet more recent creation, having been formed by the Bishop and annexed to the Precentory, (as that of Sutton-in-the-Marsh was to the Chancellorship) with consent of the Dean and Chapter, on May 24, 1383. No stalls could be assigned to them, nor were they needed; and all the *Psalms* had been given away long before, so that Kilsby and Sutton-in-the-Marsh never had any. It is not easy to conjecture why the Prebendary of Decem

Lib. should also have been excepted from the Psalm singers; if he could be connected with the Treasurer, the thing would be simpler, but no trace of a connection has been found.

<sup>2</sup> This appears from their all omitting Kilsby and Sutton-in-the-Marsh in their list of prebends. So also do three other ancient lists. One copy of the Black Book (x) inserts them in a later hand.



Now the first thing that strikes us on comparing these many lists is, that the great majority of prebends have retained the Psalms that were originally given to them, and the holders of many occupy the same stalls as they did from the first: the dislocations which have been alluded to being confined very much to the stalls adjacent to the throne on the Decani side, and to those at the western end on the Cantoris side. What was the rule which guided their first appropriation it is perhaps impossible to discover; the stalls were not assigned alphabetically, nor according to the money value of the prebends, nor their date of foundation, nor according to the local contiguity of their farms. May it not have been according to the age or standing of the first occupants, of *William* and *Albin*, of *Walter* and *Gislebert*, whom Henry of Huntingdon speaks of? or the *Williams* and *Odos* and *Roberts* whose names appear in the Library Vulgate?

On the south side of the choir the Dean's stall occupies the western, as the Bishop's throne does the eastern end, the Chancellor sitting next the throne. On the north side of the choir the Precentor's stall occupies the western and the Treasurer's used to occupy the eastern end, corresponding to the Chancellor's on the other side. The Archdeacon of Oxford was placed next to the Chancellor; of Northampton next to the Dean; of Lincoln next to the Precentor; of Huntingdon next to the Treasurer. Other archdeacons sat next to the Archdeacon of Lincoln. Now six of these archdeaconries have ceased to belong to Lincoln in consequence of the formation of the new sees of Peterborough and Oxford in 1542, and other alterations in the Diocese effected in the year 1837. This naturally has been an element of disturbance in the choir, but the legislation of Henry VIII. did still more to upset the old arrangement, by suppressing five prebends; Leighton Manor and Sutton-cum-Bucks, which had stalls on the Dean's side, and Croperdy, Banbury, and Thame with stalls on the Precentor's side. It would be tedious to narrate the changes of order which these two causes have occasioned, and the way in which the vacancies have been supplied. But thirteen Psalms are

unappropriated now ; the perfect Psalter now is never said, a matter for immense regret.

“The whole round table is dissolved.  
The sequel of to-day unsolders all  
The goodliest fellowships . . .  
Whereof this world holds record !”

Can they be soldered up again ? Who knows ?

## APPENDIX I.

Original sub-division of the Psalter as found in MS. Vulgate in the Chapter Library.

Episcopus i-iv.

Decanus	v-viii	Elías	lxxxi-lxxxiv
Gaufridus	ix-xiii	Willielmus	lxxxv-lxxxviii
Robertus	xiv-xvii	Willielmus	lxxxix
Willielmus	xviii-xix	Osbertus	xc-xcii
Ricardus	xx-xxiii	Hugo	xciii-xcvii
Sampson	xxiv-xxvii	Ab. . . . .	xcviii-cii
Walter	xxviii-xxxii	Jordan	ciij-civ
Radulf	xxxiii-xxxv	Odo	cv
Gaufridus	xxxvi-xxxviii	Tomasin	cvi
David	xxxix-xliii	Alexander	cvii
Odo	xliv-xlviii	Umfridus	cviii, cix
Philip	xliz-li	Ranulfus	cx-cxv
Gislebert	lii-lvi	Gislebert	cxvi-cxix, 32
R. . . . .	lvii-lx	Rob. de Colin	cxix, 33-80
Walter	lxi-lxv	R. . . . .	cxix, 81-128
Wido	lxvi-lxviii	Radulf	cxix, 129-176
Willielmus	lxix-lxx	Willielmus	cxx-cxxvi
Godefridus	lxxi.lxxiii	Willielmus	cxxvii-cxxxii
Walter	lxxiv-lxxvii	Maurice	cxxxiii-cxxxviii
Henricus	lxxviii	Ranulf	cxxxix-cxliii
Willielmus	lxxix-lxxx	Willielmus	cxliv-cl

## APPENDIX II.

Complete (and presumably earliest) list of Stalls and Psalms taken from Transcript of the Black Book in the Muniment Room compared with the order given on the Choir Tablets (October, 1879).

## ORDER OF STALLS, DECANI SIDE.

	<i>Liber Niger.</i>		<i>Present Tablets.</i>
Bishop	i-iii	Bishop	
		Chancellor	
Aylesbury	iv, v	Aylesbury	ii, iii
Milton Eccl.	vi, vii	Heydour	iv, v
Corringham	viii-x	Corringham	viii, ix
Heydown	xi-xiv	Milton Eccl.	vi, vii
Asgarby	xv-xvii	Asgarby	xv-xvii
Farrendon	xviii	Farrendon	xviii
Thorngate	xix-xxi	Thorngate	xix-xxi
Leighton M.	xxii, xxiii	Leighton Bos.	xxiv-xxvi
Leighton Bos.	xxiv-xxvi	S. Botolph	xxvii, xxviii
S. Botolph	xxvii, xxviii	All Saints	xxix, xxx
All Saints	xxix, xxx	Leighton Ecc.	xxxi, xxxii
Leighton Eccl.	xxxi, xxxii	S. Martins	xxxiii, xxxiv
S. Martin	xxxiii, xxxiv	Thurlby	xxxv, xxxvi
Thurlby	xxxv, xxxvi	Stow longa	xxxvii, xxxviii
Stow longa	xxxvii, xxxviii	Ketton	xxxix, xl
Ketton	xxxix, xl	Bedford Mi.	xli, xlii
Bedford Mi.	xli, xlii	Welton Brinkh.	xliii, xliv
Welton Banaster	xliiii, xlv	Langford Eccl.	xlv-xlviii
Langford	xlv-xlviii	Brampton	xlix, l
Brampton	xlix, l	Welton Westh.	li, lii
Welton Subd.	li, lii	Stoke	liii-lv
Stoke	liii, lv	Leicester	lvi-lviii
Leicester	lvi-lviii	Centum Sol.	lix-lxi
Centum Sol.	lix-lxi	Sutton	lxii-lxiv
Sutton	lxii-lxv	Clifton	lxvi-lxviii
Clifton	lxvi-lxviii	Liddington	lxix, lxx
Liddington	lxix, lxx	Norton Ep.	lxxi, lxxii
Norton Ep.	lxxi, lxxii	Archd. of Stowe	
Decem lib.		Subdean	
		Dean	

## ORDER OF STALLS, CANTORIS SIDE.

*Liber Niger.*

Carlton	Litany
Marston	cxlvii-el
Stow	cxliv-cxlv
Croperdy	cxl-cxliii
Sexag. Sol	cxxxvii-cxxxix
Langford	cxxxii-cxxxvi
Scamblesby	cxix-cxxxi
Caistor	cxix, 129-cxxi
Lafford	cxix, 81-128
Dunholm	cxix, 17-80
Biggleswade	cxvi-cxix, 16
Nassington	cx-cxiv
Gretton	cxviii, cix
Empingham	cxvii
Welton Dormall	cxvi
Lowth	civ, cv
Buckden	c-ciii
South Searle	xcvi-xcix
S. Mary Crackp.	xciii-xcv
Sancta Crux	xc-xcii
Welton Heming.	lxxxix
„ Askeby	lxxxv-lxxxviii
Banbury	lxxxi-lxxxiv
Bedford	lxxix-lxxx
Kelsey	lxxviii
Thame	lxxv-lxxvii
Milton	Manor lxxiii, lxxiv

*Present Tablets.*

Carlton	Litany
Marston	cxlvii-el
Stow	cxliv-cxlv
Sexag. sol.	cxxxvii-cxxxix
Langford M.	cxxxii-cxxxvi
Scamblesby	cxix-cxxxi
Caistor	cxix, 129-cxxi
Lafford	cxix, 80-129
Dunholm	cxix, 16-80
Biggleswade	cxvi-cxix, 16
Nassington	cx-cxiv
Gretton	cxviii, cix
Empingham	cxvii
Welton Riv.	cxvi
Lowth	civ, cv
Buckden	c-ciii
South Searle	xcvi-xcix
S. Mary Crack.	xciii, xciv
Sancta Crux	xc-xcii
Welton Beck.	lxxxix
„ Paynsh.	lxxxv-lxxxvii
Bedford Ma.	lxxix, lxxx
Kelsey	lxxviii
Milton Man.	lxxiii, lxxiv
Decem lib.	lxxxi-lxxxiv
Kilsby	
Arch. of Hunts	
„ Bedford	
„ Nottingham	
„ Lincoln	
Precentor	

SUBJECTS CARVED ON THE CHOIR STALLS OF THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY OF LINCOLN.

(Cantoris Side.)

<i>Stall</i> (as now appropriate)	<i>Miserere (to Canon's Stalls).</i>		<i>Elbow.</i>	<i>Finial.</i>	<i>Miserere (to Vicars' Stalls).</i>	<i>Elbow.</i>	<i>Finial.</i>	<i>Buttress</i> (Chorister's seats).	<i>Finial.</i>
Carlton	Angel w. censer	Ascension, four app.	Angel w. censer	foliage	dragons and alerion	—	—		
Marston	S. Gabriel	P.V.M. supported by Angels (Assumption)	S. Mary	head of bishop birds roosting	—	—	—		
Stow	foliage	foliage	foliage	winged lions, birds	—	—	—		
Sexag. Sol.	leaves	dragon	leaves	foliage	—	—	—		
Langford m.	rose	two roses	rose	head w. circlet	—	—	—		
Scamblesby	oak leaves	head with oak foliage	oak leaves	winged lion	—	—	—		
Causton	trefoil leaves	foliage	trefoil leaves	foliage	—	—	—		
Lafford	lion-headed monster	man-faced bull w. oak leaves	man-headed monster with cloven feet	lion	—	—	—		
Dunholm	oak leaf	lion's head w. oak foliage	oak leaf	swan	—	—	—		
Biggleswade	harrowing	two men ploughing	sowing	foliage	—	—	—		
Nassington	oak foliage and bird	griffin	oak foliage and bird	head w. wreath	—	—	—		
Gretton	wyvern sej.	lion in pine wood	lion sejant	dragon	oak foliage : swans	—	—	lion sejant	crouching lions ?
Empingham	oak fol.	conquering wyvern oak foliage	oak fol.	roses	sirens	—	—	modern	parsley fol.





## SUBJECTS CARVED ON THE CHOIR STALLS OF THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY OF LINCOLN.

(Decani Side.)

<i>Finials.</i>	<i>Buttresses (Chorister's seats).</i>	<i>Finials.</i>	<i>Elaboras.</i>	<i>Miserere (to Vicar's Stalls)</i>	<i>Finials.</i>	<i>Elaboras.</i>	<i>Miserere (to Canon's Stall).</i>	<i>Stall (as now ap- propriated).</i>
			rose		wyverns fighting	wyvern	griffin	Chancellor
					wild men fighting w. dragon & 3 wyverns birds feeding on vine	foliage (oak maple) bird with fol. ( <i>destroyed</i> )	man in armour fighting w. griffin wyvern man-lion w. lance, pennon, and shield of grotesque head lion head wild man fighting lion	griffin wyvern Aylesbury Heydour
			tudor leaf			head w. vine leaves foliage	fight of lion and wyvern	Corringham
						foliage	two leaves	Milton Ecc.
						lion head and quarters	fig. with book	Asgarby
						lion-headed wyvern	thorn fol. in square cockatrice	Farrendon
						lion sejant	Bears counter rampant	Thorngate
						woman's head foliage	siren ? bird body	Leighton Bos.
			foliage			? dragon ( <i>destroyed</i> )	lions counter- rampant oak foliage	S. Botolph
			rose			(thorn)	oak fol.	All Saints
			sleeping wyvern			thorn fol.	thorn fol. chained lion	Leighton Ecc.
human head	lion	crouching lions and foliage			foliage (tudor) wyverns and lions' head	wild man riding on chained lion	rose	S. Martin's
foliage	lion <i>mod.</i>	crouching dra- gons, foliag				three roses	rose	

*Under restoration.*



## DUNSTER AND ITS LORDS.

By H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

### APPENDIX F.

#### THE ARMS AND SEALS OF THE LUTTRELL FAMILY.

The heraldry of the Luttrell family presents several points of interest, and the series of seals of the Somersetshire branch preserved among the muniments at Dunster Castle is remarkably perfect.

Nothing is known as to the arms that Geoffrey Luttrell, the original founder of the family, may have borne. His son, Sir Andrew Luttrell, who died in 1265, granted East Quantockshead to his second son Alexander, and ratified the deed with a seal bearing three bars on a pointed shield, and the inscription :—SIGILL ANDRE LUTEREL.<sup>1</sup> There are no means of ascertaining what the tinctures of the shield may have been. The woodcut (No. 8) is copied from a finer impression of the same seal in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup>

The bearing of the three bars must have been soon abandoned, for a deed of the year 1261, by which "Geoffrey Luterel, son of Sir Andrew Luterel," granted common of pasture at Hoton Pagnell to the Prior and Brethren of St. John of Jerusalem in England, is attested by a green seal (No. 9) bearing the device of six martlets, and the inscription—SIGILL GALFRIDI LUTEREL.<sup>3</sup> Another deed, by which the same Geoffrey conveyed the manor of East Quantockshead to his younger brother Alexander, is attested by a white seal (No. 10) which shows four martlets on a shield divided quarterly.<sup>4</sup> Here, again, there is no trace of the tinctures, and the legend round the seal has unfortunately disappeared. The date of the deed cannot be later than 1266.

The grandson of Geoffery Luttrell, of the same name, bore for his arms :—*Azure* a bend between six martlets *argent*.<sup>5</sup> This coat was certainly borne by his descendants the Luttrells of Imham, co. Lincoln, though some modern books erroneously assign to them the arms of the Luttrells of Somersetshire.<sup>6</sup> It is, or was, to be seen in the church of Hawton, co. Nottingham,<sup>7</sup> and it occurs several times in the Luttrell Psalter. In

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box  
xxii, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Additional Charter 21268.

<sup>3</sup> Topham Charter 16.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box  
xxii, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Guillim's Roll of Arms of the time of

Edward I., printed in "The Genealogist,"  
vol. i, p. 325.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolas's "Roll of Arms of the reign  
of Edward II.," and "Roll of Arms of  
the reign of Edward III."

<sup>7</sup> Thoroton's "History of Nottingham-  
shire," vol. i, p. 357.

# SEALS.



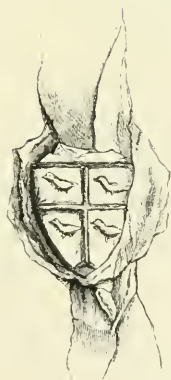
8.

Sir Andrew Luttrell.  
d. 1265.



9.

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell.  
d. 1269 or 1270.



10.

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell.  
d. 1269 or 1270.



# SEALS.



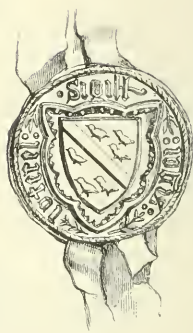
11.

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell.  
d. 1419.



12.

Sir Alexander  
Luttrell.  
fl. 1318-1354.



13.

Sir John Luttrell,  
K.B.  
d. 1403.



14.

Lady Elizabeth Luttrell.  
d. 1395.

that beautiful manuscript the Lady Agnes Luttrell is represented as attired in a dress on which her husband's arms are impaled with those of Sutton—*Or* a lion rampant *vert*. Her daughter-in-law the Lady Beatrix Luttrell appears in the same illumination in a dress on which the arms of Sir Andrew Luttrell are impaled with *Azure* a bend *or*, a label *argent*, for Scrope of Masham.<sup>1</sup> The arms of another Sir Andrew are duly blazoned in a roll of the time of Richard II, as *Azure* a bend between six martlets *argent*.<sup>2</sup> His son, Sir Geoffrey, the last of the Luttrells of Irnham had a beautiful seal (No. 11) on which his arms are shown under a richly mantled helmet crowned with an orle and surmounted by his crest, a fish's tail. The trees on either side of the helmet appear to have been introduced merely as ornaments. The inscription runs :—**Sigillum Galfridi Luttrell.**<sup>3</sup>

Like their cousins in Lincolnshire the Luttrells of East Quantockshead bore for arms a bend between six martlets, but with this important difference that the field was blazoned *or* instead of *azure*, and the charges on it *sable* instead of *argent*. Thus, in a Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward II, we read :—

*"Sire Andreu Loterel, de or, a une bende e rj merelos de sable.*

*Sire Geffrey Loterel, de azure, a une bende e rj merelos de argent."*<sup>4</sup>

Sir Andrew Luttrell of East Quantockshead is there placed among the knights of the county of Lincoln, because his estates, though in Somersetshire, were held under his cousin Sir Geoffrey, as part of the Barony of Irnham.

Sir Alexander Luttrell, the son and successor of this Sir Andrew, used a small seal (No. 12) showing his coat of arms within a decorated quatrefoil. The inscription runs :—**SIGILLU ALEXANDRI LOTERELL.**<sup>5</sup>

Sir John Luttrell, K.B., in whom the main line of the Luttrells of East Quantockshead became extinct in 1403, used a small seal (No. 13) bearing his arms and the legend—**Sigill Johis Lotrel.**<sup>6</sup>

The Luttrells of Chilton, co. Devon, a cadet branch of the Luttrells of East Quantockshead, differenced their shield by the addition of a bordure engrailed *sable*. The seal of the Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, the purchaser of Dunster (No. 14), shows the Luttrell arms within this bordure, impaled with those of Courtenay. It should be remarked that the shield is mounted on a double rose. The inscription round this beautiful seal is :—**Sigillum Elizabeth Lutrel.**<sup>7</sup> The arms of Lady Elizabeth Luttrell are, or were, to be seen at Canterbury, her brother having been Archbishop of that see.<sup>8</sup>

In the month of September, 1403, six standards bearing the arms of Sir Hugh Luttrell were delivered to some ships that were to convey provisions to him in Wales from the port of Minehead.<sup>9</sup> When this worthy knight served under Henry V. at the siege of Rouen a few years later, his shield was blazoned—*Or*, a bend between six martlets *sable* within a border engrailed of the same.<sup>10</sup> These arms appear on the seal (No. 15) which he used during the greater part of his life for legal and

<sup>1</sup> "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Willement's "Roll of Arms."

<sup>3</sup> British Museum. Additional Charters, 21037, 21038.

<sup>4</sup> Nicolas's "Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward II."

<sup>5</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Box xxii. No. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box xxxvii. No. 41.

<sup>8</sup> Willement's "Heraldic Notices of Canterbury," p. 160.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix H.

<sup>10</sup> Harleian MS., 1586, f. 85.

official purposes in England and in Normandy alike. Proud of the Bohun blood that ran in his veins, he placed over his shield a swan, the well-known badge of the Bohun family. The inscription on the seal is—*Sigillum Hugonis Lutrell militis*.<sup>1</sup> In attesting private letters, warrants to his receiver-general, and other papers of an informal character. Sir Hugh Luttrell always used a small signet (No. 16) bearing a single martlet and two sprigs of foliage, instead of his large heraldic seal.<sup>2</sup> Some impressions of this signet, preserved among the muniments at Dunster Castle, are attached to documents written on parchment by a little strip of that material as shown in the woodcut opposite; others are affixed to the manuscripts themselves on a foundation made of a twist of straw. Lady Catherine Luttrell, Sir Hugh's wife, used a signet (No. 17) bearing a Catherine-wheel in allusion to her christian name.<sup>3</sup>

There is in a volume at the College of Arms a transcript of a very interesting French deed by which Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, granted his badges to his cousin Sir Hugh Luttrell, in 1421.<sup>4</sup> It runs as follows:—

"A tous y ceux que cestes nos lettres verront ou orront Hugh Courtnay Count de Devon et Sr d'Ockhampton feiz et hair a Mons<sup>r</sup> Phonorable (?)<sup>5</sup> et tresnoble Sr Edward Courtney Count de Devon et Sr d'Ockhampton que Dieu assoile saluz en Dieu, Sachez nous avon don et grantée et par y cestes nos lettres confirme a nostre tres chere et bon ame coseyn Hugh Lutrel Chr<sup>t</sup> et Sr Donstarre nos Bages cest a savoir un Sengler Blanc armé d'or portans come nous portons avecque un diffrence dun doble rose dor sur lespald en dit sengler a avoir et tenoir le dites Bages de nostre don al dit Sr Hugh de Luttrell et ses hoires a tous jours En testimonance de quel chose a y cestes nos presentz lettres nous avons mis nostre seale de nous Armes Donne a Plimmouth le 13 jour de Juell a temps que nous avons<sup>6</sup> priz nostre voyage<sup>7</sup> par Grace de Deux envers nostre tresouveraigne Roy en Normandie l'an du Raigne le dit nostre Sr le Roy Sr le Henri quint puis le Conquest 9<sup>e</sup>."<sup>8</sup>

On the strength of this the Luttrell crest is given as a boar passant *argent*, armed *or*, charged on the shoulder with a double rose of the second, a notable example of one metal being placed on another. In point of fact the boar was never used as a crest or as a badge by the Luttrells of Dunster. It is possible that the double rose on the seal of Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, already described, may have been derived from the Courtenays, though of course not in consequence of the grant to Sir Hugh Luttrell, which was not made until some years after her death. Sir Hugh Luttrell seems to have placed a peculiar interpretation of his own on the grant of his noble kinsman, for while practically rejecting the badge of the white boar proffered in it, he did adopt the crest and the supporters of the head of the Courtenay family. The fine heraldic seal

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, and Brit. Mus. Additional Charter, 1397.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box xi., No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Box xxii.

<sup>4</sup> C. 22. f. 394.

<sup>5</sup> "*Thome*" in transcript, the spelling of which seems to be incorrect in several other places.

<sup>6</sup> "*a nome*" in transcript.

<sup>7</sup> "*Brage*" in transcript.

<sup>8</sup> The year is given as 7 Henry V, instead of 9 Henry V, in a translation of this document in Cleaveland's "History of the Family of Courtenay," p. 211, but only on the authority of Sampson Leonard, the very herald who compiled the MS. at the College of Arms. He is said to have seen the original deed with the Earl of Devon's seal attached, but Pryme does not mention it in the Calendar of the Muniments at Dunster Castle which he made in 1650.

# SEALS.



24.  
Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B.  
d. 1521.



25.  
Sir Andrew Luttrell.  
d. 1538.



23.  
Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B.  
d. 1521.



26.  
Sir John Luttrell.  
d. 1551.



27.  
Nicholas Luttrell.  
d. 1592.

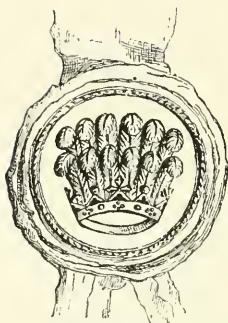
# SEALS.



30.  
Honora Luttrell.  
fl. 1652—1656.



33.  
Col. Alex. Luttrell.  
d. 1711.



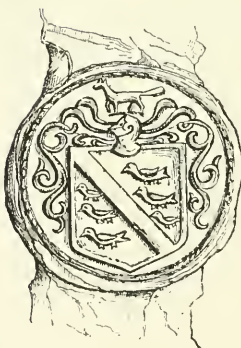
28.  
George Luttrell.  
d. 1629.



31.  
Lucy Luttrell.  
d. 1718.



34.  
Alexander Luttrell.  
d. 1737.



29.  
Thomas Luttrell.  
d. 1644.



32.  
Col. Francis Luttrell.  
d. 1690.



35.  
Alexander Luttrell.  
d. 1737.



(No. 18) which he used during the last few years of his life, is a free copy of that which the Earl of Devon affixed to the French deed just quoted.<sup>1</sup> On both of them the crest is a large panache or plume of feathers, rising out of a coronet which encircles the helmet; on both of them the supporters are a pair of swans collared and chained, as borne by the Bohuns. The shield on Sir Hugh Luttrell's second seal shows the bend and the six martlets, without the engrailed bordure which appears on his first seal. By the successive deaths of Sir John Luttrell, K.B., of East Quantockshead, in 1403, and of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, of Irnham, in 1419, Sir Hugh Luttrell had become the chief male representative of his family, and there was no longer any occasion for him to exhibit a mark of cadency on his coat of arms. The inscription on his second seal is *S. Hugonis [Luttrell] militis dñi de Dunsterre.*<sup>2</sup>

For many years after attaining his majority John Luttrell was in the habit of using a seal (No. 19) closely resembling the first seal of his father Sir Hugh. It will be observed, however, that the swan above the shield is represented with closed wings, and that the shield is charged with a label as a mark of cadency. The inscription is:—*Sigillum Johannis Lutrell armigeri*<sup>3</sup> John Luttrell also had a signet (No. 20) bearing the device of an otter with some water and a letter “*L*” below and the letters “*trll*” above, which was evidently intended as a pun on his surname, as the French for an otter, *Loutre*, when followed by the syllable “*trll*” made up “*Loutretrell*,” or shortly “*Loutrell*.”<sup>4</sup> Such a signet, though good enough for an heir apparent, was not deemed worthy of the Lord of Dunster, and the lawyers of the day seem to have raised objections to it. The result was that when John Luttrell affixed it to a release shortly after his father's death a memorandum was drawn up to the effect that he had sealed the deed with his signet in the presence of certain credible witnesses, but that he would seal it again with a seal bearing his coat of arms after his next visit to London where he intended to order a suitable seal.<sup>5</sup> He had probably abandoned his heraldic seal at the time when his father resolved to omit the engrailed bordure from the arms of the Luttrells of Dunster, and it does not appear that he lived long enough to carry out his intention of having another one engraved. It is recorded in the Herald's Visitation for the County of Devon, that “*This Sir John tooke the Queen of Scotts Prisoner in the fiede, after which hee bare a Coronett for his Crest, and after he took an Earle of France prisoner & may bere a swan for his Creast collered and chained.*”<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> There are several impressions of the seal of Hugh, Earl of Devon, in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box xxiv. No. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Box xxxvii. Nos. 46, 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Box xxxvi. No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> “*Memorandum quod Johannes Lutrell filius et heres Hugonis Lutrell sigillavit istam relaxacionem cum signeto suo apud Glastoniam in Comitatu Somersetensi tercio die Septembris anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum septimo in presentia Thome Stavell militis, Hugonis Cary senescalli Abbatis Glastonie, Thome Levesham de Scaccario domini Regis, Willelmi Corner et Thome*

*Colbroke armigerorum et plurimorum aliorum. Et predictus Johannes Lutrell concessit prefato Hugoni Cary ad sigillandam predictam relaxacionem cum sigillo armorum suorum quando sigillum suum erit factum, quia in veritate sigillum suum non est adhuc factum, sed erit, quando predictus Johannes Lutrell, proxime venerit ad Londoniam, quod erit infra breve tempus.*” Transcript of Surrenden Charters made by the late Rev. Lambert B. Larkings.

<sup>6</sup> Harleian MS. 1080, f. 156, and 1163, f. 116. It may be remarked that the early part of the Luttrell pedigree there given is not entitled to credit.

story, however, is not supported by any contemporary evidence and it may safely be dismissed as mythical, inasmuch as the crest-coronet and the chained swan were borne by Sir John Luttrell's father and derived from the Courtenays. Lady Margaret Luttrell, the widow of Sir John, did not use a signet, her receipts being simply attested by her signature.

James Luttrell, Sir John's son and successor, bore on his signet (No. 21) a single martlet.<sup>1</sup> His larger seal (No. 22) shows the Luttrell shield supported by swans. Here first appears the crest of a fox which was used by several of his descendants. The inscription is simply:—**James Luttrell**, and the character of the engraving shows the decadence in art.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B., the eventual successor to Sir James, used a very similar seal. (No. 23.) The inscription is:—**Hugh Luttrell, Kneght**.<sup>3</sup> His signet (No. 24) which is square in form bears a martlet reversed and a sprig of foliage.<sup>4</sup> This Sir Hugh Luttrell appears to have put up the heraldic tablet which is to be seen over the western arch of the gatehouse at Dunster Castle. The Luttrell shield is there represented in the upper compartment as supported on the backs of two swans collared and chained as usual. Over this is a richly mantled helm affrontee and in high relief, carrying as a crest some animal of which the body and the forelegs alone now remain, while above all a second crest, a fox courant, is shown on the same plane as the shield. In the lower compartment there are eight shields:—1. Luttrell (without any bordure) impaling Courtenay; 2. Luttrell impaling Beaumont; 3. Luttrell impaling Audley; 4. Luttrell impaling Courtenay of Powderham; 5. Luttrell impaling Hill; 6. Luttrell impaling a blank. The seventh and eighth shields are blank. The arms of Sir Hugh Luttrell impaling a saltire *vair* between four mullets pierced, the arms of his first wife Margaret Hill, are also on his monument in the church of East Quantockshead.

Sir Andrew Luttrell did not fill up the shield prepared for him on the Gatehouse at Dunster, but his arms impaled with those of Wyndham, a chevron between three lions' heads are carved on the monument at East Quantockshead. It does not appear whether he ever had a heraldic seal. His signet (No. 25) bears his badge the swan collared and a French motto which may be read either *Tous sur*, or *sur tous*.<sup>5</sup>

Sir John Luttrell, the "noble captain," used a signet (No. 26) which bears a swan collared and chained, without any motto.<sup>6</sup> After his death this signet was successively used by his brother Thomas, and his nephew George Luttrell.<sup>7</sup> It is not certain whether the peacock in the curious portrait of Sir John Luttrell by Lucas de Heere is intended as an allusion to the panache crest of the Luttrell family or as an emblem of Juno.

Nicholas Luttrell of Honibere, a younger brother of Sir John, bore on his signet (No. 27) a bird which somewhat resembles a crow, but which was doubtless intended to represent a martlet.<sup>8</sup> His descendants, the Luttrells of Hartland, differenced the arms of the Luttrells of Dunster by the addition of a crescent. According to the Herakls' Visitation for

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxv, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Box xxxvii. No. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Box i. No. 30; and Box ii. No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments.

<sup>5</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box v, No. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Box xix. No. 25. This deed is also signed, "By me John Luttrell, Squyar."

<sup>7</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Box xiv. No. 12.

# SEALS.



24.  
Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B.  
d. 1521.



25.  
Sir Andrew Luttrell.  
d. 1538.



23.  
Sir Hugh Luttrell, K.B.  
d. 1521.



26.  
Sir John Luttrell.  
d. 1551.



27.  
Nicholas Luttrell.  
d. 1592.

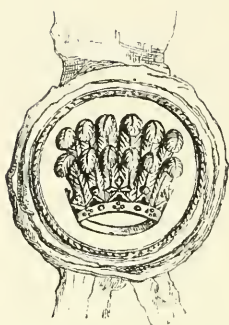
# SEALS.



30.  
Honora Luttrell.  
fl. 1652—1656.



33.  
Col. Alex. Luttrell.  
d. 1711.



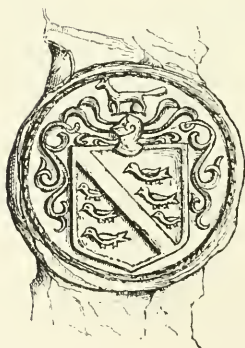
28.  
George Luttrell.  
d. 1629.



31.  
Lucy Luttrell.  
d. 1718.



34.  
Alexander Luttrell.  
d. 1737.



29.  
Thomas Luttrell.  
d. 1644.



32.  
Col. Francis Luttrell.  
d. 1692.



35.  
Alexander Luttrell.  
d. 1737.



Devonshire they bore as a crest the Courtenay badge granted to Sir Hugh Luttrell by the Earl of Devon, a boar *argent*, armed and crined *or*, charged on the shoulder with a double rose of the second.<sup>1</sup>

On a brass of the year 1566, which was once to be seen in the church of Bryanston, co. Dorset, there were engraved the arms of Rogers impaled with those of Luttrell, charged with a mullet for difference, recording the alliance between Sir Richard Rogers of that place and Cicely daughter of Sir Andrew Luttrell of Dunster.<sup>2</sup>

As has already been stated, Thomas Luttrell of Dunster, and his son "old George Luttrell," the re-builder of the castle, used the signet of Sir John Luttrell (No. 26). The latter of these two, however, found it convenient to have a distinctive seal of his own, and reverted to the panache crest, which had not been used by his ancestors since the time of the first Sir Hugh Luttrell. His seal (No. 28) shows a plume of twelve feathers arranged in two rows rising out of a crest-coronet.<sup>3</sup> The fox, however, still appears as the crest over the coat of arms which George Luttrell set up in the hall at Dunster Castle in 1589. The shield there, supported by two swans collared and chained *proper*, is divided quarterly 1 and 4 Luttrell, 2 and 3 quarterly, 1 and 2 *gules* on a chevron *or* three cross-crosslets *sable* for Hadley, 2 and 3 *or* on a bend cotised *sable* three horses' heads *argent*, bridled *gules*, for Durborough. The motto beneath is:—*QUÆSITA MARTE TUENDA ARTE*. These arms appear again on the pompous monument which George Luttrell set up in Dunster Church in 1621, surmounted in this case with two helmets carrying his crests, the panache and the fox. The arms of George Luttrell with the panache crest occur at the Luttrell Arms Hotel, at Dunster, and at the Manor House, East Quantockshead. In a room on the first floor in the former of these houses the arms of Luttrell are impaled with a chevron between three trefoils slipped, which were probably the arms of Silvestra Capps, the second wife of George Luttrell.

Thomas Luttrell, eldest son and successor of George, used a seal of which the woodcut (No. 29) is to some extent a conjectural restoration, the original impression of it being very much defaced.<sup>4</sup> The arms of this Thomas Luttrell impaled with those of his wife Jane Popham, *argent* on a chief *gules*, two bucks' heads cabossed *or* with a crescent for difference, may be seen on a monument in Dunster Church and at the old house at Marshwood. The arms of his younger brother Hugh, impaled with those of his wife Jane Lyte, *gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, were set up in the domestic chapel of the old manor-house of Lytes Cary, co. Somerset, in 1631.

Honora Luttrell, the daughter-in-law of Thomas Luttrell, used a small seal (No. 30) which had doubtless belonged to her husband, George Luttrell. It bears the Luttrell arms with a fox as crest.

Lucy Luttrell, the widow of Francis Luttrell, the next owner of Dunster Castle, used a very similar seal (No. 31).

Francis Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, her son, also used a similar seal (No. 32) rather larger in size. His arms impaled with those of Tregonwell, *argent* three pellets in fesse cotised *sable* between three Cornish choughs *proper*, are introduced into the ornamental frieze of the parlour at

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS. 108, f. 156.

No. 17.

<sup>2</sup> "Diary of Richard Symonds," Camden Society, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box vii. No. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box vii.



Dunster Castle, supported by chained swans and surmounted by a plume of feathers. The Tregonwell crest is there given on a separate medallion.

Colonel Alexander Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, used a seal (No. 33) bearing the Luttrell arms differenced with a crescent, as he had been for many years a younger son. The crest is a fox.

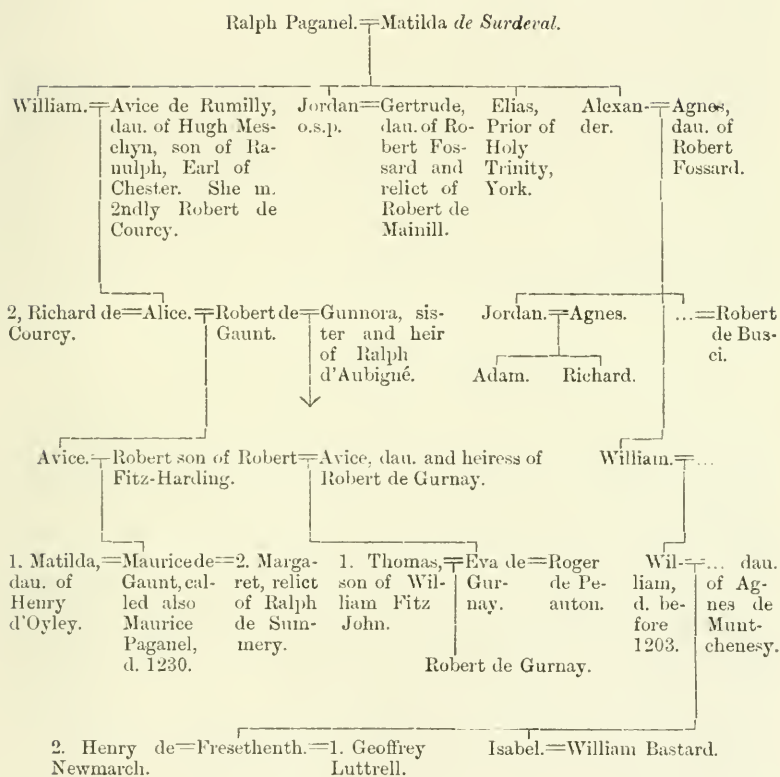
Alexander Luttrell, his eldest son and successor, sometimes used this seal, but had another (No. 34) engraved for himself, on which his arms are impaled with those of Trevelyan *gules* a demi-horse *argent*, hooped and maned *or*, issuing out of water in base *proper*. He had yet another seal (No. 35), which shows the Luttrell arms supported by chained swans, and surmounted by a well-shaped panache. The motto is—*QUÆSITA MARTE TUENDA ARTE*.

Since the marriage of the heiress, Margaret Luttrell with Henry Fownes in 1747, their descendants have borne a quarterly shield—1 and 4 Luttrell ; 2 and 3 Fownes : — *Azure* two eagles displayed, and in base a mullet *argent*. The crest of the fox has been quietly abandoned, and the fine panache crest has dwindled down into a plume of five stiff feathers issuing out of a coronet. The motto "*Quæsita marte tuenda arte*" has become practically hereditary, and the successive heads of the family have maintained the claim—so rare among English Commoners, of using supporters. The noble swans of the Bohuns and Courtenays are conspicuous on the new porch of Dunster Castle.



Glass Quarry in Dunster Church.

## APPENDIX G.

PEDIGREE OF THE PAGANEL FAMILY.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tabulated from the Paper on Holy Trinity, York, by Mr. Stapleton, in the York volume of the Archaeological Institute.

## APPENDIX H.

DUNSTER HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY IV,  
HENRY V, AND HENRY VI.

In addition to many Court-rolls, Rentals, and Bailiffs' Accounts, there are in the Muniment Room at Dunster Castle several rolls which show the general receipts and expenses of the Lords of Dunster in the first half of the fifteenth century. Sir Hugh Luttrell was so often absent on state affairs in Normandy and elsewhere that he found it necessary to have a Receiver-General in the West of England, and the system which he established was continued for some few years after his death. The accounts of the Receiver-General were from time to time subjected to audit, when a summary of them was drawn up on parchment for future reference, the vouchers and the detailed statements being for the most part cancelled or destroyed. Thus there now remains only one of the paper rolls on which the different items of daily expenditure were recorded. Most of the following extracts are taken from the parchment rolls, the omission of the less interesting entries being in every case marked by asterisks. In preparing them for press all contractions that occur in the original manuscripts have been extended, but the old spelling has, as far as possible, been retained. For the sake of convenience all numerals have been given in Arabic figures.

*Accounts of John Dennyng, Receiver, Michaelmas 2 Henry IV,  
to Michaelmas 4 Henry IV, 1401-1403.*

"Computat solvisse domino per manus Johannis Lutrell filii Ricardi Lutrell apud London in adventu suo de Calec ad festum natalis beati Johannis anno quarto 22 marcas (£14 6s. 8d.) Item eodem domino apud Gillyngham £4. . . . Et computat solvisse Thomæ Kyng pro pensione sua per literam dicti Johannis in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londonie 5s. Et eidem Thome in Aula Westmonasterii alia vice 4s. Et computat solvisse Radulfo Swayn pro vino empto apud Calec ex prece domini 60s. Et computat solvisse Ricardo Rectori de Cantokeshede ad solvendum executoribus domini Johannis Lutrell pro diversis rebus emptis ad usum domini £10 13s. 4d. Et computat solvisse eisdem executoribus per manus Ricardi Popham per indenturam 6 marcas (£4.) . . . . In expensis Ricardi Lutrell et ipsius computantis anno secundo hujus compoti equitancium diversis vicibus apud Cantok, Bruggewater et Puriton, ad loquendum cum domino Petro de Courtenay pro consilio petendo, ac etiam ipsius computantis pro curiis tenendis et redditis querendis ut supra, 18s."

*Accounts of John Bacwell, Steward, from 27 June 6 Henry IV, to 27 June  
7 Henry IV, 1405-1406.*

This very interesting roll on paper gives the daily expenses of the household for a whole year. Those for the first week are as follows:—

"In primis in die dominica 28<sup>o</sup> die Junii, In carnibus bovinis emptis 5s., In carnibus ovinis emptis 2s. 10d., In carnibus vitulinis emptis 5s. 7d., In 14 pullis 16d., Item die Mercurii primo die Julii in pisci-

bus recentibus emptis 4s. 6d., In 4 lagenis<sup>1</sup> lactis 4d., In butiro 7d., In diversis speciebus 8d., In 12 congres 4s. ex conserva [*or* consuetudine] manerii de Minhede, In 12 milwelles<sup>2</sup> 3s. ex eadem conserva, [*or* consuetudine] Item die Jovis 2<sup>o</sup> die Julii, In 2 quarteriis unius vituli emptis 10d., Item die Veneris 3<sup>o</sup> die Julii, In piscibus salsis et recentibus emptis 2s. 11d., In 8 quarteriis avenarum emptis pro prebenda equorum domini et servientium ejus, pretium cujuslibet quarterii 16d., 10s. 8d., In feno empto pro eisdem equis 2s., In ferrura eorundem equorum 2s. 0½d., In stipendio 1 garcionis cariantis boscum per 2 dies 6d.; Summa 46s. 9½d."

The following entries occur in different subsequent weeks:—

July 8, "In 1 lagena vini empta causa domini de Penbroke 8d.;" July 15, "In 2 quarteriis frumenti emptis, pretium quarterii 6s. 8d., 13s. 4d.;" July 17, "In turbat 5d., In 1 milwell 6d., In 1 anguilla 3d., In bremsis et aliis piscibus recentibus emptis 14d., . . . In 2 bussellis salis 2s. 4d., In 3 potellis mustarde 7½d., . . . In 22 trusses de vrissen [*or* brissen] 3s. 4d.;" July 19, "In saffron 3d., In ovis 13½d." . . . In pulvere 2d.;" July 26, "In 1 capriola 8d.;" July 29, "In 1 potello vini causa Archidiaconi de Taunton 4d.;" August 2, "In 3 maulardes 6d.;" August 6, "In carne porcina 1s.;" August 7, "In 100 allec<sup>3</sup> 16d.;" August 9, "In 2 porcellis emptis 12d.;" August 16, "In 4 aucis emptis 10d.;" August 21, "In 12 libris candelarum Parisiensium<sup>4</sup> 2s.;" August 28, In 2 raies emptis ad Minhede 6d., . . . In 4½ lagenis vini rubei emptis causa extraneorum 3s.;" September 3, "In 1 quarterio multonis empto 6d.;" September 6, "In 8 dosinis aucarum emptis in Alliremore per Henricum Baker 22s.;" September 11, "In 5 currubus cariantibus boscum de Mersshwode ad Castrum, currus ad 4d., 20d., In 1 curru per 2 vices carianti victualia de Castro ad portum versus dominum existentem in Wallia 6d.;" September 30, "In 1 salmone 7d.;" October 2, "In allec albis 17d." . . . In pane et cervisia emptis pro certis marinariis in batella Howell existentibus et missis ad partes Wallie ad scienda nova de domino ibidem existenti in comitiva Regis 12d.;" October 9, "In soluto pro 1 pannello pro cella equi cariagii hospicii 10d., In 88 panibus frumenti emptis et ad dominum missis in partes Wallie, quolibet pane ad obolum 3s. 8d.;" October 11, "In pulvere zinziberis et piperis 4d.;" October 14, "In sepo recenti empto pro pedibus equorum domini 2d.;" October 16, "In 4 capistris<sup>5</sup> emptis pro equis chariette 2d.;" October 21, "In 1 haque<sup>6</sup> empta 5d.;" October 22, "In 3 wodecokes emptis 3d.;" October 23, "In 2 salmonibus emptis apud le Merssh 12d., In pane equino empto pro equis domini existentis apud Dunstre 22d., In soluto in 3 parvis barellis ad imponendum vertjus 2s., . . . In 15 porcis vivis emptis in grosso 42s. de quibus vendebantur 6 pro 20s. 4d., Et novem fiebant bacon." October 28, "In 200 ostreis 6d.;" October 29, "In carne multonis et bovis recenti pro hawkes domini 17d., In 4 pullis pro eisdem emptis 6d.;" October 30, "In 2 ollis terreis pro coquina 2d.;" November 1, "In 5 widec[okes] 4d.;" November 6, "In 1 olla terrea

<sup>1</sup> Lagen = gallon.

<sup>2</sup> Milwell = mulvel = green fish., cf. "Munimenta Gildhallæ Londiniensis," ed. Riley, vol. ii, p. 816.

<sup>3</sup> Allec = herring, cf. Wright's "Volume of Vocabularies," p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Periscandelle, Wardrobe Accounts, Edward IV., p. 121, quoted by Halliwell.

<sup>5</sup> Capistrum = halter. Wright, pp. 234, 108, and "Promptorium Parvulorum," p. 235.

<sup>6</sup> Haque = hake.

ad imponendum salem album 1½d., . . . In 2 bobus emptis pro hospicio 11s. 8d., . . . In 2 shakelles ad ligandos boves ne forte abeant 2d.;" November 13, "In 2 bobus emptis in grosso pro hospicio 23s. 8d.;" November 20, "In comine empto 2d., . . . In incausto empto 1d., In 1 pecia panni sacci de quo fiunt 5 sacci in pistrina, precium 3s. 8d., In 1 bundello de macchernes<sup>1</sup> pro candelis Parisiensibus conficiendis 3s. 4d.;" November 25, "In 22 multonibus vivis in Wallia emptis 11s., In 8 bobus et vaccis ibidem emptis ad diversas vices precium 46s. 8d.;" December 11, "In 10 canibus marinis emptis<sup>2</sup> 10d.;" December 13, "In parvis volucris emptis 2d.;" December 16, "In 3 bollis pro coquina emptis 10d., In 12 ciphis pro butteria emptis 12d. In una lanterna empta pro gradubus aule 9d.;" December 18, "In 1 gournard empto 2d., . . . In melle empto 4d., . . . In 4 dosinis vasorum stanneorum emptis apud Brigewater 72s. In costis 1 hominis eadem vasa versus Dunster conducentis 7d., In 20 libris de rosin emptis 20d., In 100 libris cere emptis 55s., In 12 libris de almondes emptis 3s., In 12 libris de dates emptis 3s., In 6 ulnis de cannevas emptis pro coquina 2s. 6d., In 11½ rones fili liehenii<sup>3</sup> pro torticibus emptis 6s. 1d., In custis 1 hominis predicta conducentis de Brigewater ad Dunsterre 2s. 2d.;" December 25, "In lacte et creme emptis 12d.;" December 27, "In vino empto et de Taunton adducto causa festi per dominum tenti 7s., In volatilibus emptis 10d."

January 14, "In 1 Corlue empta 3d., In 3 maulardes emptis 9d.;" January 15, "In 1 potello mellis empto 8d.;" January 22, "In 4 discis ligneis pro coquina emptis 4d.;" February 5, "In olla lignea pro panetria 1d.;" February 12, "In coklis emptis 1d., . . . In 130 haques achatez a Bristuyt le haque a 2½d. et 120 pro 100, 31s. 3d. In 500 Scalpines<sup>4</sup> emptis 100 ad 2s. 6d., 12s. 6d. In 15 lagenis olei olive, lagena ad 12d., 15s., In 1 parvo barello pro oleo et 1 pipa pro piscibus predictis imponendis 2s. 9d., In stowagio et cariagio predictorum usque Dunsterre 16d., In 2 copulis<sup>5</sup> fructus ficum et racinorum 12s., In expensis J. Baewell super emptione predictorum et aliorum negotiorum domini equitantis per 8 dies 13s. 4d., In 2 cadis allec rubii emptis, cadus ad 6s. 8d., 13s. 4d., In 3 dosinis de Countours emptis pro scaccario 9d., Et in cariagio allec et 1 pipe de piscibus Bristollie emptis de Minehede ad Dunsterre 10d.;" February 19, "In casio empto 4d.;" February 21, "In 1 hircio empto 6d., . . . In 1 Teel empta 1d.;" February 28, "In lacte empto pro filio domini infra etatem existenti 4d., . . . In 5 lagenis vini albi emptis apud Brigewater ad perimplendam 1 pipam vini aliquid attenuatam 3s. 4d.;" March 7, "In melet recente empta 1d. In lavacione et portagio piscium predictorum 4d.;" March 10, "In 4 tancardes ligneis emptis ad parcendum ollis factis ex corio 12d., . . . In musculis emptis 1d."

The expenses amounted to only 4s. 11½d in the following week, salt fish being almost the only kind of food consumed by the members of the household. The following entries occur after Easter:—

<sup>1</sup> Macchernes = matches = wicks.

<sup>2</sup> Canes marini = sea dogs; chiens-demermer an article of food in France also, cf. Wright's "Volume of Vocabulary," p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Filum lichinum = wick thread.

<sup>4</sup> Scalpin = "scalyn fyshe." cf. "Promptorium Parvolorum," p. 442.

<sup>5</sup> Copulus = copellus = a measure.



May 14, "In canibus marinis, melet, barces, et aliis piscibus emptis 14d., In 140 ovīs emptis 7d.;" June 11, "In ferrura equorum cariagii et aliorum serviencium hospicii tam apud Wachuset quam apud Pottesham equis domini existentibus apud Cantok 4s. 2d., In factura 6 barelles pro cervisia imponenda 2s, Et pro 1 corda et 2 citulis<sup>1</sup> prope novum fontem factum emptis 2s."

Beer cost 1½d. per gallon from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 1¼d. from Michaelmas to Christmas, and 1d. from Christmas to Midsummer. Thirteen gallons were reckoned as twelve. At these prices the bill for beer for a twelvemonth came to £34 1s. 2½d.

The following entries occur among the miscellaneous payments:—  
 "3<sup>o</sup> die Julii in soluto de mandato domini pro expensis unius varletti domine Comitisse de la Marche cum literis suis domino missis, ut in equo suo in villa existenti 15½d. Item 8<sup>o</sup> die Julii in soluto de mandato domini pro expensis equorum Comitissae de Penbroke versus regem equitantis 20d., Item eodem die In dono domini diversis pissionariis<sup>2</sup> de la Marssh melet et alios pisces sibi presentantibus 12d., Item 10<sup>o</sup> die Julii in soluto in expensis factis per ipsum dominum et extraneos sibi confluentes apud Yevelchestre, eo quod adversarii sui proponebant eodem die arraineasse assisam contra ipsum 67s. 11d., Item 17<sup>o</sup> die Julii in soluto pro cirpis in aula et camera struendis 4d., In 1 libra cere ad candelas in capella conficiendas 7d. In furrura et filo pro toga domini reparanda 6d. Et in sotularibus, caligis, camisis et bracciis Willelmo Russell domini henxteman<sup>3</sup> liberatis 20d., . . . Item ultimo die Julii in solutis de mandato domini Willelmo Godwyn pro tantis de se mutuatis die quo bestie in Exmore existentes fuerunt insimul congregate 3s. 4d., Item 24<sup>o</sup> die Augusti in dono domini uni piscatori 1 porpes sibi presentanti 12d. . . . Item 25<sup>o</sup> die Augusti In dono domini uni nuncio Regis sibi literas suas afferenti per quas Rex ipsum jussit versus partes Wallie festinare 3s. 4d., Item eodem die in soluto de mandato domini pro expensis equorum Comitissae de Penbroke de Rege revertentis et aliorum extraneorum 3s. 5½d., Item eodem die in soluto pro factura 2 dowbletes pro Willelmo Russell et Roberto equorum domini custode, una cum bracciis et calcaribus eisdem emptis per manus Johannis Hunt 2s. 6d., Item 28<sup>o</sup> die Augusti in soluto de mandato domini pro expensis equorum Johannis Cobleston per unam noctem 18d. . . . Item 11<sup>o</sup> die Septembris in 1 corda empti pro campana supra aulam 2d, Et in sotularibus pro garcione pistrine 4d., Item eodem die in soluto pro 6 estandardes armorum domini liberatis diversis navibus de Minhede domino in partibus Wallie victualia adducentibus 2s., Item solutum in expensis domini et familie sue versus Regem Leicestre existentem equitantis et per quatuor septimanas integras absentis £4 15s. 8d., Item solutum Johanni Cotes in hospicio suo apud Henyngham domino ibidem existenti, prout in indenturis inter dominum et ipsum confectis plenius continetur £4 13s. 4d., Item 12<sup>o</sup> die Septembris In soluto 2 armarariis armaturam domini purgantibus per 14½ dies ad 14d. per diem, tam pro eis quam pro 1 famulo eisdem servienti per idem tempus 16s. 11d., Item le 12<sup>me</sup> jor d' Octobre In soluto 1 plumbario super emendacione turrium operantis per 16 dies ad 2d. per

<sup>1</sup> Citulae = situlae = buckets.

<sup>2</sup> Pissionarii = piscenarii = fish-mongers.

<sup>3</sup> Henxteman = henchman = page cf. "Promptorium Parvulorum," p. 233.

diem 2s 8d Et in 16 libris stanni emptis ad conficiendam solduram, libra ad 3s. 4d., 6s. 8d., Item eodem die In soluto Hugoni Tailor pro camisis et caligis per ipsum emptis pro 3 garcionibus stabuli 17d., In parvis clavis pro fenestris scaccarii 2d., In olio pro herness domini 1d., In panno lineo, et filo, empto pro 2 paribus caligarum domini 12d. . . . Item eodem die in soluto pro emendacione besagiorum<sup>1</sup> domini 2d., In 1 clave empta pro hostio turris supra portam 2d., In jemeux<sup>2</sup> staples, haspes et 1 bolte ferreis pro sappis<sup>3</sup> in porta positis 12d., In 1 cera, 1 clave, 1 laspe et 1 stapulo emptis pro turri versus Occidentem in le Dongeon 8d., In 1 cera, et 1 clave emptis pro hostio latrine in fine aule 6d., Item 26<sup>o</sup> die Octobris, In liberato domino eunti peregre ad capellam Sancte Trinitatis de Bircombe 12d., Item eodem die, In liberato Johanni Hunt, camerario domini pro calcaribus et aliis necessariis garcionibus stabuli emendis de mandato suo 16d. . . . Item eodem die In soluto pro 2 bussellis calcis emptis 2d. In 100 lathnailles emptis 4d., In 1 operario cooperienti pentecium turris super angulum de dongeon versus occidentem per 2 dies 4d., In 1 carpentario idem pentecium facienti per 3 dies 6d. ad mensum domini 16d. . . . In soluto pro 3 bordes de pipler<sup>4</sup> emptis pro garderoba domini 2s. . . . Item 13<sup>o</sup> die Novembris In soluto 2 armarariis armaturam domini purgantibus per 11 dies, quo libet ad 4d. per diem 7s. 4d., In recenti sepo porci pro eisdem 7d. . . . In dono domine Thome Kynge versus Saunton<sup>5</sup> in negocio suo equitanti 8d. . . . In dono domini Johanni Charettier dominam conducenti de London usque Dunsterre 20s., et pro certis expensis per ipsum factis et solutis ut asseruit 15d. . . . Item 20<sup>o</sup> die Decembris. . . . In dono domini de mandato suo duobus servientibus Prioris de Dunsterre 12 capones, duas parvas bacones, et 4 bussellos viridum pisarum domine presentantibus 16d., Item eodem die In soluto pro caligis et sotularibus Willelmo Russell et Roberto equorum custodi necessariis causa festi Natalis domini sequentis 20d. In soluto pro furrura 6 togarum domine et filiarum suarum erga idem festum 4s. 10d., Item eodem die, In dono domini uni varletto Johannis Clifdon 2 damos apportanti de Gill[ingham] 20d. Item in vigilia Natalis domini in cirpis emptis ad sternendum in aula et cameris 6d., Item in festo Natalis domini In oblacionibus servient . hospicii in ecclesia distributis de mandato domini 2s, Item 26<sup>o</sup> die Decembris In dono domini tribus tenentibus Johannis Cobleston ludentibus coram eo 3s. 4d., In dono ejusdem 6 tenentibus de Dunsterre ludentibus coram eo 3s. 4d. In dono ejusdem pluribus parvulis de Minhede coram eo trepidiantibus<sup>6</sup> 20d, Item 3<sup>o</sup> die Januarii In soluto pro 2 pellu[briis]<sup>7</sup> de laton ad mingendum emptis 2s. 7d., In soluto pro 4 quaternis<sup>8</sup> papiri emptis 2s., In soluto pro 12 pellibus pergameni ad superscribendum evidencias domini apud Briggewater 2s. 8d. In expensis Johannis Bacwell super scriptura earundem evidenciarum et alia negocia domini ibidem existentis per 6 dies 12s., Item in 5<sup>o</sup> die Januarii videlicet in vigilia Epiphanie domini In expensis domini ad Brigewater venientis certis de causis placitum suum tangentibus

<sup>1</sup> Besacia = wallet.

<sup>2</sup> Jemeux = gemels = hinges, cf. "Promptorium Parvulorum," p. 235 ; Halliwell, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> Sappi = firs, or pieces of fir.

<sup>4</sup> Pipler = poplar.

<sup>5</sup> Saunton, in the parish of Braunton,

co. Devon, the residence of the mother of Lady Katharine Luttrell.

<sup>6</sup> Trepidicare = to dance, cf. Wright, p. 216.

<sup>7</sup> Pellubrium = a vessel for water.

<sup>8</sup> Quaternum = a quire.

3s. 1d., Et in dono suo uni juridico cognato Ricardi Popham 6s. 8d., et in expensis Johannis Leget de Harleston missi cum literis ad Dunsterre 13d. . . . Item eodem die In soluto in dono domini duobus servientibus domine de Pawlet apportantibus unum carcasiū bovis et unum aprum cum 1 grue vivo et domine presentantibus 6s. 8d., et in expensis equorum suorum in villa existencium per unam noctem 17d., Item eodem die In dono domini 1 servienti Willelmi Godwyn apportanti unum aprum et domine presentanti erga natale domini 20d., Item eodem die In soluto pro emendacione de 1 grant firepan et in 1 dressyng knyfe empto 20d., Item in dono domini Clericis Sancti Nicholai 12d., Et in 3 virgis de russet emptis per Bacwell pro caligis garcionibus coquine, pistrine et butlerie necessariis 2s., Et in sotularibus pro eisdem 11d. . . . In 1 acu et pakthreed ad suendum saccos pistrine 1d. . . . Item eodem die In soluto duobus masones operantibus supra capellam in le dongeon per 9½ dies, quolibet ad 2d. per diem 3s. 2d., In soluto 3 operariis cariantibus terram pro eisdem, quolibet ad 3d. per diem, per unum diem 9d., In soluto pro 2 quarteriis Calcis apud Wachtet emptis, una cum 2d. de cariagio eorundem 18d., Item eodem die In soluto 1 carpentario per 14 dies et 2 carpentariis per 2 dies, quolibet ad 2d. per diem, operantibus cippes, bordes, tresteles et fenestras et hostia in castro superiori et inferiori 3s., Item eodem die in 200 clavis ad 4d., In 150 clavis ad 6d., In 100 clavis ad 6d., 16d., In 22 libris ferri operati in twystes, hokes et aliis necessariis, libra ad 1½d., 2s. 9d., In emendacione chariette et diversorum operum in portis 20d., In 1 nova cera cum 2 clavibus et emendacione cerarum, hostiorum panetrie, coquine, et avenarum 10d., Item eodem die In soluto pro mundacione domus intra portas fino implete 4d., Item 11º die Februarii In soluto Johanni Corbet, Fabro, pro 1 wexpan, 2 wexirens, 1 wexknyfe, 1 iren rake, 1 pikeys, 1 matok, 36 hoques pro bacones pendendis in coquina, 2 twistez pro hostio in turri super angulum de dongeon et parvis barris pro fenestris vitreis in aula 6s. 8d., Item eodem die in soluto 1 vitriario facienti fenestras vitreas in aula et cameris domini existentes, ad 2d. per diem, per 21 dies 3s. 6d., Item eodem die In soluto pro 2 hoques et 2 jemeux pro foliis fenestrarum vitrearum in capite aule 2d., Item eodem die In soluto 2 carpentariis operantibus cistas de mandato domine, ac etiam lez rakkes in porta per 6 dies, quolibet ad 2d. per diem, 2s., Et in 200 clavis pro eisdem cistis 1s., In 3 jemeux pro eisdem 4d., In 2 hamis et 3 magnis clavis pro dictis rakkis 2d., In una nova cera pendenti et alterius emendacione 4d., Item eodem die In soluto pro factura unius muri terrei infra turrim supra portam 20d., Et pro factura unius hostii cum lacche in eodem 3d. Item in 2 slipes fili linei per dominam empti 3s. 6d. Et in textura ejusdem 4d., Item in soluto 10º die Aprilis pro caligis, sotularibus, camisis, et braccis garcionibus pistrine, coquine et stabuli necessariis et emptis 3s. 8d. . . . Et in 2 virgis panni linei et fili emptis per manus Michaelis Strecche pro doublettes domini 18d., Item eodem die In soluto Willelmo Wardrobier de Wellis pro 1 magna dragge matrasz pro lecto domini empti 20s., Item eodem die In soluto fratri Gilberto Ley pro emendacione illuminatione, coopertura, et ligatura unius missalis unius portat[orii]<sup>1</sup> et unius libri Gallici de mandato domine 6s. 8d., Item eodem die In factura 1 loggei pro capones ad finem pistrine, videlicet in carpentaria et territura (?)

<sup>1</sup> Portiforium = breviary.

20d., Item in die Pasche in oblacionibus domine et filiarum suarum 4d., Et in dono domini J. fratri Carmelite de Bristollia mendicanti 12d., Et in oblacionibus domine die Pentecostes 2d., Item in vigilia Sancti Marci In soluto pro expensis Johannis Baewell ex precepto domine missi ad Brigewater propter Johannem Sonier fratrem Dunsterre veniendum causa mariagii inter filiam domini et Willelmum Harleston faciendi 2s., Item primo die Junii In soluto pro expensis equorum domini Hugonis Courteney de Baunton et domini Hugonis filii Comitis factis par duas noctes et unum diem, et in expensis 1 varletti sui ante ipsos missi cum veneison 4s. 9d., Item 7<sup>o</sup> die Junii In liberatis Willelmo Brit de London missi et London revertenti pro expensis suis revertendo 10s., Item 11<sup>o</sup> die Junii in soluto domine peregre proficiscentis versus Clivam 6d.”

*Accounts of Thomas Hody, Receiver General, Michaelmas 12 Henry IV, to Michaelmas 13 Henry IV, 1411-1412.*

“In certis ponderibus emptis pro pane ponderando in Dunstre 3s. 6d. . . In soluto Thome Pachehole carpentario pro factura unius domus apud Gillynghame 13s. 4d.” “Solutio debitorum domini—In soluto Abbati de Clyve de debito domini £50. In soluto Hayne Cokes servienti domini £6 13s. 4d. In soluto Thome Beaumond de debito domini £15 3s. In soluto Johanni Slugge pro 1 equo ab eo empto per dominum £4.”

*Accounts of Thomas Hody, Receiver General, Michaelmas 2 Henry V, to Michaelmas 3 Henry V, 1415-1416.*

“In libris petris emptis juxta Bristolliam cum cariagio eorundem cum plaustris ad portum Bristollie, et eisdem cariandis per mare versus Dunster 42s. 5d. . . In liberato eidem domino (Sir Hugh Luttrell) ut in vasis argenteis ad usum suum emptis de executoribus Ivonis Fitz Waryn Militis, ex precepto et assignacione domini £54 ”

*Accounts of Thomas Hody, Receiver General, Michaelmas 3 Henry V, to Michaelmas 4 Henry V, 1416-1417.*

“In soluto Willelmo filio domini de mandato domini 10s. In 4000 libris plumbi emptis, per 100, 5s. 6d., £11. In cariagio ejusdem plumbi de Wellys usque Dunsterr 8s. In expensis pro dicto plumbo emendo 2s. . . . In expensis Thome Hody laborantis versus London de assignacione domini transeuntis versus mare 6s. 8d. . . . In expensis diversorum serviencium domini transeuncium versus Warwykshyre cum Margareta filia domini de assignacione domini 28s. 9d. . . In expensis Thome Hody et Johannis Bakwell cum 3 famulis et 6 equis de Hampton versus Dunsterr 9s. 9½d.”

“Expense hospicii domini in castro de Dunsterr. In expensis Johannis Bakwell capellani ibidem existentis a vigilia Sancti Laurencii usque festum Omnium Sanctorum tunc proximum per 12 septimanas unde 5 septimane post tempus compoti, per septimanam 20d., 20s. Item 4 valettorum per idem tempus pro quolibet per septimanam 14d., 56s. Item Willelmi Lutrell filii domini per 2 septimanas 3s. 4d. Item 1 fratris de Normannia per 1 septimanam 20d. Item 1 garcionis predicti Johannis capellani per 12 septimanas predictas per septimanam 12d., 12s.



Item Johannis Hunte venatoris, Willelmi Bayllyf et Johannis Bogby per 9 septimanas cuilibet per septimanam 12d., 27s. Item Roberti Hylwen garcionis domini per 1 septimanam pro equis domini querendis 12d., Item 1 garcionis Johannis Lutrell filii domini per 5 septimanas et 1 garcionis Willelmi filii domini per 5 septimanas 10s. Item 1 plumpmarii per 4 septimanas per septimanam 14d., 4s. 8d. Item Thome Hody et 1 garcionis sui per 13 septimanas ad ratam 10 librarum per annum 50s. Summa £9 5s. 8d."

"In expensis 1 garcionis laborantis de Dunsterr versus Taunton 3 vicibus pro curacione 1 equi domini ibidem infirmi 15½d. In bordes et nailles emptis pro coopertura turrium in castro 23d. In 9½ libris de sawdura<sup>1</sup> emptis 14½d., In salario 1 plumpmarii per 4 septimanas 10s. In soluto Roberto Hylwen garcioni domini pro expensis suis cum aliis 2 garcionibus et pro 7 equis domini de Dunsterr usque London 13s. 4d. In 17 solutaribus equinis emptis in equis domini imponendis 2s. 10d. In 14 revets pro eisdem 7d. In 1 sadelhousse empta pro cella domini et aliis necessariis emptis pro aliis cellis et equis 3s. In soluto Thome Skynner pro 1 domo pro canibus domini ab eo conducto pro hoc anno 3s. 4d."

"Johanni Hunte magistro currum domini pro expensis circa equos et currus domini per 1 talliam cujus contrafolium non exhibetur £6 13s 4d."

*Accounts of Thomas Hody, Receiver General, Michaelmas 4 Henry V, to Michaelmas 5 Henry V, 1417-1418.*

"In primis soluto uni carpentario super reparacione portarum Castri inferioris per 7 dies ad 3d. per diem 21d. Item in operibus ferreis pro eisdem portis, ut patet, viz. 87 libris, libra ad 1¼d. in clavis, platis, et vineulis 9s. 0¾d." Item in parvis clavis emptis cum 1 clavi pro hostio camere J. Bacwell, 4d. Item in 1 clavi pro camera garderobe et in 1 clavi pro hostio horrei in bertona de Donnster 4d. . . . Item in 4 hamis pro hostio capelle in aula 2d. Item in reparacione 2 vinculorum ferreorum cum clavis eisdem necessariis pro porta principali in le dongeon 4d. Item in secacione 1 valve in eadem porta 1d., Item in 2 geminis<sup>2</sup> ferreis pro eadem valva cum clavis necessariis 4d. Item in 1 hagodeday<sup>3</sup> cum 1 lacche pro eadem valva 3d. Item in 1 muratore facienti 1 caminum in domo janitoris per 5½ dies 11d. Item in vectura 1 petre pro clavi dicti camini per Priorem de Dunsterre date 1d. Item in reparacione 2 cerarum super cameram porte exterioris castri, cum 1 clavi pro domo pistrine 5½d. Item in platis, clavis, cum 1 martella super portam castri interiorem ponderis 104 librarum, libra ad 1¼d., 10s. 10d. Item in expensis 1 mason venientis de Brigewater ad videndum aulam domini in castro reedificandam 3s. 8d. Item in 16<sup>o</sup> die Januarii liberato Ricardo Meryman lathamo in partem majoris summe super 1 logge fiendo 20s. Item Philippo carpentario et socio suo super paludes findendos pro stagnis claudendis in le Hanger in parte solucionis 18s. 4d. Item in prebenda equorum domini et domine per 3 septimanas infra tempus predictum 19s. 4d. . . Item in transitu domini in soluto pro carne sumpta pro falcone domini et expensis usque idem tempus 16d. Item

<sup>1</sup> Sawdara = solder.

<sup>2</sup> Gemini = hinges.

<sup>3</sup> Halliwell defines "haggaday" as "a

kind of wooden latch for the door;" but the context here seems to show that this definition is not quite accurate.



post transitum domini in 2 capistris emptis pro equis domini exeuntis de Merreshwode et in custodia positis 2d. Item in unguento empto pro pedibus eorundem 2d. . . . Item in 2 pipis vini de Gasconia emptis ad usum domini £4 13 4d. Item in cariagio ejusdem vini in castrum 5d. Item in expensis factis super captione 4 copulorum cuniculorum et voluerum missorum Johanni Merchaunt de Taunton in purificatione uxoris sue 2d. Item in 1 horsecombe empto 3d. . . . Item in canevas pro panellis<sup>1</sup> cellarum et collarium 3s. 4½d. Item in 9 cingulis<sup>2</sup> duplicibus pro equis domini 16d. Item in lignis 7 cellarum pro cariagio 2s. 10d. Item in 20 libris flokkis pro stuffura earundem 18d. Item in cordis vocatis Teugropis<sup>3</sup> 8d. Item in diversis cordis emptis pro charetta domini 14d. . . . Item in cordis pro flagello 2d. Item in cordis pro equis charette regendis 2d. Item in 2 paribus de steroppis pro cellis cariagii et 7 polys et 3 reynes et 8 contre-single boucles pro supradictis cellis cariagii 4s. Item in takkys et clavis pro charetta 1s. 5d. . . . Item in emendacione 2 Ronges pro charetta 2d. Item in Teughookys 7d. Item in 7 Teugys 12d., Item in 7 pannels pro 7 semesadils, pecia ad 8d., 3s. 4d. Item in 1 strake<sup>4</sup> et dowlys pro rotis charette ponderis 12 librarum ferri 16d. Item in vertgrese pro 1 equo domini infirmo ½d. Item in albo vino pro eodem 1d. . . . Item in cariagio musculorum usque portum de Donnsterre 40s 8d. . . . Item liberatum 3 Britonibus prisonariis euntibus in Britanniam pro redemptione sua et sociorum suorum pro expensis suis 10s. . . . In expensis unius fratris Gallici per 6 septimanas pro septimana 20d., 10s. . . . Item 6 Britonum et 1 Pagetti<sup>5</sup> captivorum quorum 3 pro 13 septimanis per septimanam 10d. et 3 per 4 septimanas et Pagetti per 10 septimanas 50s. 10d. Item 1 hominis Portigalensis per 7 septimanas 8s. 2d., unius alterius de Portigallia per 2 septimanas 2s. 4d. . . . Thome Hody pro expensis domini transeuntis ad mare 8<sup>o</sup> die Julii £7 11s. 4d. Willelmo Waryner de la Poole pro vino £7. Diversis piscatoribus de Mynhede pro piscibus et cariagio ad Gillyngham 42s. Ricardo Arnold de Glastonia pro casio 8s. 3½d."

"Bargia vocata Leonardus de Donnstere. Compotus Philippi Clopton, Magistri Bargie nobilis domini domini Hugonis Lutrell militis, Domini de Donnstere, ut pro uno viagio per ipsum facto de portu de Mynhede versus Bordegalliam et retro anno regni regis Henrici quinti quinto.

Idem recepit de £40 10s. receptis de fretta vini diversorum mercatorum pro viagio prædicto.

In soluto pro cibis, potibus, tabulis, clavis, stipendiis operariorum et aliis necessariis emptis et expensis, ut in reparacione dicte Bargie in parte per supervisum prepositi de Minhede ut patet per unam cedulam . . . £4 10s. 10d. Et in 6 peciis de Tielde pro coopertura navis emptis 13s. 4d. In 2 rotulis de Oleyn pro velo reparando emptis 42s. In ancoris antiquis reparatis 6s. 8d. In canevas empto pro velo predicto reparando 7s. In pipis vacuis et barelles emptis pro farina imponenda una cum cepo pro eadem bargia fricanda 11s. In 7 tabulis largis emptis pro alcassing ejusdem 6s. 8d. In 5 bobus vivis emptis pecia ad 12s., deductis 5s. pro coriis venditis 55s. In 2 pipis cervisie et aliis barelles

<sup>1</sup> Panel = pad, cf. Halliwell, p. 602, and Wright, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cingula = horse-girth, Wright, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Tug = trace.

<sup>4</sup> Strake = the rim of a wheel, cf. Halliwell, p. 815.

<sup>5</sup> Pagettus = pagius = page.

emptis 36s. In 2 pipis cezare emptis cum cariagio 19s. 4d. . . Summa expense £42 3s. 1d."

*Accounts of Thomas Hody, Receiver General, from Michaelmas 5 Henry V, to Michaelmas 6 Henry V, 1418-1419.*

In expensis Johannis Bacwell diversis vicibus laborantis pro negociis domini de vicaria sua de Pilton versus Dounsterre et ad alia loca eundo et redeundo, ut patet per unam billam super compotum examinatum 20s. In expensis Hugonis Cary una vice venientis pro negociis domini 15d. In baselardo et cultello domini mundatis 4½d. Item in uno coopertore per duos dies ad mensam domini pro domo pistrine 4d. In 1 lathamo per 5 dies ad mensam domini pro certis cameris emendatis in castro 10d. In 1 cerrura exterioris porte castri reparata 3d. . . In expensis domine ibidem existentis ut in parte in fine Junii et in parte mensis Julii ut per quinque septimanas in toto ut patet per papirum super compotum exhibitum 33s. 5d. In diversis victualibus emptis pro domino et sibi missis apud Harflete per manus Ricardi Arnolde ut in denariis eidem Ricardo liberatis per talliam £104 13½d. In 1 pipa vini empti ad usum domine et matris sue ex precepto domini ut de dono suo 49s. 4d." "In expensis . 2 pressonariorum, utroque ad 10d per septimanam ut per 12 septimanas 20s, 1 incarcerati per septimanam ad 10d. ut per 19 septimanas 15s 10d."

*Accounts of Thomas Hody, Receiver General, from Michaelmas 6 Henry V, to Michaelmas 7 Henry V, 1419-1420.*

"In soluto diversis sementariis carpentariis et laborariis conductis, ac calce, petris, tegulis, clavis et omnibus aliis pertinentibus pro una domo vocata Logge in cunaculario<sup>1</sup> de novo facienda ut patet per 1 billam inde factam et super compotum examinatum £8 6s. 10½d. . . In expensis hospicii domini apud Dunster a die mercurii in crastino festi Assumpcionis beate Marie usque festum Sancti Michaelis et ulterius a dicto festo usque dominicam in crastino festi Apostolorum Simonis et Jude ut per 10 septimanas et 4 dies per 1 talliam contra Ricardum Arnol £28 13s. 9½d. In 25 quarteriis fabarum emptis et missis apud Arflue prout continetur in litera domini de data 23 die Januarii hoc anno per bussellum 3½d., 58s. 4d. In 1 pipa salmonis empti et missa ibidem £4. . . In 5 quarteriis 2 bussellis fabarum emptis et missis ibidem pro bussello 3½d., 12s. 3d. In 47 quarteriis 4 bussellis avenarum emptis et ibidem missis, pro quarterio 2s. 4d., 110s. 10d. In 1 quarterio 6 bussellis pisidum viridum emptis et ibidem missis pro 12d, 14s. . . In 4 cadis de allec emptis et ibidem missis 60s. . . In soluto pro fretto 25 quarteriorum fabarum, 1 pipe salmonis, 1 pipe skalpyn, 1 pipe pisidum viridum versus Arflue 63s. In 13 dosenis dimidia de leynges et melewell emptis pro dosina 3s., 40s. 6d. In eisdem cariandis de Mynheade usque Dunster et tunc usque Hampton 46s. 2d. In 100 hakys emptis et apud Arflue domino missis 30s. . . In 400 multones emptis pro stauro apud Est Kantok cum custuma soluta in Wallia et cum cariagio abinde simul computatis £23 9s. 2d. . . In expensis factis in familia domini ibidem a dominica proxima ante festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regis Henrici quinti 6<sup>o</sup> usque festum Assumpcionis beate Marie tunc proximum sequens ut per 41 septimanas 3 dies, et tunc dominus fuit ad hospicium suum . . £14 3s. 6d."

<sup>1</sup> Cunacularium = Conygar, a hill at Dunster.

## MURAL PAINTING OF THE DOOM AT PATCHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

By C. E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A.

The village of Patcham is situated in the midst of the Sussex Downs, about three miles from Brighton and a mile and a-half from Preston, the church of which contains the well-known thirteenth century mural paintings which have recently undergone the process of restoration. Patcham Church stands on a slight eminence about 150 yards to the right of the main road from Brighton to London, and is a good example of the type of church to be found in this district. It consists simply of a western tower, nave, and chancel. The tower is an addition of the latter part of the twelfth century, the body of the church being plain and probably Early Norman; none of the original windows remain; in the chancel we find on the north side one trefoil headed lancet, and two similar windows on the south side, the one on the north and the corresponding western one on the south being carried down so as to form low side windows, as to the use of which so many theories have been propounded. The east window and one on the south side of the nave are good examples of the Decorated period of the early part of the fourteenth century, and on the north side of the nave are two square-headed Perpendicular windows each of three lights, but only the western one is original. There is a large south porch with plain Early English inner and outer doorways, and on the north side of the nave is an early walled-up Norman doorway, with plain hoodmould and jambs, a very massive lintel and slightly recessed tympanum. A portion of a Norman stringcourse runs along the exterior north wall of the nave. In the interior there is in the south wall of the chancel a trefoil-headed piscina with projecting basin. The chancel arch is Norman, of small size, without any sculptured ornament, and rests on an abacus of very massive character.

The restoration of the church was undertaken by, and in February 1880, successfully completed under the able supervision of the vicar, the Rev. S. Tenison Mosse, to whom I am indebted for the present of a coloured drawing of the very interesting mural painting which was discovered during the restoration, and from which the illustration herewith given has been taken. As a part of the work the walls were divested of the numerous coats of whitewash which successive generations of churchwardens had most liberally bestowed upon them. During this process portions of several figures were brought to light on the north wall of the nave, but were too fragmentary and imperfect to be worth preserving. Soon afterwards traces of colouring were observed on the east wall of the nave above the chancel arch, and the Vicar at once employed Mr. Ellery, of Cliftonville, Brighton, who had had



MURAL PAINTING OVER THE CHANCEL ARCH OF PATCHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.





previous experience in such work, to remove the remaining layers of whitewash on this portion of the wall. This operation was performed with the greatest care, and after no less than thirty coats of whitewash, and at least two series of post-Reformation paintings had been scraped off, the very interesting subject under notice was brought to light, and its various details carefully developed. This painting, contrary to the general practice in such cases, has been most religiously cared for, and measures have been taken to ensure its permanent preservation, and to bring out, as far as possible, the colouring of those portions, which have been injured by the erection of mural tablets in recent times.<sup>1</sup> I will at once proceed to describe it, and will first draw attention to the various details of the subject, and then endeavour to point out its peculiarities, to bring forward other examples which may enable us to arrive at its interpretation, and to prove the date of its execution to have been, as I believe, late in the twelfth century.

It is probable that this painting covered the whole of the eastern wall of the nave, but now we only have remaining the portion above, and on each side of the Chancel arch, down to within about two feet of the spring of the arch. The existing subject is divided into three compartments separated by parallel deep red lines. The upper and principal portion of the picture is in the shape of a segment of a circle somewhat less than a semicircle, and is bordered by two very rich foliated patterns, that round the circular portion being an interlacing scroll of a very conventional type, the lower horizontal border having a wavy stem with single leaves springing from it at regular intervals on either side. This compartment measures eighteen feet in width at the lower part by seven feet in height from the crown to the base. In the centre, within an aureole six feet high, is a figure of our Saviour; the aureole is shaped like an irregular quatrefoil, the groundwork of the border being white with a deep red edging on either side, and studded with a series of small roundels with central red bead. The figure of our Saviour fills up the greater part of the aureole, the ground colour of which is a dull ochre yellow, except between our Saviour's feet, where it is white. He is depicted as seated, with the cruciform nimbus, yellow hair flowing over the shoulders, and a short yellow beard. He is clad in a single garment folded round the waist and reaching down to the ankles, the upper part being carried up at the back and thrown over the left shoulder so as to cover the left side, but leaving the arms and the right side of the body bare. The garment is white, the folds being marked by red lines; the hands are raised on a level with the shoulders, and red spots on them—and the right breast and feet are of course intended to portray the five wounds. The feet rest on the border of the aureole, and between them is a circular object painted yellow with a red edging, intended to represent the earth. To the right of our Saviour, and partly within the aureole, is a figure of the Virgin, kneeling, and with the hands upraised in the attitude of supplication. She is without the nimbus, has on a richly jewelled crown, and is clad in a white robe picked out with deep red lines covering the feet, and over this a pale red cloak, the folds being marked by darker lines. Behind her stands an angel with one wing

<sup>1</sup> A short account of this painting appeared, soon after its discovery, in the *Sussex Daily News*, of 14th November,

1879; the *Times*, of 15th November; and the *Brighton Gazette*, of 24th December.

extended, clothed in an upper and under tunic, the latter yellow the former white; the folds on these and all the other dresses being denoted by deep red lines. He holds in the left hand, which is upraised, some object which it is difficult to decipher, but which is probably intended for the money, the price paid for the betrayal of our Lord; and in the right hand what has been described as a staff, but, as I have no doubt, a cross. Behind the angel are four nimbed figures seated, the end of the seat being visible, and clothed in similar garments with variations of colour, red, yellow and white being alone employed. These figures, there can be little doubt, are intended to pourtray four of the Apostles, since we find them thus associated with representations of our glorified Saviour in the early paintings at Copford, Essex, Kempley, Gloucestershire, West Chilton and Hardham, Sussex, and in sculpture, within the south porch of Malmesbury Abbey Church, Wiltshire, and perhaps on the west doorway of Rochester Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> In the upper part of the picture on either side of the aureole is an angel with both wings extended blowing a long horn, that on the dexter side being clad in a yellow, and that on the sinister side in a red tunic. Below, between the knees of the Virgin and the aureole is a small crowned figure rising from a coffin,<sup>2</sup> with the hands raised in supplication, and a small figure of a bishop, also with hands raised accompanied by two smaller figures, and likewise rising from a coffin,<sup>2</sup> occupies a similar position on the opposite side of the aureole. On this, the sinister side of the picture, is a nimbed figure with white under and yellow upper tunic, partly within the aureole, holding in the right hand a pennon of a character similar to those to be seen in the paintings at Copford and Kempley, whilst with the left hand he seems to be pointing towards the wound in our Lord's side. The figure is doubtless intended for an archangel, as a portion of a wing is still discernible. Behind him is another nimbed angel, with one wing extended, holding a spear in one hand, and probably the sponge raised on a reed in the other, and behind him again a third angel also nimbed facing in the opposite direction towards another nimbed figure clothed in a red mantle. From traces of colour which can here and there be made out, it would seem that the groundwork of the dexter side of this part of the picture was painted blue, and of the sinister side a pale pink.

The second compartment extends the width of the wall and measures twenty-two feet in breadth by two feet seven inches in height, the central portion being cut into by the crown of the chancel arch. On the dexter side we see two angels on either side of what appears to be a tree, and if so, probably the Tree of Life. Advancing towards them, and marching from south to north, is a procession of thirteen nude figures, the rank of some of the personages being indicated by crowns, mitres, and tonsures. First comes a bishop, and the procession comprises two more bishops, two kings with crowns of a similar character to that of the Virgin except that they are not jewelled, three ecclesiastics, and five figures without any distinctive marks; the figure immediately behind the first bishop is holding him by the arms, and thus throughout a chain is formed, each figure having the arms stretched out so as to clasp the arms

<sup>1</sup> At Copford, Kempley, and Malmesbury, St. Peter with one key is placed nearest to our Lord's right hand. He is

the only one of the apostles represented with an emblem.

<sup>2</sup> Or, it has been suggested, from behind an altar.

of the one immediately preceding him. A blank space is left beneath the feet of our Lord and above the crown of the chancel arch, and to the south of this is another small company also marching towards the north, composed of a king, an ecclesiastic, and a third figure; the king has the hands raised in supplication, while the two others have their arms outstretched, so as to form a similar chain to that in the first procession. To the south again is a nimbed angel with one wing extended and hands stretched out to receive an ecclesiastic who is advancing towards him with hands raised in supplication, and behind him are portions of another angel turned towards the north, and perhaps presenting the ecclesiastic to the first angel who is waiting to receive him. In all probability this angel occupying the most southern station in the picture is intended for St. Michael, and he was, as usual, doubtless represented with a balance weighing souls, the last figure having just passed safely through this most terrible ordeal. Between this last angel and the south wall is a considerable blank space, the painting here having entirely perished. It would be rash to conjecture what may have been here depicted, as I do not think that there is sufficient space for the representation of the condemned being driven to perdition, the subject which, as I shall shew by other examples generally occupies this position. The third and lowest compartment remaining also extends the whole width of the church, the central part being interrupted by the chancel arch and is one foot in height. The subjects are nearly all destroyed by the erection of tablets, but as far as can be ascertained, this part seems to have represented the dead rising from their graves, a portion of an angel being also discernible on the north side. It has been suggested that the figures are in the agonies of torment, but this I do not think is the case. The general ground colour of this part seems to have been black.

Below again on either side of the arch, and extending to each side wall, has perhaps been a decorative pattern, which has been newly painted as represented in the illustration, but from very slender evidence as to what originally existed. Only a small portion on the north side of the arch remained, shewing part of a chevron and an imitation of the indented moulding, both in deep red colour. Whether the space on either side of the arch below this border was occupied with painting it is impossible to say, as not a trace of colour now remains, but it is probable that these spaces were not left blank, and that they were occupied by scenes in the life of our Lord, as were found at the neighbouring church of Westmeston, or by full-length figures of saints under semi-circular arches, as may be seen at Kempley in the same position. The chancel arch has also been decorated; the joints of the voussoirs of the arch are picked out in red lines; and above is painted an imitation hoodmould, with a red zigzag pattern enclosed within a pale red border, dotted with a beading of darker colour. The greater part of this pattern has been repainted, though some of the more perfect portions have not been touched. Traces of colouring were also visible on that portion of the original abacus, which has been preserved.

Such are the various details of this painting. As to the full and proper interpretation of some portions of the picture there seems to me to be some uncertainty, though as to the whole subject there can be no doubt that the great Doom, the Day of Judgment, is here portrayed. It is peculiarly interesting, as it is in all probability the earliest example in painting of a

“Doom” which has yet been discovered in England,<sup>1</sup> and yet in its main treatment it closely resembles the numerous later instances which have from time to time been brought to light. In the Eastern Church rigid rules were laid down for the mode of treatment of the various subjects, and they are still exactly followed. In the Western Church more freedom was allowed to the artist, but still we find in the various representations of the Doom, both in England and abroad, in the treatment of legends of saints, &c., the same general rules observed, and many peculiarities in the method of depicting the earlier subjects carefully followed by the later artists. There is however one great point of difference between this painting at Patcham, and all other later pictures, to which I have already drawn attention, viz., that we have here in all probability no representation of the cursed being driven off to eternal perdition, which is an invariable accompaniment of the representations of the Doom of the thirteenth and succeeding centuries.<sup>2</sup> It is just possible that on the south side in some way the jaws of hell may have been depicted, but the space is so limited that this seems highly improbable. This circumstance will, I think, assist us in assigning an early date to this painting, and will, in conjunction with other points to be noted, prove it to be of earlier date than the other examples I shall bring forward as being most nearly identical with the Patcham picture. I will now endeavour to point out the various details of the painting which seem to me to require explanation. The figure of our Saviour is seated in judgment with the hands raised and the side and feet exposed to shew the wounds. This is the position in which, in later paintings of the Doom, our Saviour is generally represented, but as will hereafter be shewn, it is extremely unusual for this early date. The full signification of this attitude is explained, (see post page). The position of the orb, intended to indicate the world between the feet of our Lord is very unusual. In other early examples, as in the Crypt Chapel at Canterbury, &c., our Lord is invariably represented with His feet resting on the earth, in direct allusion to the passage “Thus saith the Lord, the heaven is My Throne, and the earth is My footstool.”—Isaiah lxvi, 1. Also St. Matthew v, 35, and The Acts vii, 49.

<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be safer to say the earliest *complete* subject of the Doom. At Kempey Church, Gloucestershire, over the chancel arch is a representation of our Lord seated on the rainbow, angels blowing trumpets, and other figures around Him. The painting is very faint, and could not be deciphered in 1877, and it is impossible to say now what was our Lord's position there, as it is not mentioned in the account given in *Archæologia*, xlv, 192; in fact the upper part of the figure of our Lord is, or was then, concealed by a modern flat ceiling. This painting most probably represented the Doom, and as the paintings in the chancel at Kempey are most likely earlier than this one at Patcham, the instance at Kempey would, if of the same date as the chancel pictures, as it probably is, be earlier than this. It could not have been so elaborately treated

as this example, as the lower portion immediately over and to the south of the chancel arch is decorated with a Norman chequered pattern, so that no figures could have been there represented. Over the fine Norman chancel arch of Whaplode Church, Lincolnshire, has been a large subject, which I conjecture to be the Doom, but none of the details can now be made out.

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean to include in this general category such examples as those at Bedfont, Middlesex, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, &c., where, owing to the limited space, the artist was only able to portray the figure of our Lord seated in judgment, and to fill up the remaining surface with angels blowing trumpets, and a few figures rising from their tombs, to demonstrate the full significance of the subject.



The attitude of the Virgin certainly suggests that she is in the act of supplicating the great Judge on behalf of mankind, and that such was intended by the painter may be inferred from other later examples of the same subject, where the supplicatory attitude of the Virgin is still more clearly demonstrated, for instance, at St. John's Church, Winchester, and at Newington-by-Sittingbourne, Kent, where in each case she is represented as in the act of baring her bosom. The angels bearing the instruments of the Passion are very commonly introduced into this subject, and in a painting at Houghton Conquest in Bedfordshire not only are the angels depicted, but below them are shields also charged with the emblems of the Passion.

The position of the small figures on either side of the aureole, viz., of a crowned figure on the north, and a bishop on the south, both rising from their graves, seems to point to the resurrection of two specially saintly personages, and I would hazard the suggestion that they may be intended for St. Catherine and St. Nicholas, both of whom were held in the highest veneration in the twelfth century. The history of St. Catherine of Alexandria is well known, and her trials, martyrdom and glory were depicted on the walls of many of our English churches. So again in the case of St. Nicholas, the tradition was that he was immediately after his decease carried up by angels into heaven. The two small figures may be intended for the two children whom St. Nicholas brought to life, after they had been murdered, cut to pieces, and salted, and are here introduced to demonstrate more clearly who the bishop is who is rising from the tomb.<sup>1</sup> I think that this is more probable than the suggestion that they are simply intended to portray the deacons by whom a bishop was generally accompanied. As these tombs are actually placed within the space representing the realms of heaven, there is little doubt that the resurrection of a royal personage, and bishop, whose eternal salvation had been foretold during their lifetime, or to whom had been awarded a place in heaven immediately after death, must be here portrayed.

It seems clear that in the second compartment of the picture we have only a representation of the blessed eagerly pressing forward to the enjoyment of everlasting felicity. The first procession has already passed from the left to the right of our Saviour, and joyfully advances towards the two angels who guard the Tree of Life. The smaller band is about to cross the space from the left to the right of our Lord, while the single figure is also hastening to join the preceding company, having been weighed by the Archangel Michael, and found worthy to be admitted into the realms of eternal bliss. The figures in the compartment below are rising from their graves, and the fact of their faces being turned upwards so as to behold our Saviour, and of their hands being raised in supplication, seems effectually to negative the supposition that they are in the agonies of eternal torment.

By some, I believe, this picture is supposed to represent our Lord in Judgment, and the Virgin interceding for the souls in purgatory, but as I have already asserted, there is nothing in the picture to convey the idea of an allusion to purgatory, nor does there seem to be sufficient space in

<sup>1</sup> It may be worth notice that in early examples only two children are represented as being restored to life by the saint;

in later instances the number was increased to three.



the blank portion at the south end of the middle compartment for a representation either of hell or of purgatory, and I presume that it would be placed there, if introduced into the picture at all. The representations of purgatory or of eternal punishment in sculpture and painting in England during the Norman period of architecture are very rare, and as far as I can ascertain, only three examples are now existing. In the series of sculptures on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, attributed to the time of Remigius at the end of the eleventh century, which are fully described and illustrated in the *Archæological Journal*, xxv, 1, and in the Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, vol. viii, are three scenes which illustrate this subject, viz. :—(1) See Fig. 10, "The future blessedness of the righteous contrasted with the torments of lost souls," where we see in the upper part a prostrate form being raised by angels, while below three souls are descending into the jaws of a monstrous fish; (2) Fig. 12 portrays in all its horrors the torments of hell; and (3) Fig. 13, Christ's descent to hell and His preaching there to the spirits in prison. The other two examples cannot have an earlier date assigned to them than quite the end of the twelfth century, and are both representations in mural paintings of the torments of the wicked, one at Chaldon, in Surrey (see *Archæological Journal*, xxx, 35), and the other at St. Mary's, Guildford, where are several scenes all of rather doubtful import, but which have been thus interpreted. On the tympanum of the north doorway of Quenington Church<sup>1</sup> is a figure of our Lord pressing the cross down the throat of Satan lying bound and prostrate at His feet; and at the side are three nude figures rising out of the mouth of a fish. In this example, which is of the earlier part of the twelfth century, as the figures are rising from the mouth of the fish and not from beneath it, no allusion to purgatory seems to be intended, and the subject simply portrays the victory of Christ over Satan, and the release of souls from the power of sin and of death. So, again at Beekford, also in Gloucestershire, on the tympanum of the closed-up north doorway is a sculpture of our Lord with the cross held in the right hand and pressed down the throat of the serpent, while the left is held over a prostrate figure. Here, again, the idea seems simply to be the victory of Christ over Satan, which is also exemplified in a similar manner on the tympanum of one of the doorways forming the triumphal arch of Shobdon Park, Herefordshire.

Thus then in the example at Patcham, I believe that there was no representation of hell or of purgatory, but that the encouragement to hope for mercy at the Day of Judgment was put prominently forward, and in this respect the painting essentially differs from those representations of the Doom which we so constantly find of later date, and more especially of the fifteenth century. In later times very many of our churches were adorned with a representation of the Doom, which was usually painted on the east wall of the nave above the chancel arch, and sometimes was continued along both the north and south walls. Very elaborate examples have been found at Trinity Church, Coventry;<sup>2</sup> North and South Leigh, Oxfordshire;<sup>3</sup> West Ham, Essex;<sup>4</sup> St. Michael's, St. Albans;<sup>5</sup> and a host of other instances might be adduced. There are also numerous examples

<sup>1</sup> "Archæologia," x, plate viii, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, i, 220.

<sup>3</sup> "Archæological Journal," xxx, 52.

<sup>4</sup> "Archæological Journal," xxiii, 63;

"Essex Archæologia," iv, 45.

<sup>5</sup> Drawings in the Society of Antiquaries Library.

where, owing to the want of space over the chancel arch, or for some other reason, the Doom was portrayed on some other part of the church, as at Broughton St. Lawrence, Bucks, over the north door;<sup>1</sup> Yaxley, Hunts, in the north transept;<sup>2</sup> Winchfield, Hants, on the west wall of the nave;<sup>3</sup> Axbridge, Somerset, over the arch opening from south aisle to south transept, Newington-by-Sittingbourne, Kent, on east wall of north aisle; Bedfont, Middlesex, within a recess on the north side of the chancel arch;<sup>4</sup> at Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, on the south wall of the chancel;<sup>5</sup> at Gloucester Cathedral, on a panel, formerly an altar piece, but now placed in the triforium,<sup>6</sup> &c., &c.<sup>7</sup> It is probably hardly necessary to point out how appropriate is the position over the chancel arch for this subject. The chancel arch, as forming the division between the nave and chancel would be considered symbolical of the gate of Heaven,<sup>8</sup> and what could be more properly impressed upon the minds of the people than this practical exposition of the terrible ordeal through which all will have to pass, ere they can be admitted to the realms of eternal happiness? Thus, as I have said, the subject of the Doom is generally found over the chancel arch. The doorways of the Church might in a lesser degree be also considered the gates of Heaven. Thus in the Eastern Church this subject was invariably represented over one of the doorways, and in the Western Church, except in England, it is not uncommon. In England it is very rare to meet with sculptured representations of the Doom either over the doorways or elsewhere. At Lincoln Cathedral over the south choir doorway is the figure of our Saviour within a quatrefoil shaped aureole. His right side and feet are bare, and the hands were perhaps also raised to shew the wounds,<sup>9</sup> but all the figures in this magnificent portal have been so cruelly mutilated that it is very difficult to explain the exact details of the scheme as here portrayed. The jaws of hell are represented beneath the feet of our Saviour. Again, over the west doorway and on each side of the arch of Bloxham Church, Oxfordshire, we have another instance of this subject.<sup>10</sup> Here also we see the jaws of hell portrayed, and both this example and that at Lincoln, which may be assigned to about the year 1280, shew a somewhat varied treatment as compared with the Patcham painting. The whole of the western façade of Wells Cathedral, completed in the year 1242, "above and around the great window archings is occupied by a band or series of figures rising from their graves."<sup>11</sup> A mutilated effigy of our Saviour is seated in the middle compartment of the central gable, and below Him, within

<sup>1</sup> "Archæological Journal," vi, 176.

<sup>2</sup> "Ecclesiologist," iii, 55.

<sup>3</sup> "British Archæological Association Journal," vi, 76.

<sup>4</sup> "Archæological Journal" xxiii, 63. "Ecclesiologist," xxvi (xxiii, new series) 318.

<sup>5</sup> "Archæologia," xxxviii, 436.

<sup>6</sup> "Archæologia," xxxvi, 370.

<sup>7</sup> A full list of the representations of the Doom in Mural painting, will be given in the index to the new edition of the "List of Mural Paintings," &c., about to be brought out by the Council of Education, South Kensington Museum.

<sup>8</sup> At Chalfont, St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, the chancel arch is unusually small. Above it has been painted a series of battlements pierced with oilettes and with quatrefoil openings on either side of the head of the arch, so as to give the whole the appearance of an embattled gateway, the date being about 1350.

<sup>9</sup> "Archæologia," xxxvi, 382, and plate, xxxi, fig. 1; also Wild's "Lincoln Cathedral," plates 12 to 14.

<sup>10</sup> "Skelton's Antiquities of Oxfordshire, Bloxham Hundred," p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> "Archæologia," xxxvi, 381.

recessed arches, are statues of the Apostles, and another series of figures within the arcade immediately beneath them. On the eastern side of a monument, circa 1500, to one of the Babington family at Kingston Church, Nottinghamshire,<sup>1</sup> is another sculptured representation of the Doom, and on one of the bosses of the choir roof at Norwich Cathedral<sup>2</sup> our Lord in Judgment forms the conclusion of a series of Old and New Testament subjects.

In ancient stained glass the subject of the Day of Judgment does not seem to have been common in England. In the upper part of the east window of Carlisle Cathedral<sup>3</sup> are portions of a Doom, and a more perfect representation remains in the west window of Fairford Church, Gloucestershire.<sup>4</sup> There is also an example in a window of a north chancel chapel at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.<sup>5</sup>

I have already endeavoured to point out some of the peculiarities of the Patcham painting, and have referred to the position of our Saviour as being unusual for this early period. In most of the early paintings and sculptures of our glorified Saviour, He is represented with the right hand raised in the attitude of benediction; in fact there does not seem to be any contemporary example of a painting of our Saviour shewing the wounds, and only a very few early instances in sculpture of this subject, all of which I believe to be of the Late Norman period. On the font at Kirkburn in Yorkshire<sup>6</sup> we have a figure of our Lord within an aureole held by angels, and with both hands raised, but the sculpture here is too much worn to enable us to make out how the drapery was arranged. Again, on the font at Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall,<sup>7</sup> the upper part of our Saviour's body is bare, and the hands are raised. It is probable, therefore, that here the wounds were displayed. On the monumental slab ascribed to Bishop Remigius, in the north aisle of Lincoln Cathedral, we find a similar representation of our Saviour, though the body seems to have been entirely clothed. Over the south doorway of Haddiscoe Church, Norfolk,<sup>8</sup> there is also a figure with both hands raised, but with the whole body richly vested, which I also believe to be intended for our Saviour, and though the side is not bare, yet the same idea seems clearly to be conveyed. On the very quaint font at Ingleton, Yorkshire, is a curious representation of the Virgin with the infant Saviour on her lap, having the upper part of His body bare, and both the hands also upheld, with the undoubted object of illustrating the same doctrine. All these, however, are single figures, and have only been cited as being probably contemporary with, and intended to set forth the same teaching, as the painting at Patcham. But are there any parallel examples which can be quoted to elucidate our subject? In England I have been unable to find any, though in some instances, chiefly of the latter part of the fifteenth century, we find features which correspond closely with those in the Patcham picture. For instance, at Slym-

<sup>1</sup> "Archæologia," xxxvi, 387, and plate xxxii, fig. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Goulburn, "The Ancient Sculptures in the Roof of Norwich Cathedral."

<sup>3</sup> "Archæologia," xxxvi, 385, and plate xxxi, fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Archæologia," xxxvi, 387, and plate xxxi, fig. 6. "Murray's Handbook of Gloucestershire."

<sup>5</sup> "Archæologia," xxxvi, 388.

<sup>6</sup> "British Archaeological Association Journal," vii, 38, and "Associated Architectural Societies Reports," iii, 232.

<sup>7</sup> "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts," Van Voorst, 1844.

<sup>8</sup> Parker's "Glossary of Architecture," illustrations of Niches.

bridge Church, Gloucestershire,<sup>1</sup> a painting of the Doom was found over the chancel arch, in which the central figure of our Saviour with drapery similarly arranged was showing the wounds, at His side kneels the Virgin crowned, and behind her an angel holding the cross. So we also find in the example discovered, and the upper portion destroyed, at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, but in both these cases the rest of the picture is treated in a manner quite different to that at Patcham. One of the earliest examples of the Doom in mural painting in England was discovered in 1852 on the north wall of the nave of St. John's Church, Winchester, and has since been destroyed.<sup>2</sup> In this painting, which was probably executed in the thirteenth century, our Lord was represented in the centre of the upper compartment seated and with the drapery so arranged as to show the wounds; by His right side kneels the Virgin crowned and in the attitude of supplication, and behind her stands an angel holding the cross and scourge; on our Saviour's left is another angel holding the pillar and spear stained with blood, and on each side of Him are six of the Apostles seated and an angel blowing a trumpet; below in the centre is St. Michael weighing souls, on the dexter side a Franciscan monk,<sup>3</sup> St. Francis, conducting the company of the Blessed, these being, as at Patcham, naked, their rank in life being denoted by a crown, mitre, and tonsures; on the sinister side the lower part of a large demon and of feet behind him prove that this part of the picture represented the souls of the condemned being dragged away to torment; below, again, are nude figures rising from coffins, and the rank of the personages is again demonstrated by crowns, mitres, and tonsures, the crowns being of the same type as those at Patcham. There are many points of resemblance between these paintings at Winchester and Patcham, but the main distinction between the latter and all the later paintings remains, namely, that in the Patcham painting all are pressing forward to eternal bliss, while at Winchester and elsewhere part are being conducted to the realms of Heaven, while the other part are being hurried away to everlasting torment. In the example at Bedfont, Middlesex, already referred to, the figure of our Saviour also bears a marked resemblance to that at Patcham. It seems to me to be of the thirteenth century, though the late Canon Rock did not consider it to be earlier than the fourteenth century. In France we have some examples in some degree corresponding with the example at Winchester, and the instances I have been able to find are also all of the thirteenth century. On the tympanum of the great central west doorway of Notre Dame de Paris, we see a figure of our Lord in all respects corresponding to the one at Patcham. On His right is an angel with spear, and behind him a crowned figure of the Virgin kneeling; on His left an angel bearing the cross, and another saint kneeling behind him; below, in the centre, St. Michael weighing souls, the blessed on the north, while the cursed are hurried away to perdition on the south side; and below again are various figures of bishops, kings, &c., rising from their tombs, with an angel on each side sounding the trumpet. At Rheims Cathedral, on a side doorway, we find a similar figure of our Saviour. On His right is the Virgin kneeling, and behind her an angel

<sup>1</sup> Notes, Hist., and Arch., on Church of St. John the Baptist, Slymbridge, p. 59. "Ecclesiologist," iv, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated and fully described in British Archæological Association Journal, ix, 8.



holding a cross and a napkin; on His left a male saint kneeling, and an angel behind him holding in his hands the crown of thorns and other emblems of the Passion; below are two tiers of figures rising from their tombs, some naked and some still enveloped in their grave clothes. On the great central west doorway of Bourges Cathedral is also a similar figure of our Saviour in the centre. On His right is an angel bearing the cross, then another angel, and then the kneeling figure of the Virgin; on His left two angels and a male figure kneeling; below St. Michael weighing souls, with figures on the north side clothed in the robes of righteousness and advancing towards St. Peter, while those on the south are naked and being driven to eternal perdition. Another example, and the one most nearly illustrating our subject, is the sculpture on the tympanum of the great central doorway of Amiens Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> Here again is a figure of our Lord seated with the hands raised, and the drapery arranged so as to leave the whole of the upper portion of the body bare, and not one side only. On His right is the Virgin crowned and kneeling with uplifted hands, behind her is an angel bearing the cross with the crown of thorns on the arm nearest our Lord, and a second angel kneels behind him. On our Lord's left is an ecclesiastic kneeling, and behind him an angel holding a spear and (?) a sponge, while another angel kneels behind him. Below are a number of angels flying, some bearing crowns; below again are two processions of figures, those on the north are advancing clothed towards St. Peter, who holds his key, while those on the south are naked, and are being hurried off to eternal torment. In the lowest portion is in the centre, St. Michael weighing souls, and the dead are rising from their graves on either side. These examples all bear some resemblance to the painting at Patcham, and especially as to the figure of our Lord and the presence of the Virgin and the angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, but they all exhibit a more elaborate treatment of the subject of the Doom, and it can almost with certainty be asserted that they are later in their character than the example at Patcham. The only instances which I have at present lighted upon, as belonging to the period to which I wish to prove this painting to belong, and which in any way correspond with it, are at the Cathedral of St. Trophimus, at Arles, and at the Church of St. Iago de Compostella. In the former "the tympanum over the door" (the main entrance) "is occupied by the figure of the Saviour as Judge of the world with the attributes of the four Evangelists; and the sculptured frieze below represents in the centre the Twelve Apostles, and on the sides the Last Judgment; the Good being on the left of the spectator, the Bad, bound by a rope and dragged by devils, on the right. The archivolt is filled with the Heavenly Host in the shape of rows of cherubims."<sup>2</sup> This porch is an addition to the original church, and probably dates from the latter part of the twelfth century. In this example the figure of our Lord is in the usual attitude of benediction. Another and earlier example of the doom is sculptured on the tympanum of the great west doorway of Autun Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> On the noble doorway of the church of

<sup>1</sup> Figured in M de Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie, Architecture Religieuse*, 1st ed, p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> Murray's "Handbook of France."

Fergusson's "Illustrated Handbook of Architecture," p. 602.

<sup>3</sup> See illustration in the fine work of Baron Taylor. "Voyages dans l'ancienne France," Bourgogne, tome ii.



St. Iago de Compostella, of which a fine cast is to be seen at the South Kensington Museum, we have a figure of our Saviour draped as at Patcham, with hands raised and right side and feet bare. He is surrounded by four figures holding the Evangelistic emblems, and on His right are the Virgin holding a crown, two angels holding the cross, &c. As we are informed, this splendid triple doorway was erected by one Master Matteo in the year 1188.

As a last example, I will invite attention to a folio MS. in the British Museum, marked Nero, c,iv, the date of which is about the year 1125. The subject of the Doom is depicted on nine separate pages, and an illustration and full account of them will be found in *Archæologia*, xxxvi, plate xxix, page 378. On one page is the figure of our Saviour seated within an oval vesica held by angels. His drapery is disposed as at Patcham, the right side bare, and the hands raised, with the marks of the wounds clearly displayed; the hair and beard are also similarly arranged. Below Him are two angels with outspread wings, holding the cross, on the top of which rests the Book of Life; behind and beneath it is an altar; on two other pages are the Apostles seated, six on each page, St. Peter, as usual, with one key; on two more pages are the blessed and the cursed; in each case six ecclesiastics, fully vested, appear below, and numerous rows of heads distinguished by crowns, tonsures, &c., above. On another page are six angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, and three of them carry pennis similar to the one at Patcham. Two other pages pourtray in all their horrors the torments of the condemned, while in the last, which is the first in order in the MS., are shown the dead rising from their coffins, and four angels of the Resurrection blowing long horns similar to those in the Patcham picture.

There can be no doubt that if we can prove this painting at Patcham to have been originally executed in the twelfth century we have here the earliest complete example of the Day of Judgment which has yet been discovered in England. I have both here and elsewhere used the term "originally" painted or executed, as there are several faint traces which may indicate that at some period this picture has been, in part at least, renewed. For instance, one can make out that the right arm, and perhaps both arms, of our Saviour have been considerably foreshortened, but the original intention seems to have been the same, the whole of the fingers of the right hand having been raised, and not the two, as is usually the case, in the act of benediction. The hair of our Saviour originally flowed more over the shoulders, and was not nearly so long as we now see it. There were also numerous faint lines in various places, which seem to denote some slightly different treatment in the original painting. It seems, however, extremely probable that some of these alterations were made by the original artist himself. The present painting is on a very thin layer of plaster laid directly on the surface of the wall, which is composed of Isle of Wight stone, and therefore whatever, if anything, was done in later times was no more than we should call a restoration at the present day.

The treatment of the subject seems to bear internal evidence of its early date, but this internal evidence is often dangerous to follow without some corroborative facts. The whole of the painting, namely, the main subject and the decorative pattern round the arch, was evidently executed

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Waller's remarks (post.)

at one time, and one would naturally conclude from the ornamental patterns used, that as they are of the same character as the ornaments employed in sculpture in Norman times alone, therefore they must prove that the painting was executed in the twelfth century. Unfortunately, as I shall proceed to show, we must not draw such hasty conclusions. The elaborate painted decorations on the Norman arches at St. Alban's Cathedral, which are of pure Norman character, are by some, though, in my opinion, erroneously, thought to be not earlier than the thirteenth century; and it is recorded that one Walter de Colchester was employed on works of this kind at St. Albans early in the thirteenth century. A pattern of bold double chevrons, which occurs at St. Albans, is also found on early pointed arches at Ulcomb, Kent, and in the Revestry or Chapel of St. Faith, at Westminster Abbey, and even on an octagonal column of the latter half of the thirteenth century at Hunstanton Church, Norfolk. So again on the early pointed arches at West Chillington, Sussex, are painted stars and other Norman ornaments, which might well have been considered coeval with the arches themselves, but in several places the plaster on which this course of decoration was executed, has dropped off, and an earlier masonry pattern has been revealed beneath it. It seems to me that owing to the fact of the painters of the early times possessing but a slight knowledge of perspective, they were in the thirteenth century tempted to perpetuate the various simple ornaments used in Norman sculpture, rather than attempt to portray the bold foliage, or dogtooth or nailhead ornaments, which may be designated the distinguishing mouldings of the Early English or first pointed period, and which are not easy to represent in painting, except to an artist fully acquainted with the principles of perspective. Thus, the instances of the dogtooth ornament in painting are very rare, and I only know of three examples, namely, on the south wall of the Presbytery of St. Alban's Cathedral, forming a border to a band of rich foliage; within the splays of two lancet windows recently opened out in the south Chancel Chapel of Godalming Church, Surrey; and on the east wall of St. Olave's Church, Chichester, now destroyed. This uncertainty of judging by the ornamental patterns will apply almost equally to the foliage in the painting under notice. The band which forms the border of the semi-circular portion of the picture seems to be of an early type, though the double spray may be an addition to the remaining scroll pattern. We find a somewhat similar scroll pattern at Pytchley and Rothwell, Northamptonshire, Walsoken, Norfolk, Hullavington and Stapleford, Wiltshire, in each case painted on an arch of late Norman character. So, again, the leaf pattern forming the lower boundary to the main part of the subject is of a type by no means uncommon in late Norman work. We find a parallel example in a string-course above the porch and round one of the courses of the north doorway of the Church of St. Lawrence extra-Walmgate, York, on the knocker of the south doorway of Adel Church, Yorkshire, on a string-course or cornice along the Norman house or hospital in the High Street, Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> and on fonts at Wansford, Northamptonshire,<sup>2</sup> and Great or West Shefford, Berkshire.<sup>3</sup> All the illuminated pages of the Cotton

<sup>1</sup> Pugin, "Specimens of Gothic Architecture," vol. i, plate iii.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson's "Baptismal Fonts."

<sup>3</sup> "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts." Van Voorst, 1844.

MS., already referred to have ornamental borders, some of which resemble this leaf pattern. It also occurs in painting at S. Mary's Church, Guildford,<sup>1</sup> in the Chapel of St. Sepulchre, Winchester Cathedral, which is probably not earlier than the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> On the arch of the closed up north doorway at Malmesbury Abbey Church, and on the south doorway of Ditteridge Church, Wiltshire, we have somewhat similar leaves arranged in pairs, and not on a running stem, as also on some of the choir arches of New Shoreham Church, Sussex. On a capital dug up in the ruins of Lewes Priory, and now in the British Museum, we also find pairs of leaves of similar pattern joined by a band, and this last example perhaps furnishes us with a clue, which may help us in assigning a date to the Patcham painting, and will tend to strengthen the contention that it is late twelfth century work.

Besides the decorative patterns we have other characteristics which will assist us in determining the date of the painting. The dresses of the various figures accord with the date we are endeavouring to prove.<sup>3</sup> The form and position of the wings of the angels agree with other representations in twelfth century painting and sculpture, the horns which the angels of the Resurrection are blowing are similar to those in the Cotton MS. and the sculptures at Autun, in later examples a trumpet, not a horn, generally being the instrument used to summon mankind to Judgment. The crown of the Virgin, of which the other crowns in the picture are intended to be fac-similes, except as to the jewels, is certainly of an early type, and similar to the one which the Virgin wears in the sculpture on the font at Ingleton. So again the procession of nude figures seems to indicate an earlier method of treatment than the more elaborate thirteenth century examples, which I have mentioned, where the saved are usually clothed in the robes of righteousness while the condemned are being hurried away naked to torment. Lastly the fact of the full faces of all the figures being depicted proves its early character. This we also notice in the Norman painting at Westmeston, where, in the subject of the descent from the Cross, one figure who is releasing one of the arms of our Saviour, has his neck twisted right round so as to show the full face. So again we see in the Crypt Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral, and in the very early paintings at Kempley. As in this last case we find that the painting is executed on a very thin layer of plaster laid directly over the surface of the wall, which tends to prove that no earlier decoration existed here.

Now, is there anything in the history of the church which may enable us to assign a positive date to this painting? I fear that in this case we can bring forward nothing at all conclusive. We find Patcham, or Peccham as it is variously called, mentioned as having a church at the time of the Doomsday survey. We also learn that it was granted by William the Conqueror to William the great Earl de Warenne, and that at an early period the advowson and rectory were in the possession of the wealthy Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes. In a charter<sup>4</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> "Builder," 1864, p. 722.

<sup>2</sup> Winchester Volume of the British Archaeological Association, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. J. Neale, F.S.A., considers the dresses to be more in the style of the thirteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> This Charter is set out in full in

Horsfield's "History and Antiquities of Lewes and its Vicinity," vol. ii, appendix iv; see also Horsfield's "History of Sussex," i, 116 note; and Hussey's "Churches of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey," p. 252. It is not mentioned in Dugdale's "Monasticon."

Priory by Seffrid II., who ruled over the See of Chichester from 1180 to 1204, the bishop grants and confirms to the Priory the Church of Patcham in conjunction with several others in the same neighbourhood and elsewhere. The date at the end "11—" is defective, but it is probable that this charter was given soon after Seffrid's elevation to the Bishopric. It seems also probable that the use of the words "grant and confirm" at the commencement and elsewhere, denotes that this charter was given to ensure to the monks the quiet possession of some property either recently acquired, or owing to the troublous times, not previously formally conferred upon them. The large number of churches, &c., mentioned in this charter, proves that the possessions of the Priory must have been at this time very materially increased. It is by no means unlikely that, as in many other instances, the monks would at once set to work to enlarge and beautify their newly-acquired churches, and it is, at least, a coincidence that at Patcham an important addition seems to have been made about this time. The church must have originally consisted only of a nave and chancel, but towards the close of the twelfth century the present west tower was added. This opens by a pointed arch into the nave, and has in the lower stage a west window, lancet-shaped externally, but semi-circular headed and widely splayed within; a small lancet on the second stage, and a small semi-circular headed window on each face of the upper stage. These features clearly mark the transitional character of the tower, and we may accordingly consider it to have been built between the years 1175 and 1200. The fact of the tower being built at this time points to the conclusion that this addition to the church marks an era of newly increased importance in the parish, and is it not possible and probable that the execution of this painting may belong to the same period? It is certainly more elaborate than we should expect to find in so small a church, and it is, therefore, probable that it was executed at the expense of, and by one of the monks from, the Priory, and that the tower was also built at this time. It is clear from the beautiful fragments which have been dug up on the site of Lewes Priory, many of which may still be seen among the ruins, while some have been removed and deposited in the British Museum, that great building operations were carried on there in the latter part of the twelfth century, and it affords an additional proof of the property of the priory being at that time considerably augmented. Although I do not pretend to assert that any absolute proofs as to the date of this painting have been adduced, still it has been demonstrated that in the latter part of the twelfth century a number of churches, including that at Patcham, were granted and confirmed to the Priory at Lewes, and that probably owing to this addition to the possessions of the priory the monks at once commenced improvements at their own monastery and in their newly acquired churches.

Not many examples of mural paintings have been discovered which can with certainty be ascribed to the twelfth century, and most of these are simply masonry or decorative patterns. At Westmeston Church, about six miles from Patcham, a series of twelfth century paintings were discovered in 1861, but now no longer exist.<sup>1</sup> The only point of resemblance between these paintings and the one at Patcham is that over the Chancel arch was a representation of the Agnus Dei within a quatre-

<sup>1</sup> See "Sussex Archaeol.," xvi, 1; "Archæological Journal," xx, 73, 163.



foil shaped aureole. The occurrence of an aureole of this shape is uncommon, and may point to some connection between the two series of paintings. Towards the close of the twelfth century a considerable amount of mural painting seems to have been carried out in the Sussex churches. Besides the elaborate series referred to at Westmeston, we find the whole of the walls of Hardham Church near Pulborough decorated with various scripture subjects, and a St. George and the Dragon, probably the earliest example in England of this legend in mural painting. In the south aisle of West Chiltington is a portion of the subject of our Lord in Majesty, already alluded to; on an arch on the east side of the north transept, opening into the library, at Chichester Cathedral are some figures also of this date, and within a recess on the south side of the Chancel arch of Wisborough Green are early paintings of the Crucifixion and St. James introducing pilgrims to our Lord in heaven. These and the Patcham paintings I have no hesitation in asserting to be considerably earlier than the better known paintings at Preston, which are attributed to the thirteenth century, and the details of which I have carefully compared with those at Patcham. I think, therefore, that on the whole the evidence of the painting itself, which certainly tends to prove it to have been executed towards the end of the twelfth century, has been strengthened by the recorded history of, and architectural additions to, the church at Patcham and the priory at Lewes at this period, and that it has been demonstrated that the most probable date of the execution of this Patcham painting was during the last quarter of the twelfth century, and most likely between 1180 and 1190. In any case it is peculiarly interesting as being, in all probability, the earliest complete example of the subject of the Day of Judgment which has yet been discovered in any of our English churches.

<sup>1</sup> "Archæological Journal," xxx, 48. "Sussex Archæol." xxii, 134.





## NOTES ON THE PAINTING OF THE DOOM AT PATCHAM.

By J. G. WALLER.

The general arrangement of this composition follows a common type, and it may be correctly stated as an early example of the subject. Its rude drawing, especially in the figure of our Lord, may very well place it at the end of the twelfth century, and it is at this time that this subject seems to have received its complete development in the Latin Church. Wherever it is found, either at home or abroad, there is no deviation from one general law except in unimportant details. The artist may arrange his materials with some variation, often an account of the nature of the space to be occupied, or some special feature may now and then be introduced as here in the two figures supposed to represent St. Katherine and St. Nicholas, but there is never that striking difference which would have ensued if each had conceived the subject entirely from his own independent judgment.

The figure of Christ with uplifted hand displaying his wounds, generally nude in the upper part of the body, except in some special cases, as in the treatment by Orcagna at Pisa, is to declare his passion and suffering for the salvation of mankind, and when a red mantle is worn, it has reference to that put on in scorn when saluted as "King of the Jews" (Matt. xxvii, 29.) In these cases there is no benediction. But when the figure is completely clothed it represents another phase, and this is the earlier treatment of our Lord in Majesty with the right hand in benediction, the left sometimes holding a book, sometimes the orb with crown, symbol of royal power. The attendant angels, cherubim and seraphim, are disposed in a more or less degree according to space for the subject, or according to the completeness with which it is treated. But those angels with the implements of the Passion are most constant, and are given even in that of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel. St. Michael, as signifier or banner bearer of the heavenly host, is evidently as such introduced in the Patcham painting, though some mediæval writers say that his office is to bear the lance. The incident of the Virgin kneeling on the right side in supplication is of very frequent use, but it would be refining too much to say it is for the souls of purgatory; it is rather for mercy in general, which is more consistent with the popular theology of the Middle ages. It was also common to place the figure of the Baptist opposite to that of the Virgin on the left side, and if the banner-bearer was not identified as an angel, this figure could be referred to the Baptist.

Although in the Patcham painting no representation of the condemned souls is preserved, the subject would have been incomplete without them,

and they must have been there. It is always common to see all orders of society, both amongst those saved as those condemned, represented by such marks of distinction as crowns or mitres and tonsures for the clergy, and they are pretty equally distributed in each. The resurrection of figures from tombs is, as might be supposed, commonly given, but sometimes groups in shrouds take the place. The introduction of the Tree of Life, as it doubtless is, is not at all common, and therefore, though here fragmentary, is so far interesting. But in general disposition there is a type of composition consistent, not only with examples in this country, but following the rule observed on the continent, the variations being of small importance. Figures of the twelve Apostles sitting on thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel belong to a complete composition of this subject, but they are very often omitted and sometimes reduced to three or four, as in this instance. It may be supposed, that at all times the painter, even though a monk, as doubtless was always the case, was not always well informed, and rudely imitated familiar conventions without that precision which would indicate a more instructed hand. This will account for some omissions occasionally observed, and it is, therefore, of great value to have compared the several different treatments of the subjects in different periods. Of the appearance of the Doom in Christian art we have probably no earlier evidence than that of the twelfth century.

Having given the drawing a more critical examination than I was at first enabled to do, I feel that there is difficulty in assigning the whole to the twelfth century, and it is quite certain that an early retouching must have taken place. The throne, on which our Saviour sits, was in all probability originally the rainbow, there is yet a curve on one side which proves this. Many of the present details of drapery are unlike what is seen in the twelfth or thirteenth century, in fact it has more the sign of an ignorant retouching. The present shape of the crowns is doubtful, but that of the mitres is certainly of the fourteenth. To what time this is due, whether to the late restoration or an earlier it is impossible to say, but whilst this invalidates the authority of fixing a date of the twelfth century to the whole, there are details in the upper part in angels blowing horns, figure of Saviour, &c., which point to the original painting being possibly executed at the end of the twelfth or the first year of the thirteenth century.

## Original Document.

GRANT BY EDWARD III. TO SIR JOHN AVENEL OF £1000  
FOR THE CAPTURE OF SIR ROLLAND DE DINANT  
LE FILZ, A BRETON KNIGHT. Dated 4 July, 21 of his  
Reign. (1347.)

(Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.)

“Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie, Dominus Hibernie, Omnibus &c. Sciatis quod cum dilectus et fidelis noster Johannes Avenel, Rollandum de Dynant le filz, militem de Britannia, adversario nostro Francie adherentem, per ipsum Johannem nuper de guerra captum, in manus nostras reddiderat tanquam nobis captivatum, Nos ad bonum servitium et gestum laudibilem ipsius Johannis in hac parte consideracionem habentes, volentes igitur provide ipsum prout convenit respicere, gracie concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eidem Johanni in remuneracionem sui servicii antedictæ Mille libras de dono nostro, percipiendas sibi heredibus seu executoribus suis infra tres annos, videlicet, in Festo Sancti Michaelis anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo quadragesimo octavo, Ducentas et quinquaginta marcas, et in Festo Pasche proximo sequenti Ducentas et quinquaginta marcas” [and so forth at Michaelmas and Easter till fully paid] “de exitibus subsidii lanarum coriorum et pellium lanutarum infra regnum nostrum Anglie nobis concessi in portu Londoniensi in quorumcunque manus dictum subsidium deveniri, volentes quod tallie de dicta summa Mille librarum statim cum per ipsum Johannem vel attornatos suos petite fuerint ad receptum Scaccarii nostri levantur et eidem Johanni vel eius in hac parte attornatis liberentur. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso juxta Calesium vicesimo quarto die Julii Anno regni nostri Anglie vicesimo primo, regni vero nostre Francie octavo.

Per ipsum Regem.”<sup>1</sup>

A broad tag with a fragment of the Great Seal is appended.

The indorsements shew that by the 27th May, 1354,<sup>2</sup> the gallant receiver of this munificent gift had got full payment. Epitomized from the Latin, the document is to the effect that Edward (III.) of England grants to John Avenel, who had taken captive sir Rolland de Dynant the son, a Breton knight, and given him up to the King as the latter's prisoner, the large sum of £1000 as a reward. The amount to be paid half yearly within three years at Easter and Michaelmas by instalments of 250 marks from the issues of the subsidy of wool, hides and fleeces granted to the King in the Port of London. The gift was made in the camp before Calais on 24th July, 1347, a period when the King was in the height of his renown. He had won the great battle of Cressy the year before, and now Calais, which had been resolutely defended for eleven months, was about to fall into his hands, to remain for two centuries an appanage of the English crown, eventually the cherished relic of its great continental possessions.

We know neither the county nor the immediate connections of Sir John Avenel, whom the King thus honoured. And we might have

<sup>1</sup> Exchequer T. R. Miscellanea in the Public Record Office, No. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Seven years, however, instead of the three in the document, had elapsed.

known as little about his Breton captive but for the following interesting document which fell by chance under the writer's notice. It has been preserved by a painstaking Essex antiquary, James Strangeman, and his coadjutor, Sir Richard St George, Norroy King at Arms in the time of Elizabeth and James I, in their volume entitled "*Genealogical Collections*" (Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS., No. 5937, Plut. clxxxii, D.) It occurs in fol. 94 to this effect:—

"Nos Rolland de Dynaun chivaler sire de Montenfilant faisons a savoir a touz a queuz il apertent comme monsieur Johan de Hardersell chivaler Angloys soit nostre prisoner pris en leal guerre qe noz est oblissons Rolland nostre filz et a li donons pouair a quitter le dit monsieur Johan de tutz maners de sermens a noz faitz et a autres a de la recoverer [c]est a savoir en delivrant le persone et lestate du dit Rolland nostre filz et saunz rempair envers Monsieur Johan Davanell chivaler Dangleter a qui le dit Rolland est prisoner A<sup>o</sup> 1347."

Appended is a sketch of the seal of the original, which seems to have borne four lozenges in fesse and three roundels in chief.

Sir Rolland de Dinant, knight, Lord of Montenfilant, having taken prisoner Sir John de Hardersell, an English knight, gives him these letters patent in order, if possible, to arrange the deliverance of his own son Rolland, who, as already seen, had been taken by sir John Avenel, or, as he calls him, Davenel. Sir Rolland the father gives his son power to free sir John de Hardersell of all obligations, oaths, &c., undertaken for his ransom, which, it may be inferred, he was to employ in liberating the younger Breton knight from sir John Avenel. The expression "*saunz rempair*" *i.e.* without recourse, probably meant that if Hardersell did not pay the son's ransom to Avenel or if the latter did not or could not liberate the son, the father would still be bound by his knightly honour. This is a little obscure however. Avenel did well in the affair, if he got the prisoner's ransom in addition to the King's gift. The whole is a curious example of the business-like way in which the battles of that age were conducted. If a combatant was known to be a man of means, his life was pretty safe, when no personal animosity existed between him and his captors; if, however, he was slender in his possessions, he stood a chance of being left to the mercy of the "*rascalry*" who hung on the skirts of a mediæval army.<sup>1</sup>

"Montenfilant" is doubtless the chateau of Montafilant, the ruins of which are still visible, according to the guide books, on a scarped hill about twelve kilomètres north-east of Dinan in Brittany. It is said to have passed from the house of Dinan to those of Laval and Tournemine, and its mural enceinte, almost entire, is described as triangular and situated on a Roman camp. It is not unlikely a place of some consequence, even in that land of castles, some of which, as Fougères, Vitré, or Josselin, one would like to see described by the hand of Mr. G. T. Clark.

<sup>1</sup> The Avenels came in the train of the Conqueror, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a great and powerful family. They sprang from Sartilly and Les Biards in the Côtentin. They appear at an early date in Nottingham and Northamptonshires. Their chief possessions, however, were on the Scottish

border, where they were Lords of Eskdale and considerable benefactors to Melrose Abbey, their charters to which are very curious in their reservations of sporting rights. This real connection of the family with Melrose has received additional illustration from Sir Walter Scott in "*The Monastery*."

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 4, 1880.

Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., in the Chair.

In the course of some general remarks which he made upon the opening of a new session, the Chairman spoke with regret of the loss of Sir John Lubbock's bill for the preservation of ancient monuments, the general success of the Lincoln meeting, and the high character of the papers read at it. He referred to the interest of the helmet and mail exhibition, and spoke of the critical catalogue which would so ably illustrate that valuable display. The Chairman then alluded to some of the objects exhibited at the meeting, and called upon Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum to read his paper, "Additional Notes on Finger Rings, and on some Engraved Gems of the Early Christian Period." This paper is printed in vol. xxxvii, p. 351.

Professor WESTWOOD read the following "Notice of an early Posset Pot, with Date and Name of maker."

"The accompanying engraving represents a Posset Pot in my possession, which will probably be considered as sufficiently interesting to warrant its being brought before the notice of the members of the Archaeological Institute on account of its early date, and from bearing the hitherto unrecorded name of the ancestor of some of the most celebrated manufacturers of ceramic articles in England.

"Dr. Johnson, quoting Suckling, defines posset, as a substantive, from the Latin *posca*, and as "milk, curdled with wine or any other acid;" and quoting Shakespeare, as a verb, "to turn, to curdle, as milk with acids." Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, Act i, sc. 5, says

'And with a sodaine vigour it doth posset

'And curd, like aggre (eager?) droppings into milke,

'The thin and wholesome blood.'

"Browne, in his *Britannia's Pastorale*, b. ii., s. 3, sings :

'This is his breakfast : and his meale at night,

'Possets no less provoking appetite,

'Whose deare ingredients valed' all at more

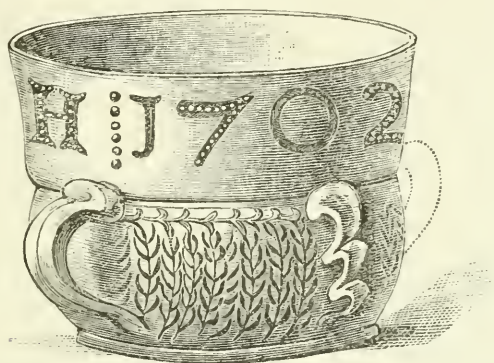
'Than all his ancestors were worth before.'

"Whilst Minshowe derives posset from *posson* *Fr.*, *potio* *Lat.*, and Skinner from *Fr.* *poser*, to settle, "because when the milk curds the heavier particles settle at the bottom."

"But Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt (to whose excellent work on the ceramic art of Great Britain, 2 vols. royal 8vo, London, 1878, I am indebted for many of the details of this article,) is more explicit on the use of Posset.



“As posset and posset pots are local matters, a few words concerning them will here be interesting. Posset pots have been made and regularly used in Derbyshire and the neighbouring counties from an early period to the present time, and posset is an excellent mixture of hot ale, milk, sugar, spices and sippets, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, dice of bread or oat cake. In these counties this beverage was formerly almost, if not quite universal for supper on Christmas-eve; and the posset pot was thus used once a year and often became a heir-loom in the family. A small silver coin and the wedding ring of the mistress of the family were generally dropped into the ‘posset’ when the guests were assembled, and those who partook of it took each a spoonful in turn as the ‘pot’ was handed round. Whichever of the party fished up the coin was considered certain of good luck in the coming year, while an early and happy marriage was believed to be the enviable fate of the lucky individual who fished up the ring.’ (Vol. i, p. 108.)



“My posset pot measures six-and-three-quarter inches in the diameter of the top, and is four-and-three-quarter inches high. It holds nearly two quarts. It is made of very hard highly glazed material of a buff colour, with two handles (one of which, indicated in the engraving by dots, is unfortunately broken off), and two ornamental trilobed loops, each half way between the handles. The body of the pot is divided into two portions, the upper has the rim slightly bent outwards, fitting it the better to bring it to the lips, and the lower part, or belly as it is technically termed, is separated from the upper part by a slight impression running all round the pot. It is gradually but slightly narrowed to the bottom, which has a deeper impression running all round, so as to make a narrow foot. The upper part is marked with an eight-rayed star and the letters

✱ IOB : HEATH : 1702

“The letters and numerals are pitch brown, or nearly black, applied to the surface, and consequently raised, the colouring matter having at the bottom of the letters slightly run and discoloured the surface. The letters are rudely formed with very heavy down strokes; the alternate letters are ornamented with little white dots, of which the material has been added on the surface of the letters. The four divisions between the handles and the loops are ornamented in a very peculiar manner with pitchy coloured marks, forming a series of upright sprigs, with leaves on each side of the stems,

the tops of the sprays being bent backwards horizontally and forming terminal erect leaflets, irregular in size, as are also some of the sprigs. This ornament is done in a very artistic manner, and I suppose must have been executed with a fine camel's hair brush, worked by a very steady hand.

"Pottery dated previous to the middle of the eighteenth century is very rare. The following are a few of the earliest known examples. In the Museum of Practical Geology, in Jernyn Street, London, is a curious candlestick in three tiers, with several lateral large bulging loops, bearing on its lowest portion the date of 1649, and the initials E.M. In the South Kensington Museum is preserved a wine jug of white earthenware, globular in form, six inches high and four and five-sixths of an inch in diameter, with a very short narrow neck, and a single loop at the top serving for the handle. It is stated to be from the Lambeth pottery, and is inscribed in thin blue letters <sup>WHIT</sup><sub>1652</sub> with a flourishing line beneath the date. It was purchased at the price of £3 3s. In the same Museum is also preserved a curious shallow circular bowl, with buff coloured glaze, and with brown and green ornaments in relief, such as a heart, skull, hour-glass, &c., in the inside, and also, rising from the centre within, are two arms, with the hands crossing in the middle; six handles project from the outside of the rim. It is of English work, and bears the date of 1656, but without any maker's name or initials. Its diameter is eight inches. It was purchased at the sale of the Bernal Collection at the price of £3 15s.

"In the Jernyn Street Museum is a puzzle jug of brown ware, bearing the name incised in writing letters "John Wedgwood, 1691."

"Another curious article is a miniature earthenware cradle, seven inches long, of excellent form and elaborately ornamented, bearing the date of 1693, on the top of the head cover, the figures of a dark colour, dotted with white. It is in the Bateman Collection.

"Mr. L. Jewitt's figure, 812 (vol. ii, p. 418), is the earliest known dated example of Nottingham ware, and is in the possession of the Rev. J. S. Doxey. The lower part is ornamented with sprigs, leaves and flowers, and the upper part bears the following inscription:—

Samuel Wilkinson.	Major [Mayor]	} of Nottingham.
and Sarah his wife	and Majoress	
1700		

"The South Kensington Museum also possesses a circular mug of brown glazed Nottingham ware, with a wide-ribbed neck, a single handle gadrooned, the outer body pierced with sprigs and flowers incised, and inscribed Nott<sup>n</sup>. 1703. It measures three inches and seven-eighths high by three inches and one-eighth in diameter.

"Previous to this time John Dwight, in 1671, and John Ariens Von Hamme, had respectively taken out patents for improvements in the manufacture of pottery wares. At this time also Thomas and Ralph Toft were making 'Toft dishes' of large size, inscribed with their names, containing portraits of King Charles II. and his Queen, with the imperial lion rampant. Specimens of these curious dishes are in the Jernyn Street and Bateman Museums, and another is in the collection of Mr. Bagshawe; in the last example the figures are formed of black lines, each covered with little white dots. In this example, for want of sufficient space, the last letter of the word RALPH and the first letter of that of TOFT are conjoined, the second down stroke of the H serving also for the down stroke of the T.

"Another of these large Toft dishes, seventeen and a quarter inches in diameter, is contained in the South Kensington Museum. It is of yellow earthenware, with a large figure of a mermaid in relief in the centre, holding a comb and a square mirror in her hand, and a latticed border round the edge, on which is inscribed the name of THOMAS TOFT. It is ascribed to late seventeenth century, and cost £15.

"Another remarkable application of dated pottery ware is found in the number of coarse earthenware grave stones, which may be noticed in the churchyards of Burslem, Wolstanton, and elsewhere in the Midland counties; they are formed of the common dark brown marl or saggerclay, and the inscriptions are generally deeply incised or pressed in. In some instances, however, they are laid on in white slip, and in others the incised letters are filled in with white clay. They are fired in the usual manner. Mr. L. Jewitt gives the following examples:—'Thomas Pain 1718'—'W M. 1737'—'R M. 1738.' Numerous others of various dates are noticed, the most recent being 'William Heath departed this life the 14 February 1828 aged 6 weeks.' (Vol. ii, p. 238.)

"In the South Kensington Loan Collection there is exhibited at the present time a posset pot similar to mine in shape and size, but with its cover, of glazed earthenware; round the top of the outside of the cup the capital letters of the alphabet are represented in relief, with the date March 26, 1707. It has four handles and four ornamental loops, between which are raised straight upright lines in relief. It belongs to Mrs. Bennet Stanford.

"The largest posset pot or tyg which I have seen belongs to Mrs. C. S. Newman, and is also at the present time exhibited in the Loan Court at the South Kensington Museum. It would probably hold at least four quarts; it has three handles, alternating with three six lobed flat loops. It is of very dark brown glazed earthenware, and round the upper part, on the outside, are three lines bearing the following letters in very badly made capital letters:—

'God bless the queen and prence Gorg<sup>e</sup>  
Drink and be merry and Mary DB.  
John Meir made this Cup 1708.'

"Round the lower part of the cup, between the handles and loops, are a series of slender spiral lines, each terminating above in five long honeysuckle-like sprigs, similar to those seen in other productions of this maker.

"Mr. L. Jewitt gives engravings of several other posset pots resembling mine in shape, and probably coeval with it, but without name or date

"Mr. L. Jewitt's figure, 236, represents one (of which the collection is not recorded), which bears round the top the loyal motto, 'God Save the Queen, 1711,' the letters thick, black, and dotted with white, the lower part with two handles, between which are raised nine lobed loops, with intervening slender sprigs of white on the dark brown ground. A somewhat similar 'wassail or gossips' bowl' is preserved in the Liverpool Museum, bearing the name of 'Richard Meir,' with sprigs dotted with white between the letters.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Mier, an ancestor, probably of the Mayers or Meers of Staffordshire, was a pot maker in 1721, a posset pot bearing

the words "John Mier made this cup in 1721," being described.

"The name of Heath occupies a distinguished place in the ceramic manufacture of England, but no Job Heath is recorded in the many notices which Mr. L. Jewitt has collected with so much care.

"The earliest notice in which the surname occurs, records 'Thomas Heath' as a potter in Lane Delph, Fenton, in 1710. He was an enterprising potter, and was successful in making delft ware.

"On the 1st January, 1756, John Heath, of Derby, gentleman, entered into partnership with Planche and Duesberry. In 1758 he was one of the proprietors of the Cockpit Hill Works, Derbyshire. In 1763-1772 his son Christopher was Mayor of Derby, but in 1778 his sons, John and Christopher, became bankrupts.

"In 1770 Joshua Heath was a Staffordshire potter.

"In 1792 J. Heath was the manager of the Burslem Pottery, Staffordshire.

"In 1829 Joseph Heath & Co. were proprietors of the Tunstal potteries.

"In 1859 the Haddleridge Pottery, Burslem, came into the hands of Messrs. Thomas Heath and Blackhurst, by whom they are still continued."

A vote of thanks having been passed to Professor Westwood, Mr. FORTNUM read a second paper, entitled "Notes on other Signacula of St. James of Compostella," which will be printed on a future occasion. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Fortnum for his two papers, and Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY read an interesting paper "On Hadleigh Castle, Essex," which will appear in the *Journal*. The CHAIRMAN, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Sparvel-Bayly for his paper, expressed his wish to see it illustrated with a careful plan, for such a castle with such a history would not be completely understood without one.

### Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. FORTNUM.—A collection of finger rings and engraved gems, in illustration of or alluded to, in his paper, and jet signacula of St. James of Compostella, and other jet objects.

By Professor WESTWOOD.—Drawing of a posset pot, the subject of his paper.

By Mr. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—Sketch of Hadleigh Castle.

By Mrs. LEWIS, through Sir John MACLEAN.—Articles of personal ornament and badges of rank, from the South Sea Islands, presented to the owner by the late Bishop Pattison. From the simple character of their ornaments and fabrics, the South Sea Islanders would seem now to enjoy about the same degree of civilization as the earliest of the inhabitants of the Lake dwellings of Switzerland; some of the badges are remarkable for the delicacy with which they are carved. Mrs. Lewis also exhibited some fine examples of late cloisonné enamels, and good grotesque bronzes from the Summer Palace.

By the Rev. A. ORLEBAR.—Tilting helm, with wooden crest (a griffin's head) of Sir John Gostwick, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., and a similarly wooden-crested helmet of a later member of this ancient and long extinct family.

These genuine head-pieces are preserved in Willington Church, near Bedford. The earlier one is roughly made, and weighs 22lbs., with the crest 30lbs. The other, of the time of Charles I., is also a real helmet, but very light, and appears to have had a thin vizor added when it was adapted, and ornamented with gilding, for a portion of the funeral



achievement of Sir Edward Gostwick, who died in 1632. The chancel aisle of Willington Church, built as a mortuary chapel for the family, appears, from the style of the architecture, to have been the work of Sir John Gostwick; the following inscription—"Armiger hic Johes Gostwick hoc opus fieri fecit, si ergo quid valiant pia vota largire pater ut eterna fruatur posteritate. 1541,"—at the east end of his plain altar tomb—refers only to that tomb which was set up at Sir John Gostwick's death by his son, John Gostwick, Esq.

We are indebted to the obliging courtesy of Mr. Orlebar for the following notes upon the history of this ancient family:—"In an old book in my possession called 'English Baronets,' printed for Thomas Wotton at the Three Daggers and Queen's Head, Fleet-street, 1727, I find the Gostwick pedigree 'descended from Wm. de Gostwick of Willington 9 Hen. III., who had issue Hugo de Gostwick; from whom, after six descents, was Sir John Gostwick of Willington, Knt., temp. Hen. VI., father of Sir John who was Treasurer of the First Fruits and Rents and Master of the Horse to King Henry VIII., who by Margaret daugh: of Oliver Lord St. John he had issue John, who was buried at Willington 1541.'

"John was not buried then, but Lysons (Mag. Brit., vol. i., Part I., p. 150,) is correct in saying 'the Monument of Sir John Gostwick, Master of the Horse to King Henry VIII., was put up in 1541 by his son soon after his purchase of the manor. The arms on Sir John's monument differ from others of the Gostwick family; having on the chief—3 horses' heads coupéd, in allusion to his office, instead of 3 mullets.'

"Lysons also says (Mag. Brit. ut sup.) 'An Act of Parliament was passed in 1541 to secure the Manor of Willington to Mr. Gostwick, who was son of Sir John Gostwick, Master of the Horse to King Henry VIII.'

"Leland says—'Mr. Gostewik beyng borne in Willingtoun, bouthe this lodship of the Duke of Northfolk.'

"Sir William Gostwick, the last of the family, was buried at Willington in 1720. The estates were then sold having been much impoverished by election contests."

In consequence of the perishing condition of the crests, and the rusted state of the iron, the Council of the Institute, with the consent of the Vicar and Churchwardens of Willington, have gladly taken advantage of these helms being under their care to have careful, proper, and simple steps taken to arrest the ravages of the worm in the wood of the crests, as well as to prevent any further rusting of the surface of the iron forming these interesting personal memorials. Thus by such timely care they will be returned to their original resting place with the prospect of long surviving the destructive agencies which have for so many years assailed them.

By Mr. W. J. ADDIS.—A seated figure, in gilt bronze, of a Burmese godamah, said to be of high antiquity. This was excavated by Mr. Addis from a Burmah pagoda, and has been very kindly presented by him to the Institute.

By Mr. R. S. FERGUSON.—A photograph of the earliest remaining register book of the parish of Hayton, near Brampton, in Cumberland. This mutilated paper record covers the dates from 1620 to 1722, and has been described by the Rev. Canon Dixon in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society,



v. iv, p. 426. It contains a register of birth which has been relied upon to prove that one Richard Bowman, of Irthington, who died in 1823, was 118 years old. Recent investigations by the Rev. H. Whitehead have, however, disposed of this figment.

By Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN.—A photograph of a Roman inscribed stone found in the foundations of the south porch of the church at Brough by Stanemore, Westmoreland (the Roman *Verterae*), a few months ago. It is of the reign of Septimius Severus, and prior to A.D. 198, as the end of the fourth line, *INO . CES* shews.

A discussion as to this stone has since been carried on in the pages of the *Academy*, between Mr. Watkin and Professor Hübner of Berlin. Mr. Watkin reads the last line as \* \* \* \* \* CLEMENT. C<sup>o</sup>SS., and consequently fixes the date as A.D. 195. Professor Hübner cannot make out the names of Consuls, but fixes A.D. 197 as the date. Dr. McCaul, of Toronto, agrees with Mr. Watkin as to names of Consuls appearing on the stone, but so far has not been able to make out the names. The discussion has not yet ended, but Mr. Watkin will deal with the inscriptions in his annual list, for 1880.

By Mr. H. HINKS.—A silver beaded rat-tail spoon, eight and a half inches long, with a fine set of hall marks, which show it to be the work of Peter Eliot of Dartmouth, in 1712-13, whose mark EL: appears in old English letters, crowned, together with the Exeter mark, the Britannia, and others belonging to the period, all in a very fine state.

Mr. W. CRIPPS has been kind enough to send us the following note:—

“The EL: are always found on plate in old English letters, although the mark is entered in the Exeter Book in Roman characters, but I have satisfied myself that in making the entry no trouble was taken to represent the mark as it appeared, but only to state the letters of which it was composed in the shape easiest to the penman entering it. I know of several articles of plate in Exeter and near it, and elsewhere also, bearing the old English EL: crowned, but I have never found EL: as it appears in the Book on any specimen of Exeter plate. In ‘Old English Plate’ I give it from the Company’s Book, and therefore as it appears there.”

December 2, 1880.

The Rev. R. P. COATES in the Chair.

In opening the meeting the CHAIRMAN spoke of the great loss the Institute had lately sustained by the death of Dr. Guest, of whose attainments he spoke in the highest terms, mentioning that he had been well described by a great living authority as “the discoverer of early English history.” That such is truly the case may be clearly seen by the few, the too few papers, from the master-hand of the author of “English Rhythms” that illumine the pages of the *Archæological Journal*, the *Salisbury* and the *Oxford* volumes. As under the hand of Professor Willis the stones of Winchester and Gloucester gave out the unerring testimony of their history, so with Dr. Guest the ditch, the mound, or the battle-field spoke with no uncertain sound. Thus the loss to the Institute within the last ten years of two such intellects as these,—such leaders in branches of knowledge of which they were really the creators,—is great indeed, if not irreparable.

In addition to Dr. Guest's valuable contributions to the publications of the Institute, he published papers in the transactions of other archaeological societies, and an earnest hope may be expressed that the whole of these scattered contributions may be brought together as a separate publication. The loss of so eminent a man, whose writings are so much dispersed—we had almost written hidden—reminds us most forcibly of the want, every day becoming greater, of a general index to the journals of all the archaeological, antiquarian, and architectural societies in the kingdom.

Mr. O. MORGAN sent a paper "On an Inscribed Roman Stone, found on the Shore of the Channel, at Goldcliff, near Newport, Monmouthshire," which was read by Mr. Hartshorne. After giving a very careful description of the district in the neighbourhood of the Goldcliff embankment and the object of this great work, Mr. Morgan spoke of certain vast floods which, in spite of it, had taken place, and particularly the great inundation of 1606, by which twenty-six parishes were submerged. He then dealt with the question as to who were the makers of the *vallum* in question, noticing the different theories that had been brought forward in respect of it, and stating his conviction that it could be the work of no other people than the Romans, an opinion which had become fact by the discovery of this centurial stone. Mr. Morgan went at some length into the geological and manorial history of the district in describing the spot where the stone was found, and gave the translation of the inscription, which he had received from the Rev. C. W. King, showing that it recorded the construction of a certain number of thousand feet, apparently two Roman miles, of the *vallum* by the soldiers of the first cohort of the centurion Statorius, and that the date was later than the Gordian epoch.

After a few remarks from the CHAIRMAN, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Morgan for his paper.

Mr. E. WALFORD read the following communication from the Lady Superior of the convent at York, respecting a discovery of Roman remains in the grounds of St. Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York :—

"On Tuesday, October 26, when the workmen were digging for the foundations of the new wing of St. Mary's Convent, York, they came upon a large Roman statue of sandstone nearly life-size, two small Roman altars, and a third stone, which, from its form and inscription, was evidently, like the others, an altar, though of rougher workmanship. In lifting the statue to the ground level from its multi-centennial resting-place, some five feet below the surface, the head was unfortunately severed from the body, but otherwise it sustained no injury; one of the arms is however somewhat mutilated, and the figure is minus its feet, which a diligent search has failed to bring to light. In other respects it is singularly perfect, and every part of the dress of a Roman soldier of patrician rank and fine bodily proportion is clearly defined. The face and head are of great beauty. On seeing the statue, the first impression was that it represented a Roman warrior; but, when the partial word *M. TI* had been deciphered on one of the altars, it naturally suggested the conclusion that in the Roman knight was to be seen a representation of the god Mars,—a presumption which was to some extent confirmed the following morning by the opinion of a well-known local antiquary, Canon Raine who called by invitation to examine the treasures. The figure is now standing erect; but, as the stone dries, the expression of the face

becomes so much softened as to be, from some points of view, almost feminine.

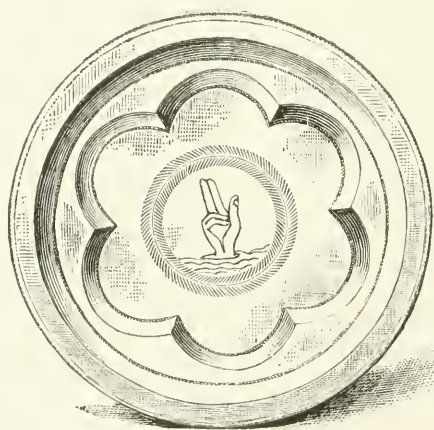
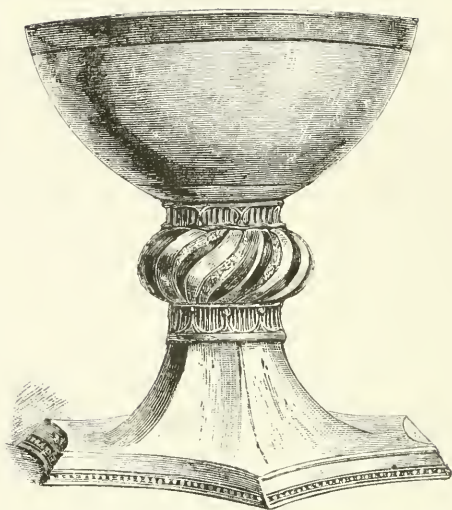
The altar to Mars is, like the figure, of sandstone. In height it measures  $13\frac{1}{4}$  inches, its main width in front is 7 inches, the width in front of the rough head and base is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Of its inscription we can now plainly decipher DEO MARTI, the final dedicatory letters, v, s, L, M., and some letters of the offerer's name, at which it might not be prudent to make a premature guess. Time however will probably make it as distinguishable as the rest of the inscription, of which a satisfactory rubbing has not yet been obtained.

"The altar to the Matres Domesticæ is 17 inches in height, the width of the main part is 8 inches, that of the rough heading and base 9 inches, and the width from back to front is, in the main or shaft portion, 5 inches. The whole is of smooth or polished stone, fluted in characteristic Roman fashion and coloured at the sides, the back being left without ornament, while at the top, as in the other altars, is the customary opening for the insertion of incense. The rubbing will show that the inscription evidently reads : *C. Julius Crescentius, or Crescens, Matribus Domesticis votum solvit merito libens* ; and exhibits two points that seem to be rare though not unique ; first, that the name of the dedicator precedes that of the divinity ; secondly that, in the dedicatory letters, the M precedes the L, which order is reversed in the inscriptions on other altars found in these parts,—as on that to the *Deus Genius Loci*, found 1875 ; again, on that found at Doncaster in 1781, and dedicated to the Deæ Matres ; and again on that to the god *Æreiacon* and to the divinity of Augustus, discovered in Walmgate, York, 1846, besides on that to the local deity *Vitires, Vitirinus, or Viterineus* ; not to speak of the recently discovered altar to Mars which, like the others just named, has the dedicatory letters in the customary order, v, s, L, M. If the *Matres Deæ* are not the same as the *Matres Domesticæ*, our inscription will be only the third as yet found to the latter in England. The other two were discovered at Dykesford, north-west of Burgh-upon-Sands, and at Stanwix. From its perfect preservation, this newly-found altar seems probably to have been long the property of a private house before being exposed either to the inclemency of the weather, or to the destructive effect of its place of burial, or to both in succession, and, with many other local discoveries, proves the presence in these parts of the Teutonic element in the Roman legions stationed at Eboracum, as the invocation of the household goddesses as *Matres Domesticæ* seems to have been almost peculiar to the German tribes.

"The third altar is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches high ; its width in front (it has neither head nor base) is 5 inches ; its width from back to front  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches ; its inscription reads apparently DEO VETERI PRIMVLVS VOL, and perhaps AN, or M. It seems probable that it is to one of the divinities, usually honoured *en masse* as Dii Veteres ; or, perhaps (overlooking faulty terminations) to the local deity Vitires, named above, though time will not resolve the first *e* of *Veteri* into *i* ; possibly it may be another local divinity *Belinus, or Belenus*, called sometimes the *old god*, and said to be synonymous with the well-known Baal or Bel.

"We are told that it is unwise as yet to speak positively as to the probable time when these precious relics were consigned to oblivion in their underground resting place."





Chalice and Paten found near Henstall-Ridware, Staffordshire



Mr. M. H. BLOXAM sent the following notes "On an ancient Chalice and Paten, found near Hamstall-Ridware, Staffordshire"

"I have lately had submitted to me for my inspection an ancient chalice and paten, which, however, I have had to return, but of which I had previously photographs taken of the actual size, from which the annexed engravings have been made one third linear. These objects are said to have been discovered some 70 years ago in ploughing in a field adjoining the churchyard of Hamstall-Ridware, in Staffordshire, and were by some supposed to have been concealed in the Civil War of the seventeenth century. This opinion I do not concur in, but rather think they were concealed about the year 1553, on the general confiscation of church goods towards the close of the reign of Edward VI. This is, however, simply an opinion. Of the chalice the bowl is semi-globular; the boss of the stem is formed of acute sections, twisted as it were from right to left, whilst the foot is hexagonal. The metal is of silver parcel-gilt. There is no hall mark or engraving on the chalice. The paten is also of silver parcel-gilt. The dish-like sinking is surrounded by a sexfoil, and in the centre is an engraved hand, with two fingers and the thumb upheld, as in act of benediction. This is not an uncommon device on patens. In further illustration I send for inspection a photograph of a paten, silver-gilt, discovered in 1862 in Worcester Cathedral, in the stone coffin of Bishop Walter de Cantilupe, who died A.D. 1265-6, the associate and friend of the famous Simon de Montford, Earl of Leicester. I was present when this paten was taken out of the coffin; it glittered, and was as bright as if it had just come out of the goldsmith's shop. This paten has in the centre of the saucer, formed by a quatrefoil, an engraving of the hand, *manus Dei*, with the two fore fingers and the thumb upheld in act of benediction.

"Judging from the pattern, there being no hall mark or other device to guide one, I would attribute the chalice and paten found at Hamstall-Ridware to sometime in the early half of the fifteenth century, *circa* A.D. 1400-1450.

"Amongst the numerous articles of church plate we rarely, very rarely, find chalices and patens of the fifteenth century. This may be accounted for by the fact that early in the reign of Elizabeth the use of them was enjoined to be discarded at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as having been used at Mass, and the Elizabethan Communion cup was directed to be used instead.

"The Elizabethan Communion cups, though of different sizes, are of the same pattern. They are still existing in many churches, and are by no means uncommon.

"I have in my possession a chalice, or rather the fragments of such, of base metal, latten, found in a priest's grave in Theddingworth churchyard, Leicestershire; and also the fragments of a chalice and paten of base metal found in a priest's grave in Saccomb Church, Herts. I shall hope to exhibit these to the Institute on a future occasion. They are, I think, of the fourteenth century.

"By the constitutions of William de Blois, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1229, two chalices were required for every church, one of silver to be used at mass, the other unconsecrated, and made of tin, with which the priest was to be buried."

Sir JOHN MACLEAN sent the following notes on the opening of a barrow in Gloucestershire :—

“A long barrow has been opened during the present month at Cranham, in Gloucestershire, by Mr J. E. Dorington of Lypiatt Park (on whose property it is situated) and Mr. Witts of Cheltenham. It is 160 feet in length, with dry walling all round. Thirty-three bodies have been found; they were covered with the fissile stone of the locality. Three bodies were buried outside, and one in a semi-circular enclosed place. Two or three flint chips were discovered, and a finely finished flint arrow-head. No signs of chambers have appeared. The excavations are still proceeding, and Mr. Witts has been enabled to make a careful survey and will prepare a paper upon the subject for the ‘Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society,’ of which Mr. Dorington is president.”

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. MORGAN.—Rubbing of the inscribed stone forming the subject of his paper, and of the brass plate fixed against the wall of the church of Goldcliff church, recording the great flood of 1606. The inscription is as follows :—

1606.

ON THE XX DAY OF JANUARY EVEN AS IT CAME TO  
PAS IT PLEASED GOD THE FLYD DID FLOW TO THE  
EDGE OF THIS SAME BRASS AND IN THIS PARISH  
THERE WAS LOST 5000 AND OD POUNDS BESIDES  
XXII PEOPLE WAS IN THIS PARISH DROWND

✱ GOLDCLIF { JOHN WILKINS OF PILREW AND  
WILLIAM TAP CHURCHWARDENS  
1609.

Frequenters of the Thames will probably recall the notices of very high tides, which are to be seen cut on stones in the wall of the churchyard at Isleworth, and by which it appears that “the water flowed to the bottom of this stone March the 12th, 1774,” and to the bottom of another stone November 15, 1875.

By the LADY SUPERIOR of the Convent at York.—Drawings of an altar, and statue of Mars.

By Mr. BLOXAM.—Full-size photographs of a chalice and paten found at Hamstall-Ridware, and photographs of a chalice and paten found in Worcester Cathedral.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A painting on glass 1 ft. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. high by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, in its original wooden frame, much damaged, and the glass, originally in one piece, now broken in many places. It was bought at Dersingham in Norfolk in 1782, at the sale of one Tomlinson, a butcher, who brought it out of Nottinghamshire. It appears to be a German painting of the time and style of Aldegraver, and was probably a votive offering to a church. It consists of an arrangement of arabesques in gold, delicately shaded with brown. The Virgin with the Child is standing in the centre of the composition, surrounded by seven arabesque circles containing her Seven Joys, in seven small history pieces, vividly painted in unbroken colours and heightened with gold, the whole of the workmanship, particularly in the arabesque decorations, being very fine. The glass is painted with an opaque pigment behind the colouring and

gilding ; this substance has adhered in great part to the backboard and has caused much damage.

By CAPTAIN E. HOARE.—A small Egyptian figure, in green glazed terra cotta, covered with heiroglyphics. The interpretations of these symbols will be given in a future *Journal*.

By Mr. H. HINKS.—Elizabethan cup and paten for the church of Bengoe, Herts. The cup is ten-and-a-half inches high, and of the unpractical shape common to its period. On the under side of the foot is inscribed as follows :—"Bengoe Church. W<sup>t</sup> 16<sup>oz</sup> 1<sup>p</sup> 16<sup>s</sup> An : Fanshawe." On the foot of the paten is inscribed :—"Bengoe Church. W<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>oz</sup> 7<sup>p</sup> 16<sup>s</sup> An : Fanshawe." The hall marks give the date of these vessels as 1566. They have lately been purchased by a subscription in the parish and restored to their proper place.

Fine examples of Irish plate, late seventeenth century, and English tankards and teapots, *temps.* Queen Ann and George I.

### Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT FRATERNITY OF MERCHANT TAYLORS AT BRISTOL WITH TRANSCRIPTS OF ORDINANCES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS. By FRANCIS F. FOX, late Master of Merchant Venturers and one of the Trustees of the Merchant Taylors. Fifty Copies, printed for private circulation by J. WRIGHT & Co., Bristol.

Without a careful study of the subject it is impossible to estimate the extensive and beneficial influence exercised by the Mediæval Gilds upon all classes of the community, both urban and rural, and, unfortunately, at present, the available sources of information upon the subject are very scanty. Mr. Toulmin Smith's valuable work on "*English Gilds*" contains the Ordinances of the Gilds *written in English* which now remain in the Public Record Office. Those in the same depository in the Latin language, still, unfortunately, remain unpublished. Though Mr. Smith's work, which was printed by the Early English Text Society, some dozen years ago, for the purpose of illustrating the English language of the period in which these Ordinances are written, did not directly treat of the subject, it necessarily afforded a vast amount of information and created a great interest in the Ancient Gilds of England. Since that time the Ordinances of some particular Gilds have been published, but none of them possess greater interest and value than those of the Merchant Taylors of Bristol which Mr. Fox has recently printed.

Gilds are of great antiquity in England. Indeed, a learned German author<sup>1</sup> says:—"England was the birthplace of Gilds," and, he adds with reference especially to the Trades' Gilds, "London was their cradle," and Kemble gives us the Statutes of three Gilds, those of Abbotsbury near Dorchester, Exeter, and Cambridge; whilst the Gilds of Canterbury and Dover are mentioned in the Domesday Book. Doubtless, Bristol, the second town in the kingdom, was, in respect to Gilds, not far behind.

The principles of the Old Gilds may be summed up in these words: "Loyalty and Fraternity based upon the foundation of Religion." They were Institutions for local self-help, which developed the power of self-government all over the country; they laid down and carried out rules of industry and honesty in all trades, rules of moral obligation in all classes, and rules for the support of poor members ages before the introduction of Poors Law and Benefit Societies. The former did not become necessary until after the Gilds and Monasteries had been mercilessly destroyed and their lands and possessions seized by the State. The latter have, in modern times, been ex-

<sup>1</sup> Lugo Brentano.

tensively organised without any knowledge of the principles and objects of the Ancient Gilds, from the intuitive perception of the advantages which might be derived from such institutions.

The Gilds all respected the authority of both Church and State, and, though essentially lay societies, every Gild elected a Chaplain-Priest to conduct their Religious Services, and no Ordinances were made which were not in harmony with Common Law. Toulmin Smith, though not a Churchman, was not slow to recognise the great practical value of the Ancient Fraternities. "Gilds," he said, "were not in any sense superstitious foundations," and, he remarks, that "they were very popular throughout the land," adding that "their suppression was a case of pure wholesale robbery and plunder, done by an unscrupulous faction to satisfy their personal greed under cover of law. No more gross case of wanton plunder is to be found in the history of all Europe. No page so black in English history."

The Mediæval Gilds have been divided into two sections: Social Gilds and Trades' Gilds; but this distinction is somewhat arbitrary. The great and leading principles of all Gilds were much the same, the enabling of the brethren and the sisteren to help each other in doing their duty towards God and towards their neighbours. As Mr. Fox justly points out, the ancient Trades' Gilds were in principle as far as possible removed from the modern Trades Unions. The Trade, or Craft Gilds, were not combinations of workmen against masters to extort from them as much as possible in return for bad and careless workmanship, bringing discredit and ruin generally upon the trade, but the union of masters and men together with the object of securing good materials, the best workmanship, and honest and fair dealing, in the sight of God, between man and man. In the words of Mr. Fox, "Masters and men were one body united in defence of their one self." This is illustrated in the motives which led to the formation of the Special Gild at Bristol, which Mr. Fox brings under notice. It is stated that before the institution of the Gild the craft of Tailours in Bristol had been, and was still, much slandered by incompetent and dishonest workmen, from the want of good Ordinances, as obtained in London, York, and other towns of the realm, in which it was provided that no man of the craft of Tailors should be received into the franchise or freedom of the craft unless he were first presented by the Master and Wardens of the craft to the Mayor of the town as an able and skilful person in his craft; and it was ordained by the Mayor and Common Council of Bristol that similar regulations should be adopted in that town, and that no man thenceforward should be enfranchised in the craft of Tailors unless he is a person of good condition, and of good name, and full perfect master of his craft.

Accordingly the Gild under the title of the "Fraternity of St. John Baptist," was established by Royal Charter dated 22 Rich. II., which was confirmed upon inspeximus in 1st Henry IV., and it appears that at this time the Gild had built and endowed a Chapel in the Parish Church of St. Owen, and had obtained the institution thereto, as Chaplain, one Robert Gloucester, who was to celebrate Divine Service therein daily at the altar of St. John Baptist.

The first institute in the Ordinance was that no man or woman should be "underfange" (received) into the Fraternity without the



assent of the Master and Wardens, and that everyone so admitted must be of "good conversation," and must "make surety by his faith" honestly to keep the Ordinances of the Fraternity. Every brother and sister of the Fraternity was every day to say, either for other, and for all the good doers of the Fraternity, and for all helpers of the same, and for the souls of all brethren or sistren departed, and for all Christian souls three Paternosters and three Ave Marias upon peril of his oath, unless sickness may excuse him. Regulations are made for assisting any brother or sister who may fall into poverty and be unable to support themselves, unless such distress may have arisen from their own vicious conduct, in which case they were to be left to themselves. And if any brother lay "sick in God's hands," the Wardens in the name of the Fraternity were to visit him and help him, if needful, till he be cured of his sickness, or God should take him. But the Fraternity did not leave the deceased brother here. Under the obligation of their oaths every brother and sister of the Gild was to be present at his Placebo and dirige, and to offer at the Mass, and further to perform all those last offices for the departed brother which the faith they held and generally practised, and which the usages of the time required from the most affectionate survivors of a deceased's relatives. Truly does Mr. Fox say: "With hardly more affectionate regard did Hopeful help Christian across the river, and the shining men help him up the eternal hills beyond, than did the solemn troop and sweet societies of the middle ages attend to the spiritual interests of a sick and dying brother."

Following the rules for the foregoing and other religious observances, we find the regulations for the government of the Fraternity generally, and for the punishment of defaulters of the Craft. We have seen that no one was to be admitted unless he was of "good conversation," and he was also required to make proof of his skill as a workman, and if, from his want of skill, he spoiled a garment, he was to pay the value and take the garment to himself.

Mr. Fox has printed, *in extenso*, all the Ordinances made for the Gild from time to time, which are of no small interest. The shallowness of the pretence made by the Government, on the suppression of the Gilds, of using the possessions of the Fraternities "to more godly and virtuous purposes" is shewn, as pointed out by Mr. Fox, by the scrupulous care with which the religious objects of the Gild were extinguished when the Gild was suppressed and its secular character only retained. The provision for religious observances, and the penalties prescribed for the neglect of them in the original Ordinances, were intentionally obliterated, though it is still possible to decipher the regulations in consequence of the obliteration not being complete. In the 12<sup>th</sup> Elizabeth the Ordinances were boldly remodelled, the Gild being newly entitled a "Society and Mystery," the religious element, except what was involved in the oath of allegiance and abjuration upon admission to the Gild, being eliminated.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE AND CLAN OF MACKINTOSH AND OF THE CLAN CHATTAN. By ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH SHAW. London: R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor. Printed for the Author.

The above-mentioned work by Mr. Mackintosh Shaw possesses considerable interest. The Clan Chattan, which consisted of several

powerful septs, was one of the strongest and most influential in the Highlands. It was not only engaged in most of the broils, feuds, and forays which continually disturbed the country beyond the Grampians, but shared in many of the transactions affecting the national history of Scotland. The author in treating of his subject has carefully endeavoured to avoid a too close allusion to the actions of individuals and to write as far as possible a history of the Clan as a whole, and of the national and local affairs in which, as a whole, it took part; but the social condition of the Highlands down to a comparatively recent period, rendered it inevitable that the characters and actions of the Chieftains for the time being, and their relations to each other and to their followers in general, and to the Captain of Clan Chattan in particular should come prominently into view, and it is not to be regretted that such was the case, for thereby a considerable light has been thrown upon the generous and, at the same time, wild and turbulent character of the Clans and the devotion of the clansmen to their Chieftain, which devotion would seem to have been one of the most favourable traits in their character. An illustration of this heroic fidelity was manifested by eighteen Mackintoshes, who, having been concerned in a raid into Elgin, not without treachery fell into the hands of the Earl of Moray (described p. 188 *et seq.*) and were ordered to be hanged over the balks of the house where his court was holden. They were offered pardon if they would disclose the place of concealment of their captain, but "all stoutly refused to accept their lives at the price of their fidelity and honour." "Ther faith," says Sir Robert Gordon, "was sua true to ther Captane that they culd not be persuaded, either by fair meanes or by any terrour of death, to break the same or to betray ther master."<sup>1</sup> These men did not consider they had performed any meritorious action. They were simply doing their duty. As Mr. Shaw remarks, "Fidelity to his Chief was regarded as one of the first duties of a clansman, and he who lacked the fortitude to be faithful unto death would have been scouted from the society of his kinsmen as a coward and disgraced man."

Mr. Shaw ignores the pre-historic fictions and fables which many writers, not only on Scottish history, but also on the histories of other nations, frequently adopt. "Any one," he says, "who endeavours to give an insight into the history of his country in the ages antecedent to civilization, must feel, after a very short time, the almost utter futility of his researches." This principle at once commends his work to the attention of his readers, and establishes confidence in his statements. Not that tradition is to be rejected, for before the introduction of writing no other means existed for handing down the facts of history, and though many details accompanying the oral relation of events were probably inaccurate, the main facts were most likely true. "It was only in the twelfth century," Mr. Shaw says, "that the history of Scotland emerged from its state of dark chaos," and it was still later before the light of civilization penetrated to the region whither the Gael had been driven.

Whilst doing full justice to the learned and ingenious work of Mr. Skene "The Highlanders of Scotland," Mr. Shaw takes exception to that author's theories and deductions as not being at all satisfactorily proved. Among these questionable speculations Mr. Shaw includes

<sup>1</sup> History of the Earldom of Sutherland, 100.

Mr. Skene's hypothesis concerning the origin of the Clan Mackintosh, and his view of the rival claims of Mackintosh and Macpherson of Cluny to the dignity of Chieftain of Clan Chattan. We cannot enter upon the details of this discussion. Suffice it to say that with studious moderation and fairness, Mr. Shaw's argument is well and clearly sustained, the result being that he comes to the conclusion that, although Macpherson of Cluny may be the lineal male representative of the Chiefs of the old Clan Chattan, the right to the headship of the Clan is undisputably vested in Mackintosh.

The champion battle fought on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, in the presence of King Robert III. and his Court, is so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott in the "*Fair Maid of Perth*," as, in its general feature, to be familiar to every one; but as regards the identity of the Clans engaged, it has always been a vexed question. This point Mr. Shaw has discussed with such a complete knowledge of Celtic genealogy, and of the feuds and circumstances of the only Clans which could possibly have been engaged in the bloody fray, and, moreover, with so much calmness of reasoning, as to lead to the conviction of the accuracy of his conclusion that the combatants were members of the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron, whereof the former were victors.

The passages of arms, both public and private, in which the Clan was almost incessantly engaged, are described in a lively and interesting manner, but with respect to them we must refer to the work itself, and we can do no more than allude generally to the blaze of glory in which, we may almost say, the Clan expired on the fatal field of Culloden, when of twenty-one officers of the Mackintosh Clan which joined in the desperate charge upon the English lines, three only came out alive. The story of this battle is well and vividly told and is of stirring interest. Beyond its historic value Mr. Shaw's work will command the attention of the general reader.

DOMESDAY STUDIES : An Analysis and Digest of the Staffordshire Survey, &c.  
By the Rev. ROBERT W. EYTON, late Rector of Ryton, Salop. London :  
Trübner and Co. Printed and Sold by Jos. Halden, Stafford, 1881.

We cordially welcome another volume of Mr. Eyton's "*Domesday Studies*." In this book he examines the Domesday Survey of Staffordshire, treating, upon the same principle as in his Analyses of the Surveys of Dorset and Somerset, of the mensuration, technicalities, phraseology and method of Domesday, in its relation to this county and other counties in the same circuit; and he adds Tables and Notes re-producing the main features of the Survey, and comparing the same with existing conditions.

In this volume there are some new features of considerable interest. That the Staffordshire of Domesday does not agree with the limitations of the County at the present time is no subject of wonder, but that the Survey should fail to record the exact report of the Commissioners appointed to make it, is, indeed, surprising. Such, however, is the case, and Mr. Eyton in his examination of the Survey has clearly established the fact, that, chiefly through the carelessness of the scribes who compiled the Record from the Commissioners' returns, the lands in Staffordshire have been greatly confused and misplaced, that

certain manors have been omitted and certain other manors pertaining to the adjoining counties have been introduced.

The present County of Stafford is stated to contain 728,468 statute acres, but Mr. Eyton is of opinion that this area is understated to the extent of about 8,000 acres. Assuming, however, the area stated to be nearly correct, he proceeds to ascertain in what way it can be approximately found in Domesday. In the first place he withdraws some 14,620 acres, viz.:—In Tamworth, 5,580 acres; in Burton-upon-Trent, 5,370 acres; and in Rowley Regis, 3,670 acres; which, he says, were not in any manner prefigured in the Staffordshire Domesday. This will leave an area of 713,848 acres to be accounted for. In an exhaustive and carefully prepared table he has abstracted the whole of the contents of the Great Record as far as it relates to this county, the result being that Domesday shows in Staffordshire 490 hides or equivalent of hides, which reduced to acreage, amounts to 408,001 acres, shewing a deficiency of 245,844 acres. From this it appears that the average Staffordshire hide contained 955 acres of Domesday measurement; that the Domesday Commissioners surveying a district which is now ascertained to have contained 713,848 acres, registered only 408,004 acres, that is they pretermitted 245,844 acres, or considerably more than one-third of the County, such as it was had they dealt with all its manors. Mr. Eyton says it is easy to suggest what this omitted territory was, and considers that it represents what in other counties was registered as *pascua* or *pastura*, viz.: the treeless uplands and moorlands of the county, all in fact that was utterly profitless, and, at the same time was not afforested neither by King nor Baron. In the same manner an area of 177,970 acres was omitted to be registered in Somersetshire. Considerably more than one-half of the registered territory in Staffordshire, viz., 329,538 acres, was woodland, ordinarily of no profit whatever except for purposes of the chase or warren; and he comes to the conclusion of its valuelessness from the fact that in some few instances small portions of woodland are described with some distinctive characteristic.

After some historical notices of the Burgh and Castle of Stafford, Mr. Eyton draws attention to the poverty and disorganization of the county at the time of the Survey. Some of the symptoms he considers indicative of chronic poverty arising at an earlier era than the Conquest, as its condition shews an extraordinary inaptitude for taxation. This is disclosed by the fact that the Staffordshire hide contained 955 acres of Domesday measurement, and no less than 1456 acres of modern ascertainment; whilst the Domesday hide of Dorsetshire covered only about 238 statute acres, and the co-ordinate of a Somerset hide was about 300 acres; and Mr. Eyton states that he "has found no parallel in any county for the chronic state of poverty and unproductiveness," thus shewn. He further illustrates this condition of the county by another test; viz., that it appears from the Survey that the arable land in the county was sufficient to employ 1225 teams, yet there were only 992 teams in stock. Entering upon the value of the lands registered, he finds the average to be 17s. 9½d. a hide, which, considering the acreage, was less than a farthing an acre, and taking the modern acreage, less than one-sixth of a penny, whilst there was but one labourer to 167 acres of registered land, and one in proportion to 255 acres of actual surface. Calling attention, however, to the fact that out of the 408,004 Domesday



acres, 319,538 consisted of woods, there remained only 148,466 acres of arable and meadow land, so that there was, in fact, a labourer for every 53 acres; or limiting the enquiry to arable land there was a labourer to every 42 acres. This does not appear to differ very widely from Somersetshire. Mr. Eyton draws another illustration from the relative number and value of mills. All students know how very valuable was this species of property in early mediæval times, and "there is no better test," Mr. Eyton remarks, "of the condition of a county at the time of the Domesday than the number and value of its mills, for mill-value means population quite as much as water power." In all Staffordshire there were only 64 mills registered in Domesday, whilst in Dorset, a less county than Staffordshire by some 120,000 acres, there were registered in Domesday 272 mills.

Having thus exhibited the condition of the County of Stafford in the year 1086, with a view, in some measure, to account for its poverty and desolation, Mr. Eyton proceeds to review the history of the district during the preceding 30 years. Soon after the battle of Senlac Edwin and Morcar, Earls of Mercia, made their submission to William, now King, and did homage for their lands. They lived much in the Norman Court, and it is said that Earl Edwin formed an attachment to one of William's daughters, that William at first assented to the young Earl's suit, but afterwards withdrew his consent, whereupon the two brothers, indignant at the affront thus placed upon them, withdrew to their own territories and raised the standard of revolt. Upon William's approach, however, they submitted and were again received into apparent favour. Up to this time Staffordshire would seem to have been in much the same condition as it was in the time of King Edward. William, however, commenced the confiscation of the Earl's lands and disturbances arose. He twice invaded Staffordshire, the last time in 1071, when he seems to have completely devastated the county, the effects of which were apparent when the Survey was taken sixteen years afterwards. "The general picture of the Borough and County," Mr. Eyton says, "is that of a partial recovery from the supposable or presumed desolations of 1070-71." "But," he adds, "let us not be mistaken about the nature of these desolations. Let Domesday be its own interpreter as to the meaning of such expressions as 'mansiones vastæ' in the town, and 'terræ vastæ' in the country. When Domesday would indicate the destruction of a fabric, whether a burghage, a homestead, or a castle, it writes *mansio destructa*, *domus penitus destructa*, *castellum destructum*, or *castellum ruptum*, when, as at York, the fortress had been successfully assaulted. But when Domesday, the Staffordshire Domesday, at least, speaks of 'mansiones vastæ' and 'terræ vastæ' it means empty houses, unoccupied and depopulated estates. The context sometimes, if not always, indicates this. The contrast to a 'mansio vasta' is 'mansio hospitatu,' an empty house and an inhabited house. So then the desolation of Stafford and Staffordshire, which largely endured to the year of Domesday, was simply depopulation, the slaughter of the inhabitants, or their emigration elsewhere." And he expresses his opinion "that what slaughter there was or destruction of property there might have been, was rather the result of intestine feuds and the hatred of antagonistic races, than of the sword and the alleged savagery of William."

At the time of the Domesday Survey the county of Stafford was divided



into five Hundreds, and, with the exception of the errors, omissions, and interpolations of the Domesday scribes, before alluded to, and a subsequent alteration of the boundary between the Hundreds of Offlow and Cuddlestone, the present Hundreds are identical in boundary with the Hundreds of the eleventh century; and Mr. Eyton remarks, "the great use of this ascertainment and canon is, that though I cannot always reproduce a Domesday Manor-name in any later form, I can always tell the Hundred in which an obsolete manor lay, and in which some more persevering enquirer should look for it."

Treating then specifically of these Hundreds, and of the respective Fiefs and their several Lords, chapters of great interest and value, as well historically as locally, Mr. Eyton inserts a table showing the technical measures and annual values of the several Fiefs in 1086, and shews that the collected Fiefs of the Domesday County of Stafford contained  $567\frac{1}{2}$  hides or quasi-hides; and the gross annual revenue of the said Fiefs was £516 16s. 3d., which was thus apportioned:—The King's estates yielded per annum £152 9s.; Robert de Stafford's, £123 6s. 8d. The lands of the Bishop and six other ecclesiastical persons, £70 2s. 7d.; the estates of the Earl of Shrewsbury, his son, and two greater Barons, £145 13s.; six lesser Barons or Feudatories, altogether £21 11s.; and the king's thanes divided among them £3 14s.

To show the low condition of Staffordshire at the time of the Survey Mr. Eyton contrasts it with the lesser county of Dorset. Dorset contained an area of 632,909 statute acres and the county of Stafford now measures nearly 740,500 statute acres. The best test of the prosperity of any county in 1086 was its capacity for taxation. The geldable hidage of Dorset stood at  $2321\frac{1}{2}$  hides; the ingeldable or quasi-hidage  $283\frac{1}{2}$  hides; total, 2,650 hides. The geldable hidage of Staffordshire, the larger county, stood at  $499\frac{1}{2}$  hides; the ingeldable or quasi-hidage at  $67\frac{1}{2}$ ; total, 567 hides. The collected revenues, or annual value of Dorset estates was £3,359 12s. 9d., whilst those of Staffordshire amounted only to £516 16s. 3d. So that the larger county did not, and, probably, could not, bear so much as one-fourth of the taxation of the smaller, and the annual revenues of the larger county were not so much as a sixth of the revenues of the smaller.

Mr. Eyton's investigation into the Great Inquest of England, and the analysis resulting therefrom, are invaluable, and indeed are indispensable to a knowledge of the condition of the country in the latter part of the eleventh century. We trust that he may be spared to deal with every county in the same masterly manner in which he has treated those he has already handled.

## Archaeological Intelligence.

AN ANCIENT BURIAL PLACE AT STAPENHILL, DERBYSHIRE.—Under the auspices of the Burton Natural History and Archaeological Society some important excavations have lately been carried out at Stanton Cross, Stapenhill. By a systematic method of going to work twenty-three skeletons have been revealed, and, thanks to the intelligent labours of Dr. Perks, Mr. Heron, and Mr. Strachan, the stiff red clay of the new sandstone formation has surrendered a quantity of most interesting

and instructive remains, including urns with burnt bones, beads of glass, amber, pottery, and ivory, weapons and ornaments of iron and bronze, and several flint flakes. The testimony of photography has been called in and its unerring evidence will, no doubt, afford much assistance when these perishing remains are more fully discussed.

THE BRITISH ARMY: ITS ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND EQUIPMENT. FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION. VOL. III.—Not only to those who are fortunate enough to own the two former volumes of Sir Sibbald Scott's admirable history of the Rise and Progress of the British Army will this third volume be a most welcome acquisition, but also to all students of the history of the period which Macaulay made his own; for the history of the army is, in fact, the history of the country from a special point of view. The volume in question has a copious index and is complete in itself. It is published by Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, price £1 1s.

LEABHAR COMUNN NAM FIOR GHÄEL (BOOK OF THE CLUB OF TRUE HIGHLANDERS).—We gladly take the first opportunity of calling attention to this important work by Mr. C. N. McIntyre North. A work which is described as "A Record of the Dress, Arms, Customs, Arts, and Science of the Highlanders" alone implies a large amount of varied knowledge and much care in its arrangement, and, when we add that these two handsome volumes will be illustrated by upwards of sixty lithographed plates of the most valuable Highland relics, 13½ inches by 17 inches in size, all of them from drawings by the author, we further indicate the industrious and comprehensive nature of the work. Having been favoured with a sight of some of the illustrations we may call attention, for example, to the vigorous manner with which the early harps and historic swords have been drawn to a large scale. A limited number of copies will be printed for subscribers price £3 3s., after publication the price of any remaining copies will be £4 4s. Names will be received by the author, 15, Borough High Street, S.E.

LEGENDA SANCTORUM: THE PROPER LESSONS FOR SAINTS' DAYS ACCORDING TO THE USE OF EXETER.—We are glad to hear from the Rev. Herbert E. Reynolds that the reproduction under his editorial care of these noble MSS. has progressed in Vol. II. as far as to St. Margaret of Antioch, and that on the completion of this volume Vol. I will be published, to be followed by Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale Secundum Usam Exon*, the whole forming a truly splendid example of mediæval liturgy. The style and type of this valuable reprint leave nothing to be desired. Subscribers' names may be sent to the author, Cathedral Library, Exeter.

ORDINALE ET STATUTA ECCLESIE ST. ANDREE CATHEDRALIS WELLEN.—The Rev. H. E. Reynolds has nearly ready for publication the Ordinal and Statutes of Wells Cathedral from the MS. (No. 729) in Lambeth Palace Library. These Articles of Visitation, compiled, by order of Archbishop Laud, at a very critical era in the life of the Church of England, for the re-establishment of a higher and purer standard of duty have a peculiar interest in this age of agitation and enquiry. The impression is limited to 300 copies. Subscribers' names may be sent to the editor; price 15s.

## Archaeological Journal.

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JUNE, 1881.

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### ON THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF LINCOLN AND THE EASTERN PORTION OF BRITAIN.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH, M.A.

At the last meeting of the Institute, held at Taunton, an opportunity was afforded to bring before the members some account of the Roman occupation of the West of Britain, as on previous occasions, at Canterbury and at Colchester, opportunities were given to treat of the landing places on the Kentish coast, and of the settlement of the colony of Camulodunum. The vestiges of Roman occupation were then considered at those important places, and the visit of the Institute to the West of England brought us in contact with the remains on the shores of the British channel, and of the inland cities of Bath and Ilchester, with the rich field of Roman remains which Somersetshire discloses.

I propose now to trace the line of the Fosse Road from Ilchester till it brings us diagonally to the Roman city of Lincoln where we are now assembled, and I shall endeavour to shew the connection between the counties of Somerset and Lincoln in Roman times,—between Bath and Lincoln, which were connected by a direct road. This line of road is more direct and better ascertained than any other Roman road, and as it connected together important Roman towns, so does it seem to have been much frequented.

Leaving Bath (the hospital for sick soldiers and invalid citizens in Roman times, as at present), we come to the important town of Cirencester (Corinium), and on our way

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting, at Lincoln July 28th, 1880.

pass remains of Roman villas which bordered the Fosse Road, and travelling on to Leicester (*Rataë*), where very striking Roman remains are continually found,<sup>1</sup> we come through well defined Roman halting places, to *Lindum*.

At *Lindum* we find traces of the *Legio Secunda Adjutrix* (see "C. I. L.," p. 51), the same Legion brought into Britain by Vespasian, who subjugated the western portion of the island, and the head quarters of which were afterwards at *Caerleon-on-Usk*, where so many tokens of that Legion have been found.

The pigs of lead, worked from the Mendip mines, bear the stamp of the Emperor Vespasian, and are found as early as the date of the Emperor Claudius. As *Deva* (Chester), on the western portion of the island, was the standing quarters of the Twentieth Legion, so *Lindum* was probably (as Professor Hübner supposes<sup>2</sup>) the standing quarters of the *Legio Secunda*, in the expedition of Petilius Cerialis against the Brigantes. At a later period the head quarters were transferred to *Caerleon*, and *Caerwent* in the west. Their direct line of march would therefore be along the Fosse Road. As the stations of *Camulodunum* and *Glevum* (Colchester and Gloucester) probably mark the subjugation and settlement of the south and west of Britain, so do *Lindum* and *Deva* mark the further subjugation of the midland portion.

These stations were fixed prior to Agricola's further advance into northern Britain, and the complete subjugation of the Brigantes.

Altogether twenty inscribed stones have been found in Lincoln, including the recently discovered miliary, to be mentioned hereafter.

Let us now turn our attention to the evidence of Roman occupation which Lincoln has yielded, and draw what inferences may be fair from the nature of the evidence.

We must first deal with historical evidence, and then consider the Lapidary and other records. *Lindum* was the principal town of the Coritani or Coritavi, according

<sup>1</sup> A flat Roman tile found in Leicester bears the stamp LVIII. Fragments of seven tessellated floors are preserved in the Museum, besides the miliary, found two miles from Leicester. The building

called the Jury Wall may be the remains of a Roman temple or basilica.

<sup>2</sup> See transactions of "Archæ. Soc." Bristol and Gloucester, Part ii, p. 218.

to the geographer Ptolemy, it is written in the Greek *Λίνδον*,<sup>1</sup> and still preserves its ancient name in *Lincoln*. Many Roman roads pass through it, and there is a dike connected with it, called the Fosse Dike, running between two rivers, the one the Witham, the river on which the city stands, the other the Trent.

The Fosse Road coming from the west, and the embouchure of the Axe (*Alaenus fluvius*) at Seaton (*Muridunum*), seems to have been prolonged through Lincoln to the mouth of the Humber, (the *Abus fluvius*) and so to have connected Lincoln with the east coast. Lincoln was also connected by the river on which it stands with the *Mætaris Æstuarium*, the Wash.

The Ermine Street entered it from the south-east, connecting it with a succession of well-defined stations, as *Causennæ*, *Durobrivæ*, and *Colonia Camulodunum*, and this road passed northward, separating into two branches, one of which crosses the Humber at Winteringham, and the other led by a less direct route to *Danum* (*Doncaster*), and on to *York* (*Eburacum*).

The meeting of five roads in *Lindum* establishes its importance.

From the chorographer *Ravennas* we learn that it was a colony,—*Lindum Colonia*. On an inscription found at *Mayence*, we have the name of the city as well as that of one of its magistrates,

M. MINICI, M.F. QVIR. LINDO. MARTIALIS. (Henzen 5793.)

and one found in the city commemorates also a *Decurio* or magistrate (see *Horsley*, B. R. 319, also I. B. L. 189). There are found in *Lincoln* inscriptions commemorating soldiers of four legions which were in Britain, viz., the

IXth. Which continued in Britain to the time of *Hadrian*, and was stationed at *York*, and was (see C. I.

L. n. 183, 184) succeeded by the

VI. (See C. I. L. n. 187) stationed at *York* and the Northern Barrier.

II. *Adjutrix* (see C. I. L. n. 185, 186), at *Lincoln*, *Caerleon*, and *Caerwent*.

XIV. (See C. I. L. n. 187,) *Colchester*.

These legions formed the army of occupation, with this

<sup>1</sup> Μεθ' ὧν KOPITATOI 'εν οἷς πόλεις Λίνδον Πάγε:—*Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Lindum*, *Ratae*. See *Ptolemy's "Geography."*



exception, that the XIVth was withdrawn from Britain,<sup>1</sup> and superseded by the XXth Valeria Victrix, stationed at Chester. An inscribed stone to the Goddess Mothers has been found at Winchester (Venta Belgarum), and runs thus (it is now in the Brit. Musæum):—

MATRIB(US) ITA(LI)S GERMANIS GAL(LI)S BRIT(ANNIS)  
(A)NTONIUS (LU)CRETIANUS (BENEFICIARIUS  
CO(N)S(VLARIS) REST(ITUIT)

Hübner calls it “a consecration offered in days of old, to the Italian, Germanic, Gallic, and Britannic Mothers, the sacred protectoresses of those nationalities which furnished recruits to the four Legions of the army of occupation, to the II Augustan, XIV Gemina, IX Hispana, and the XX Valeria Victrix, and to their native allies.”<sup>2</sup>

At Lincoln also has been found a stone sculptured with the figures of three of the *Matronæ* or goddess Mothers, probably a similar act of consecration by three bodies of men. This is now in the Brit. Museum, and was probably erected by three of the Legionary detachments.<sup>3</sup> There is something very suggestive in these commemorations of the *Matronæ*.<sup>4</sup> It seems as if the idea of protecting care exercised over children in youth, was still regarded as necessary in days of manhood and in scenes of danger, by an invisible and superintending power, similar to that which had watched over childhood.

There is an altar in the Cloisters at Lincoln, which has three sculptures on it, one of which may be Hercules, and two other gods not easy to identify. This may also be a joint offering.<sup>5</sup> The Trollope collection is now in the Brit. Museum, some portion of it in the Gallery of Rom. Antiq., near the entrance, and the other portion not quite so accessible, being lodged with other Roman remains not properly arranged. When more space has been provided, it may be hoped that the whole will be placed together where it can be easily consulted. It is to be regretted

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, Hist. iv, 68, 76.

<sup>2</sup> See Corp. I. L. vii, p. 16, No. 5, and “Transactions of Bristol and Glouc. Archæol. Soc.,” 1877-8, Pt. ii, p. 211; also a paper by W. M. Wylie, Esq., *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii, treating of the *Deæ Matres* and the *Matronæ*.

<sup>3</sup> An altar dedicated to the *MATRIBVS DOMESTICIS* has just been found at York.

(See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, p. 108.)

<sup>4</sup> A Sculpture of Three *Matronæ* was found also at Ancaster (see I. B. L. p. 51).

<sup>5</sup> Only two inscriptions mentioning the name of deities have been found, viz., to *Mars* and to *Mercury* (See Ins. B. L. p. 52). There is no trace of any local divinity in Lincoln, such as is found in the West and in the North of England.

that it ever left Lincoln, as remains should be preserved, if possible, near to where they are found ; but the want of a local museum probably rendered it expedient that monuments of historical value should be deposited in a place where they were most secure.

I need not discuss these inscriptions at length. They will be found recorded in the *Archæological Journal*,<sup>1</sup> and are also noticed by Camden, Horsley, B. R., Stukeley, and others, but most recently and accurately in the *Corpus I. L.* by Prof. Hübner, vol. vii.

I must now proceed to the description of the ancient city and the buildings found within it, both of past and more recent date.

A plan will be found in the volume of the "Proceedings of the Archæol. Institute," at Lincoln, published after their former meeting in 1848, also a map published, 1817, by William Marrat, and revised in 1848.

The Roman city is divided into two portions,<sup>2</sup> the upper and lower ; a natural escarpment divides these. The present Stone Bow is supposed to mark the Southern boundary, on which side flows the River Witham, the ancient Victus Annis. The Ermine street runs right through. Passing through the lower city and climbing the steep ascent, we come upon the remains of the Roman Gate of the Upper town to the south ; the gate is gone, but one of the jambs may still be seen. The Roman Way runs almost direct to the Newport gate, the North gate of the Upper town.<sup>3</sup> This is a most interesting relic of Roman times, too few of which remain in Britain.<sup>4</sup> It consisted of a wide centre arch, and formerly had two smaller side arches, only one of which is now visible, and the portal is now seen at a reduced height of nine feet. The eastern arch has been cleared, and the pathway lowered for foot passengers. The western arch is gone or hidden. To the right and left of this entrance gate are remnants of the northern wall of the Roman city, and the line of the Wide Foss is distinct. The massive Roman

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xvii, p. i, and following.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Drury, from recent examination, thinks that the city was twice enlarged in Roman times, and that two additions to the original castrum can be traced.

<sup>3</sup> For drawings of Newport Arch, see Stukeley, *Itin. Cur. Iter.* v, p. 89, drawn in 1722.

<sup>4</sup> A drawing of the Roman Gate at Canterbury is given in Stukeley.

city wall was carried round the brow of the hill and was pierced by four gates, the area enclosed being 500 yards by 400.<sup>1</sup> Within this area are found, at about nine feet below the present level of the city, remains of Roman buildings, and pottery and glass in great variety, pavements, and other indications of Roman refinement. The building lately laid open by Mr. Allis, in 1878, southward from the Newport Arch is of much interest and was probably the Basilica or Court of Justice and place of business, although the use of the building is still doubtful and only further discoveries can determine this or the probable date of its erection.<sup>2</sup>

The plan of Lindum is that of a garrison city or fortified camp; it is not like that of Bath or Uriconium (Wroxeter), or of Magna (Kenchester), but like Deva (Chester), Gloucester or Caerwent. We must look therefore for strict military arrangement within the walls, and all the buildings would be subservient to military purposes; but it seems to have been extended in area, and belongs to different periods.<sup>3</sup> All the Roman cities in Britain appear to have been fortified; but the fortifications of the larger cities are very irregular, as may be seen both at Silchester, Wroxeter, Kenchester, and Bath. The plan of Lincoln corresponds with that of Chester and Gloucester, and the fortified landing places on the Kentish coast.

Stukeley's description is as follows:—

"The city was divided into four equal parts by two cross streets that cut it through the cardinal points. The two southern quarters are taken up, one by the Castle, the other by the Church which Remigius built; but when Alexander, the Bishop, projected a larger structure, they carried the sacred enclosure beyond the eastern bounds of

<sup>1</sup> For a clear description of the Roman city and the run of the ancient walls; see a paper on recent discoveries at Colonia Lindum, by the Rev. S. M. Mahew, M.A., in the *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxv, Pt. iii, p. 308; also the drawing in Stukeley, *I. Cur.*

The Western Gate of the Roman city was accidentally discovered in 1836. It was found standing covered by the mound which formed the N. W. bulwark of the Castle. The arch had become loose by the abutments giving way, and the whole

fell down a few days after its discovery. The arch resembled that of the Newport Gate but without its posterns. See "*Gent. Mag.*," 1836, Pt. i, p. 583, with a drawing of the gate. Also vol. of "*Proc. of Archaeol. Institute*," 1848, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of recent discoveries, see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 277, also "*Proc. of Soc. of Antiq.*," June 20th, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Stukeley's *Itin. Cur. Iter.* v, p. 88; also plan by Mr. Drury.

the (Roman) city, and built a new wall further away,"<sup>1</sup> and he adds "the Romans added a *second city* to this first, as big as the original on the south declivity of the hill, and made it to tally with the other."

The original walls have been much damaged by building the Norman Castle, as well as the Cathedral; also by sieges, especially in the time of the Empress Maud.

The city was extended northward along the line of the ancient Roman road in Saxon times, and further extended during the Norman period.

It is not at all improbable that a British city preceded the Roman. One of the interesting features which attach to the Roman Lindum is that the sewers of the Roman city are found to be perfect, like those at Bath and Colchester, and as well constructed. Mr. Wright has given a description and a drawing of one of them in his "Celt, Roman and Saxon," p. 178.

They are stated to resemble those that remain at Trèves on the Moselle, the ancient Roman Treviri; a fine specimen of a Roman drain remains at Colchester. It is a curious fact, however, that recent excavations for making modern sewers are said to have shewn that the old Roman drains have their levels above the level of the Roman roads, and this seems to prove that the Roman city, during the period of Roman occupation, underwent great changes of level; the previous buildings being destroyed, abandoned, and then rebuilt, and the sewers constructed during the latest occupation.

The name *Lindum* is from Lhyn, a lake or pool, a word still in use, and this lake seems to have existed in former days.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Itin. Cur. Iter. v, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> The waters of Brayford once washed the city wall. This is known from a deed of the 17th Century. For 500 years the level of High Street has remained unaltered; but 200 years ago the waters of Brayford washed over the site of Guild-Hall Street, while on the south side of the river St. Benedict's Church and buildings, now pulled down, were erected more than 700 years ago.

The present site of the city appears to be about 10 feet above the level of the Roman one.

Many stone coffins were found in St.

Martin's Lane, four feet under the surface.

Cavern like perforations, three feet in diameter, have been found eight feet below the surface, filled with run lime, with remains of plaster and tilework of Roman character.

Along Union Road, by the side of Castle Dyking, nearly the whole of the limestone rock has been excavated. This is the case in nearly all the trenches along the roads up Hill, *e.g.*, Potter's Gate, The Minster Yard. This was probably the work of the Romans. For this information I am indebted to notes made by Mr. M. Drury,



A late discovery has very much added to the interest of Roman Lincoln,—the finding a miliary, or Roman milestone, in situ, with the inscription upon it, standing at the intersection of the four ways, leading to the gates, where it stood in Roman times. The inscription is of a late date, and put up in the time of a usurper, one of the thirty tyrants, in the time of the Emperors Gallienus and Valerian, when the Roman power was declining. It is, as is usual on such late erected stones, very ill cut, but the discovery is very interesting, as adding one more to the list of miliaries found in Britain, which amount to about 57 or 58.<sup>1</sup> The lettering is the usual formula,<sup>2</sup> although the form of the stone is very different to any I have seen, either in England or on the continent, where they are cylindrical. (See those preserved at Rome, at Lyons, at Avignon, at Nimes, &c., &c.)

IMP. CAES  
MARCO  
PIAVONIO  
VICTORI  
NO. P. FEL. INV.  
AVG. PONT. MAX.  
TR. P. P.P.  
A. L. S. M.  
P. XIII.

It contains the Imperial Titles, and also the distance from Lincoln to the nearest station, *Segelocum*, (Littleborough on Trent), given in the Antonine Itinerary as fourteen miles from Lincoln, on the road to Doncaster and York. Perfect miliaries are very rare, and seldom found in situ; this renders the Lincoln one of peculiar value, and standing as it does in the centre of the Roman city, cannot but remind the student of the 'miliarium aureum' in the Forum, at Rome, the foundations and understructure of which may still be seen,—and which was the point from which the distances along all the Roman roads were intended to be reckoned. We are carried in imagination, therefore, from Lincoln to Rome, and can

Engineer, during the drainage works, 1877-8. Lincoln is mentioned in the "Saxon Chron.," anno. 627; also by Beda, "Hist. Ecc. Gent. Anglor.," lib. ii, cap. xvi, anno 625, when Paulinus first evangelized that district; also by Henry of Huntingdon, lib. i, and called Kair-Loitchoit. He quotes verses recording its refinement, "Testis Lincolnie gens in-

finita decore." Guortimur, son of Guorthigurnus, is stated by Nennius to have been buried at Lincoln, see "Hist. Nennii." cap. xlvii, who mentions Cair Loitecoith among the 28 cities of Britain.

<sup>1</sup> See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxiv, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxvi, p. 181.



realize the perfect system of road communication which then prevailed throughout that vast Empire. Every land from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the north of Africa to the forests of Germany and the British Isles, contains these remarkable evidences of Roman power and Roman skill. We cannot but feel thankful that Lincoln now possesses one.

This stone also connects the east of England with the west, as only one other inscription to Victorinus has been found in Britain, viz., at Pyle, between Neath (Nidum) and Ewenny (Bovium), South Wales, and is preserved in the Museum at Swansea.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot well estimate the importance of Colonia Lindum, without touching also upon Deva, Chester, lying under the same parallel of latitude on the western, as Lincoln on the eastern, side of Britain. Professor Hübner observes that "the campaign of Suetonius against the Isle of Mona<sup>2</sup> (Anglesea), is only conceivable with a basis for his operations such as was afforded by the Colony of Deva (Chester), on the northern frontier of the Silures and Ordovices, and which was completely conquered by Julius Frontinus.<sup>3</sup> At Deva were the standing quarters of the XXth Legion.<sup>4</sup> On the western side Petilius Cerialis, Vespasian's legate, had begun the further advance against the Brigantes, the Colony of Lindum is the geographical expression of these operations, probably the standing quarters of the Legion II Adjutrix,<sup>5</sup> sent to Britain by Vespasian.

Here, then, we obtain a clue to the probable foundation of the Colony Lindum, in the time of the Emperor Vespasian, and the "Standing Quarters of the Legio Secunda Adjutrix." It is very probable that from the two stations Deva and Lindum, on the western and eastern portions of our island, Agricola made his advance northward, and commenced the further subjugation of the island to the great Northern Barrier or the Wall in Northumberland, and beyond that boundary. The Roman army most pro-

<sup>1</sup> See "Archæological Journal," vol. iii, p. 275, with drawing.

<sup>2</sup> Agricola, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Agricola, 17.

<sup>4</sup> See Corp. I. L., vii, p. 47, also drawings of Roman altars and other remains found at Chester, in "Journal of the

Chester Architec. Archæol. and Historical Soc.," Part vii, p. 106, Part iv, p. 423, Part ii, 197. Deva was probably founded circa A.D. 69. The coins date from Galba downward.

<sup>5</sup> See C. I. L., vii, p. 51.

bably marched in two divisions, making good their road as they went, and communicating at fixed points with their fleet. To this expedition we owe the two lines of Roman road which traverse the eastern and western portions of our island, the one passing on from Lincoln to York and Newcastle-on-Tyne, the other from Chester to Lancaster, Kendal, Brougham, and Carlisle.

We cannot treat of the occupation of Lincoln and the east coast of Britain, without also considering the great dykes formed by the Romans as well as the roads. The vestiges of these great embankments are better preserved in the east of Britain, and seem to have been oftener constructed in the east than in the west.

While few and uncertain traces remain on the shores of the British Channel, clear and undoubted remains of them are found in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire.

It has been well observed by a modern engineer that "the first great engineers who appeared in this district seem to have been the Romans. To their labours, without question, belongs the honour of having erected those stupendous embankments by which this vast tract of country is protected from the sea. . . . It is computed that these immense banks extend for about one hundred and fifty miles along the old sea borders of the Fen lands." They constructed an immense artificial canal, now known as "Car Dyke," which is supposed to have extended at one time all the way from Ramsey to Lincoln. It has been thought that this canal was used by them for purposes of navigation also, from the fact that along it they erected forts at seven places, viz., at Northborough, Braceborough, Billingborough, Garrick, Walcot, Linwood, and Washingborough. But the primary object of the great work was, without doubt, the interception of the upland interior fresh water, and its conveyance to the river. At the beginning of the present century Rennie reverted to the Roman system in draining the east and west Fens. The Car Dyke extends for a distance of forty miles, and has a width of sixty feet. . . . Many of the sites of ancient Roman cities are now occupied by modern towns; Lindum is Lincoln; Causennæ, Ancaster; Vaniona, Wainfleet; Durobrivæ, Castor on the Nene."

To the work of the Romans is due the very existence of

dry land in the Fens. "All that has been done (says the same writer) has been to improve and develop only. The stupendous works of these ancient conquerors of the world in excluding the tidal waters by their sea-walls, rendered subsequent drainage schemes feasible and desirable, and gave the English nation one of its most valuable and fertile provinces."<sup>1</sup>

A very interesting confirmation of the truth of these observations in respect to the permanency, engineering skill, and perfection of Roman work, is shown by works at present being carried out in Bath at the hot springs, where the ancient Roman drains for conveying the waste water from the spring, are being utilised by the Corporation, under the supervision of the City architect, who has been enabled to apply the old Roman drain to this purpose, and in doing this has come upon the original reservoir by which the very elaborate system of Roman baths in that city was supplied. Truly we owe something to the study of Roman remains, perhaps more than we are willing to allow, for here not only inscriptions which elucidate history are brought to light, but labour and cost is saved by utilising the works of those who civilised while they subjugated this island more than seventeen centuries ago.

No notice of Lincoln and its surroundings would be complete without mention of *Itinera* in which it is recorded. There are three, viz., the V, VI, and the VII.

The *fifth* passes out of London and ends with Carlisle and the Vallum of Hadrian, a distance of 443 miles. In this *Lindum*, *Segelocum* and *Danum* are all mentioned.

The *sixth* makes *Lindum* the terminus, commencing with London, and traverses 146 miles. The stations in this *Iter* follow the South Watling Street and the Foss Road.

The *eighth*, beginning at York, goes to London and strikes the Foss Road at Lincoln, following it as far as Leicester, and then quits it for Watling Street.

This serves to shew the importance of the city and its value as a military station.

Truly, Lincoln has a Roman history and associations

<sup>1</sup> See "Ancient reclamations in the English Fen lands," by J.W. Grover, C.E. in "Journal of Arch. Assoc.," vol. xxxv, p. 349, and following.

not inferior to any Roman city of Britain. Very rightly may we conclude with the observation of Horsley, who, in mentioning Lincoln, says: "Here we arrive at absolute certainty. Roman monuments have been found here, and Roman coins in the fields north of the city, and remains of Roman buildings. These evidences added to that of a due distance, and its situation at the intersection of several grand military ways, have procured the universal consent of antiquaries that Lindum, the terminus of the Sixth Iter, is the City of Lincoln." See "*Brit. Rom.*," p. 434.

Lincolnshire, as might be expected from the importance of the Roman city, and the roads which led to it, has produced remains of extensive Roman villas with their tessellated floors. These have been found at Horkstrow, Winterton, Roxby, Haseby, Storton, Scampton, Grantham,<sup>1</sup> but the county has not been examined as carefully, nor probably, have the same chances of finding occurred as frequently as in the West of England, especially in Gloucestershire and Somerset, where such fine villa remains have been discovered.

Perhaps the interest of these remains, and a juster idea of their historical value, may be the result of the present visit of the Archæological Institute.

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's, "*Celt, Rom., Saxon.*"

## ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM AT PALERMO.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

Sicily presents to the ordinary tourist attractions which in number and variety can hardly be surpassed. It is impossible to speak of this insular paradise without calling to mind the beautiful outlines of its valleys and mountains, the luxuriance of an almost tropical vegetation, and the delicious climate tempered by the sea-breezes of the Mediterranean. But works of Art, not the charms of external nature, are the subject with which we are concerned at present. In Sicily at a remote period the Greeks founded colonies which still survive, though with tarnished splendour; they reared on the most commanding heights<sup>1</sup> temples of stupendous size, majestic in their severe simplicity; they hollowed out of the hill sides theatres open to the sky, remarkable for their picturesque situation, vast extent and acoustic properties.<sup>2</sup> Carthage and Rome long contended here for supremacy, but left comparatively few traces behind them.<sup>3</sup> On the other

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Segesta, "on the brow of a lofty rock impending perpendicularly over the river," occupies a more striking situation than any other in Sicily. Swinburne, "Travels in the Two Sicilies," vol. ii, pp. 232-235, describes it fully, and at p. 236 gives a view of the country near Segesta, which shows, besides the temple, the castle of Calatiformi and Cape San Vito. Compare Bartlett, quoted by Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Of the theatres the most remarkable are those at Syracuse, Segesta and Taormina. Gregorovius, "Siciliana," pp. 262 sq., in eloquent language notices the poetical and historical associations connected with the great theatre of Syracuse. Rheinhard, "Album des Classischen Alterthums," Tafel 54, Theater zu Egesta, exhibits a restoration, after H. Strack; the spectator is supposed to look towards the North, hence the engraving includes mountains on both sides of the Gulf of Castellamare and the open sea beyond. At Taormina the *cavea* could accommodate 40,000 persons; from its uppermost seats

the finest prospect in Sicily, perhaps in the whole world, was visible, embracing the outline of Etna from the shore to the summit, and the Eastern Coast of Sicily as far as Plemmyrium.

<sup>3</sup> When we consider how long and how widely Carthaginian domination prevailed in the island, the paucity of Punic remains seems really astonishing. Some fragments of masonry at Motya and Lilybaeum, sarcophagi and Phœnician characters on coins are almost the sole representatives of this ancient civilization. The didrachms usually, but not with absolute certainty, attributed to Panormus, have Punic legends under the horse's head, *caput acris equi*, on the reverse; compare Hunter's "Catalogue," Tab. 41, fig. 2, where Punic letters appear on one side of the coin, and Greek on the other. It is much to be regretted that the work of Professor Salinas on "Sicilian Numismatics," from which we might expect great assistance in this department, has not yet been completed.



hand, succeeding races have deeply impressed their mark on Sicilian architecture. It is indebted to Byzantium for its magnificent mosaics, displaying the conventional forms adopted under the Lower Empire; it derived from Saracen invaders pointed arches, honey-combed ceilings, and inscriptions that blend harmoniously with arabesques;<sup>1</sup> lastly, it received from the Normans an admixture of novel elements—the chevron, dog-tooth, billet-moulding, and grotesque figures.<sup>2</sup> However, I must not expatiate on so wide a field, which others have often traversed; confining my remarks within narrow limits, I shall invite attention to some objects in the Museum at Palermo, which, with a single exception, have been altogether omitted by English writers or noticed very imperfectly.

It is only right to state, in limine, that the following notes have little claim to originality. I am indebted for most of them to the publications of the local antiquaries, especially Professors Salinas and Basile, but I do not in all cases accept the conclusions at which they have arrived.

I. Some of the antiquities at Palermo are already well-known. Amongst them the most conspicuous are the Selinuntine Metopes; though individual figures are surpassed by others, as a *series* extending from the rudest

<sup>1</sup> Near Palermo we have in the Palaces Cuba and Zisa the best examples of the Saracenic style. Swinburne, vol. ii. p. 222, gives an engraving of "La Torre Zizza," but his description of the arches is incorrect. A more accurate account of these buildings is supplied by Mr. Sydney Smirke's "Observations on the Origin of the Pointed Arch in Architecture," *Archæologia*, vol. xxi, pp. 521—533, see especially pp. 523-529, and at p. 524, Plate xxiv, "The Kooba near Palermo," Plate xxv, "Specimen of the enriched corbelling at the Kooba." The former plate shows "Arabic inscriptions, which form a kind of frieze over the cornice along the whole front." There is a striking resemblance between the pendent ornaments in this palace and the stalactite work in the minarets at Constantinople. The Cuba and Zisa are not far apart, and at a little distance from the Porta Nuova, by which the traveller proceeds to Monreale; they are marked in Baedeker's Map I Contorni di Palermo, "Guide for Southern Italy and Sicily," p. 249. It is worthy of remark that the modern name of the city is derived from the

Mahometan Bulirna, just as Pamplona comes from Babilonah.

We may at first be surprised to find so few traces of Moorish rule in Sicily, as compared with the monuments of the same people in Spain; but the difference is easily explained. The Arabs met with no formidable resistance from the Byzantine Greeks, and during their three hundred years' occupation of the island, they were as unsettled as the robber-states of Africa; in the latter case they had to encounter an established and well-ordered monarchy, their energies were roused by the contest, and they founded a kingdom which was permanent as well as flourishing; Gregorovius, "*Siciliana*," pp. 99-101.

<sup>2</sup> Gally Knight, quoted by Demis, "Handbook for Sicily," Introduction, p. xxviii. Mr. Fergusson, "History of Architecture," vol. ii, p. 270, says there is hardly anything in Sicilian architecture, indicative of purely Norman taste or feelings. I think that those who have made a *special* study of the subject will not be inclined to agree with this opinion.

archaic style to the period that approaches perfection, they stand pre-eminent.<sup>1</sup> Next to them in importance we may rank the Syracusan Ram, of which a full description has appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.<sup>2</sup> Passing by these famous monuments, I proceed to a bronze Caduceus presented by the Director of the Museum, Signor Salinas, who is also Professor of Archæology in the University. It deserves consideration for two reasons: it is singular in its form, and it bears an inscription that throws some light both on philology and geography.

An account of this Caduceus has been written by Baldassare Romano in the *Giornale di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti per la Sicilia*, and by Salinas for the *Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* at Rome. It was discovered early in the present century near Nissoria<sup>3</sup> at Rocca di Serlone, a little below the surface, fixed vertically between stones and earth, with the serpents uppermost. According to Salinas, the shaft bears two inscriptions, IMAXAPAION OΣION, and Γ . . . AMA . . . ION; the former words having been cut over the latter, which are in fainter characters, and cannot now be read so as to afford any connected meaning. But I think Salinas is mistaken in speaking of two inscriptions. Professor Percy Gardner pointed out to me that the word ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΝ is legible here; it occurs also on the Caduceus from Longanus in the British Museum.<sup>4</sup> We ought, therefore, to read IMAXAPAION ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΝ, *i.e.*, the public Caduceus of the Imacharenses. The antiquity of the inscription is shown by the use of O for Ω in the genitive plural.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of the metopes are engraved in C. O. Müller's "Denkmäler der alten Kunst," edit. Wieseler, vol. i, Plates iv and v, Nos. 24—27b. Good photographs of the series may be obtained at Palermo from Giuseppe Incorpora.

<sup>2</sup> "Transactions," June 22, 1870. This memoir by the Rev. S. S. Lewis was also published in the "Journal of Philology," vol. iv. Compare an article by Heydemann in the "Archäologische Zeitung," New Series, 3rd vol., pp. 1, 2, 'Tafel 25, 1870—1871, entitled "Der Bronzewidder im Museum zu Palermo."

<sup>3</sup> Nissoria is marked in Baedeker's Map of Sicily, at a little distance east of Leonforte, an important station on the railway from Girgenti to Catania.

<sup>4</sup> Longanus was a city on the north coast of Sicily, near Mylae. The caduceus from this place is in the Bronze Room of the British Museum, and in the same case with the celebrated Elean inscription. The words in the shaft appear to be ΛΟΓΓΕΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ. Case 44, 45 contains another caduceus, where the snakes are bearded and crested, but the beard is parallel to the lower jaw, not at right angles to it, as in the Palermitan example. The latter mode of representing the beard occurs in a small ornament that seems to have belonged to some larger object, case 49.

<sup>5</sup> Η and Ω were first used for public documents at AthenEuc ; was Archon, B.C. 403.

The upper part of the Caduceus consists of two serpents twisted, with the heads facing each other, which is the most common form; though we sometimes find them turned in opposite directions.<sup>1</sup> Underneath each head is a projection, which, at first sight, might lead one to suppose that the artist intended to represent the gaping jaws of snakes, which open very widely. But a closer inspection convinces us that this is not the case. It has been suggested that these projections, which are at right angles to the heads, were only added as pegs to hang fillets or garlands upon: Salinas, however, is probably right in saying that the snakes are bearded, for so they frequently appear on Greek coins, especially on those of Alexandria; though such an appendage does not occur in nature, and is absolutely impossible. The length of the Caduceus is fifty-two centimètres.<sup>2</sup>

This wand is most common in the hand of Mercury, but it does not by any means follow that in the present case it belonged to a statue of that deity, as an accessory or attribute. For in the first place there is no mention of any vestige of such a statue having been found near the Caduceus, and secondly, instances of this staff carried by a herald are not wanting. One is given by Montfaucon to illustrate the word *Caduceator*, and others from fictile vases may be seen in Rich's "*Companion to the Latin Dictionary*."<sup>3</sup> For these reasons, taking also into account the position of the Caduceus and the inscription upon it, we may fairly infer that it was placed by the *Imacharenses* in a temple as a sign of peace or alliance with some other city.

The manuscripts and editions of Cicero, Pliny, and Ptolemy exhibit the various forms *Imachara*, *Imichara*, *Imacara*, *Machara*, *Macara*, *Ἡμυχαρα*, *Ἰμυχαρα*; similarly

<sup>1</sup> For numerous representations of the caduceus see Montfaucon, "*Antiquité Expliquée*," tome i, part 1, Plates lxxviii—lxxvi; in Pl. lxxi, 5, the snakes are looking away from each other. Compare Supplement, tome i, "*Après la xxxvi, Planche*," Pl. xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Günther, of the Natural History Department in the British Museum, informed me that a snake could no more have a beard than a man could have a head growing out of his elbow. Bearded snakes therefore may be put in the same

category with other monstrosities of Greek art, "*Gorgons and Hydras and Chimæras* dire," as Milton has grouped them together. So in Cuvier, "*Règne Animal*," tome iii, Reptiles, pp. 95—138, and Atlas, tome iii, Plates xxiii—xxxvi ter, no example of bearded snakes can be found.

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, "*Antiquité Expliquée*," Supplement, Pl. xxxviii, no 3, which is described in page 100. Rich, s.v. *Caduceus* and *Ceryx*.

the inhabitants are called Ymacharenses, Imacharenses, Imagarenses, Magarenses, Macharenses, Acharenses, Hycarenses, and Hemicharenses. From our inscription it appears that Imachara is the correct appellation; it is sanctioned by Cluverius, and adopted by the best editors of Cicero. The other readings are due to the ignorance and carelessness of transcribers, who could not be familiar with a name so seldom mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The discovery of the Caduceus near Nissoria, which is south of the Nebrodes mountains and not far from the centre of the island in a north-easterly direction, indicates that the site of Imachara is in this neighbourhood, which agrees with the conclusion drawn from Cicero's Verrine Orations. He is speaking of fields and hills, which he had formerly seen most beautiful and verdant, but which the exactions of Verres had made barren and desolate;<sup>2</sup> and here he names Imachara in juxtaposition with Herbita, Enna, Morgantia,<sup>3</sup> Assorus, and Agyrium, all of which are in the interior, and in the same region as Nissoria. Our inscription, therefore, considered in connection with the passage in Cicero, assists us to correct the error of Fazello, who identifies Imachara with ruins of an ancient city about nine miles north of Pachynum, the southern extremity of the island.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cicero in Verrem, Actio secunda, Lib. iii, c. xviii, § 47; Pliny, Nat. Hist. iii, 8, s. 14, § 91, edit. Sillig; Ptolemy, Geographia iii, 4, 12. Compare Pape, Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen, s. v. 'Ημυχάρα ἢ Ἰμυχάρα ähnlich Halbing, Halberstadt; eigentlich Halbhaupt (χάρα=κάρα?) Einwohner 'Ημυχάρηνοι var. lect. für 'Ηγερτάρηνοι, Diod. Sic. xiii, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero in Verrem, loc. cit., Quos ego campos antea collesque nitidissimos viridissimosque vidissem, hos ita vastatos nunc, ac desertos videbam, ut ager ipse cultorem desiderare, ac lugere dominum videretur. Herbitensis, ager Ennensis, Morgantinus, Assorinus, Imacharensis, Agyrinensis, etc.

<sup>3</sup> As in the case of Imachara, there are several modifications of this name, viz., Murgantia, Morgantium, Murgentia, Morgentia; see Mr. Bunbury's article, s.v. Morgantia in Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

<sup>4</sup> The Caduceus appears on the coins of Calacte, Menaenum, Cephalœdium,

and Tyndaris, Sicilian cities. The first two have a head or bust of Hermes on the obverse, and a caduceus on the reverse. Cephalœdium has the caduceus on both sides; but Tyndaris furnishes a better illustration for our present purpose, as in this case there is a winged caduceus between an olive-branch and a stalk of barley, which agrees with the suggestion that the herald's staff might denote peace between Imachara and another city. Catalogue of Greeks coins in the British Museum, Sicily, pp. 32, 58, 97, 236.

Æsculapius has a staff with one snake twined round it as his attribute, so that it can be easily distinguished from the caduceus of Mercury with two snakes; for representations of the former deity, see Montfaucon, "Ant. Expl." tome i, pt. ii, pl. clxxv, p. 286 sqq., and Supplement, tome i, Pl. lxxviii, p. 174 sqq.; Millin, "Galerie Mythologique," tome i, pp. 24—26. "Explications des Planches," 99—106.

Professor Salinas in his pamphlet entitled "Caduceo degli Imacaresi," p. 5 and



II. The Museum at Palermo contains in the same room with the Selinuntine Metopes three stone lions' heads, which there is good reason to believe are Gargoyles from a temple at Himera. These two cities, Selinus and Himera, were similar in their origin, duration, and destiny, and their remains now share a common repository. They were both founded in the seventh century B.C., attained a high degree of prosperity, and within a year were destroyed by the Carthaginians, B.C. 409. In the history of Himera one event is pre-eminently important, the great victory of Gelo, which, according to Diodorus, was gained there on the same day that the battle of Thermopylae was fought. The Punic general, Hamilcar, was killed, his ships burned, 150,000 Africans slaughtered, and a vast multitude of prisoners taken, who were afterwards employed by the Sicilians on public works; in all probability they erected some of the temples whose ruins are still extant.<sup>1</sup> The coins of Himera by their archaic

note 2, implies that an account of the caducei known to exist is contained in the *Archäologische Zeitung* vi, 37, but I have been unable to verify the reference. Further information on this subject may be obtained by consulting the *Repertorio of the Annali e Bullettini*, published by the Istituto Archeologico Romano; at vol. xx, 1848, Tavola d'Aggiunti, there is a curious instance of a caduceus in the form of a fluted column.

Caylus, "*Recueil d'Antiquities*," vol. iv, p. 35, Plate xii, 2, shows a caduceus on an Egyptian monument, placed in front of a cow, and *ib.*, p. 162, Pl. ix, 2 behind a head, which he supposes to be that of a philosopher, perhaps as a sign of eloquence or of an embassy.

The reader may be amused by a derivation of *caduceus* proposed by Fred. Samuel Schmidt in the *Archæologia*, vol. i, p. 276, "*Lucian's Ognius Illustrated*;" he says it is a Celtic word from *cat*, meaning war, dissension, and *ducken*, to press, oppress, and signifies something that is used to settle disputes. Caduceus or caduceum is only a modification of *καρρύκειον*, which is sometimes written *καρρύκειον*; the long *a* in the first syllable corresponds with *η*, or *a* in Doric and Æolic; and according to Forcellini the Tarentines and Syracusans used the form *καρρύκειον*. See Forcellini's *Lexicon* edited by De Vit, and for the interchange of D with R the initial article D in Dr. W. Smith's Latin Dictionary.

In our Inscription the Genitive plural *Ἰμαχαπαίων* should be noticed, as it agrees with the usage in Greek autonomous coins; the regal series has the same ease but the singular number. A curious exception occurs in the money of the Parthian King Vonones I. (Arsaces XVIII), whose name appears in the nominative; this is accounted for by his long residence in Italy, that caused him to adopt the Roman practice in the legends of his coins; Lindsay, "*History of Parthia*," pp. 51, 150; Pl. iii, No. 64; Visconti quoted by Orelli, note on Tacitus Ann. ii, 12.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, who was a native of Agrigium, in Sicily, enlarges with patriotic pride on the victory of Gelo, lib. xi, cc. 20, 24, 25, *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Γέλωνα νικῆσαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θερμοπύλας μετὰ Λεωνίδου διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς Ξέρην*. Some of the prisoners built the temples and underground passages for water still remaining at Agrigentum; *πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὕδατων . . . ἐκροὰς ὑπόνομοι κατεσκευάσθησαν*. This battle is commemorated by a coin of Himera bearing a figure of Victory with the legend ΝΙΚΑ, where the Doric form should be observed, as it illustrates the statements of the historians that the Syracusan exiles joined with the Zancleans in founding the city, and that Theron of Agrigentum at a later period brought Dorian settlers into it; Thucydides, vi, 5, *φωνῇ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη*; Diodor. Sic. xi, 49.



and transitional styles show that it flourished at an early period, and as Professor Salinas, the best authority on this subject, assures us, they also bear testimony to changes in its form of government.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus relates that Hannibal, to avenge the death of his grandfather, Hamilcar, utterly destroyed the city and razed it to the ground; he adds that even down to his own time, the Augustan Age, the site remained uninhabited.<sup>2</sup> Hence we need not be surprised that its exact position has been a matter of controversy; however, the Sicilian antiquaries seem now agreed in placing it near the embouchure of the Fiume Grande, south of Bonfornello. Ancient sepulchres, a portion of a wall, painted vases, and many fragments of pottery have been discovered there. As far back as 1823 Palmeri visited Himera; he suspected that the most precious remains were amongst the buildings of Bonfornello, and expressed an opinion that vestiges of a temple might reward a search. For a long time these suggestions were neglected, but in 1861 Professor Giuseppe Meli,<sup>3</sup> with the assistance

Victory holds in her hand an aplustre or acrostolium, bound with a fillet; it may refer to the burning of Carthaginian ships, which contributed materially to Gelo's success, or possibly to some naval action not recorded by the historians. Compare the coins of Rhodes, where the same device symbolizes the maritime ascendancy of that island. A crab on the drachmae of Himera indicates Agrigentine colonists, as the emblem of Neptune was derived from the city of Theron; it may be seen there even now upon modern buildings, as an architectural decoration.

<sup>1</sup> In a tetradrachm we have the unusual device of water falling out of a lion's mouth on the chest or shoulder of a male figure, variously described as a Faun, Paniscus or Silenus, so that there is a striking coincidence with the form of the gargoyles as mentioned above. This series, including *Thermæ Himeraeae*, contains three types of great interest, because they seem to be derived from statues noticed by Cicero in his *Verrine Orations*, viz., a female head with mural crown, an old man leaning on a staff and reading a book, and a youth seated on a he-goat. The first is a personification of Himera, the second is the lyric poet Stesichorus, the third bears some resemblance to a figure, which Cicero says excited his admiration, though he was

not a connoisseur in such matters: In *Verrem*, Act. ii, Lib. ii, c. 35.

Lastly, a coin with a cock on the obverse reminds us of Pindar's twelfth Olympic Ode in honour of Ergoteles, a resident at Himera, who is compared with this bird, *Ἐρδομάχας ἄτ' ἀλέκτωρ*. The cock is generally supposed to be an emblem of Aesculapius, and to symbolize the beneficial effects of the hot springs, from which the later name *Thermæ* was derived; but some have seen in this device an allusion to the earlier appellation Himera, *Ἡμέρα*, according to Plato, *Cratylus*, sec. 75, an archaism for *Ἡμέρα*; *Οἷον δι μὲν ἀρχαῖοτάτοι ἡμέραν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ ἡμέραν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἡμέραν*. *Eckhel*, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. i, p. 211, sq., s.v. *Himera Thermæ*; *Leake*, *Numismata Hellenica*, *Insular Greece*, p. 53; *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum*, *Sicily*, pp. 76—84.

<sup>2</sup> Diodor. Sic. xiii, 62, *τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν*. xi. 49, *διέμεινεν ἀόικητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν*.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Giuseppe Meli has written a useful catalogue of objects of art brought from the monastery of S. Martino delle Scale, and deposited in the Museum at Palermo; this collection includes medals, majolica plates and vases, drawings, manuscripts with miniatures, pictures, &c.

of some local residents, examined these buildings, and found shafts of fluted columns arranged so as to show that the temple was hexastyle and peripteral.<sup>1</sup> In March of the following year excavations were commenced, which brought to light some architectural members and the Gargoyles now deposited in the Museum at Palermo.<sup>2</sup> From this date till 1877, when Salinas published his *Memoir*, entitled "*Le Grondaje del Tempio d'Imera*," the investigation appears to have been suspended in consequence of want of funds and exorbitant demands made by the proprietors.

These relics help us to form some idea of the temple as it stood before its beauty was defaced by Punic violence; being executed in a very hard material, cretaceous limestone, they are well preserved, while the columns of softer tufo have suffered greatly from external agencies. Originally a gargoyle, two channels, and a portion of the cornice were made of one block, but so much was shattered in the fall that none of the blocks are now complete, and the Museum possesses three heads broken off in the same way, a part of the cornice, and two stones containing the channels only. A piece of metal also has been preserved, which was used in joining two stones of the cornice; it seems that they were united by a process of dovetailing, and that lead was afterwards poured in to make the small stone inserted fit in the large ones more accurately.<sup>3</sup>

The lions' heads bear a general resemblance to each other, with some diversity in details as we might expect from that fertility of invention which characterised the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, it had six columns at either end and columns along the sides. This plan was usually adopted in the Doric Temples of Sicily, as may be seen by comparing the structures still remaining at Segesta and Agrigentum, or the fragmentary ruins at Selinus. The great Temple of Neptune at Paestum is a conspicuous example of the same arrangement in Magna Græcia. Scharf's *Introduction to "Wordsworth's Greece"*, pp. 28, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Dennis has noticed these Gargoyles in the briefest manner possible; partly on this account I describe them at some length.

<sup>3</sup> For the use of metal in joining stones see "*The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*," published by the Society of Dilettanti; Rhamnus, chap. vi, Temple of Nemesis, Plate viii, Plan of the *Lacunaria*, "*The whole was strongly fastened together by means of cramps run in with lead.*" Mr. C. T. Newton, "*Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchide*," vol. i, Plate xvii, Mausoleum, Plan of the Pyramid showing the positions of the *Ridges and Cramps*. In vol. ii, part i, pp. 169, 172, 173, 178, *cramp-holes and cramp-marks* are mentioned; comp. vol. i, Pls. xxvi, Fig. 8; xxvii, Figs. 4, 7, 8.

Greeks.<sup>1</sup> In the vigour and breadth with which the subject is treated we also recognise a good period of art, so that these remains confirm the historical accounts which have been briefly noticed above. On the other hand, the gutters are exactly alike in their dimensions, and each is divided into two channels by three ribs, of which the central one has a part broken off a little before it reaches the gargoyle; this of course was done to facilitate the flow of water from the fluted and projecting lion's tongue. The alteration appears to have been an after-thought, as it was effected by irregular blows of the chisel, while in the rest of the work the surface is perfectly smooth.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the fragments of the cornice under the gargoyles an owl's beak has been found. Can it be regarded as an indication that the temple was dedicated to Minerva, who has this bird for an attribute?<sup>3</sup> External evidence would lead us to suppose that Saturn was the deity worshipped here; Gelo imposed it as a condition of peace on the Carthaginians that they should not offer human sacrifices to Saturn, and Himera being the only independent Greek city in these parts would be naturally exposed to Punic influences.<sup>4</sup> An argument in favour of this opinion may be derived from a silver coin bearing the head of this god with his name in Greek characters, ΚΡΟΝΟΣ.<sup>5</sup> However, the attribution of the temple is at present uncertain, and we can only hope that further researches will decide it.

The gargoyles are larger than we should expect, judging from the small size of the columns that have already been found, but this apparent want of symmetry may, like

<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum there are ten lions' heads belonging to a cornice of the Mausoleum, all different; the examples from the Temples of Athene Polias at Priene and Diana at Ephesus present fresh varieties.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. C. T. Newton, *ib.* vol. ii, pt. i, page 171, Restoration of the Mausoleum. At intervals were antefixal lions' heads, which served as spouts to the gutters at the back. . . . The bottom of the gutter inclines slightly towards the centre, in order to carry off the water through the lions' heads. Their position in the cymatium is shown, Pls. xviii south side, xix west front, xxii Details of the Order;

Pl. xxx exhibits on a large scale three views of a Lion's head.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," p. 174, describing the Temple E (see his plan p. 169) on the eastern height at Selinus, says that the *becco di civetta* or owl's-beak moulding occurs in the Capitals of the Antae.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. vi, 62. *ἥπερ μόνῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς Σικελίας Ἑλλάς πόλις ἐστίν.* Cf. vii, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Salinas speaks of this coin, which is a *litra*, as unique, and as belonging to Dr. Inghof-Blumer of Winterthur: I have seen one that agrees with his account in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

other difficulties, be explained when the site has been fully cleared.

Perhaps the most interesting feature in this discovery is the evidence of polychrome which it supplies; as soon as the fragments were disinterred a red tint in the lips of the lion was observed, and afterwards, on placing the objects in a better light, Professor Salinas noticed that the altered surface (patina) of the cornice showed traces of a painted mæander and an ovolo immediately under it; what the original colours of these ornaments were, cannot now be even conjectured.<sup>1</sup>

Abundant illustrations of the use of lions' heads as gargoyles are supplied by the Unedited Antiquities of Attica, published by the Dilettanti Society. Plate 3, chapter iii, proves that this ornamental spout was adopted in the Ionic order as well as in the Doric. "The back of the cymatium of the cornice was channelled for the purpose of forming a gutter, and the lions' heads in front were perforated." But the best examples are from the Temple of Diana-Propylæa, plates 3 & 4, chap. v, in the former of which we see each block of the sima ornamented with two lions' heads of bold projection.<sup>2</sup>

III. The Mosaics are the glory of Palermo; they are the first objects that rivet the attention of the traveller,

<sup>1</sup> For the painted decoration of Greek Temples in Sicily see Hittorff, "Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Selinonte," 8vo. vol. of text with atlas of fine coloured plates, Paris, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart, "Antiquities of Athens," vol. ii, c. i, Pl. 6, Elevation of the Portico of the Parthenon; Pl. 9, capital and entablature of the columns of the Portico. Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia herausgegeben von E. Curtius, F. Adler and G. Treu, Vol. i, pl. xxvii, 2 Löwenköpfe mit sima vom Zeus-Tempel; pl. xxx, architectur fragmente in Thon und Marmor, &c. Dr. Birch, "Ancient Pottery," ii, 253, has a section on gutter-spouts of terra-cotta. The most ordinary form was a lion's head, but masks comic and tragic, with open shell-shaped mouths, and heads of dogs and panthers were also used. These objects were generally of the same piece as the gutter-tile, so that in this respect they resembled the gargoyles at Minerva. Vitruvius does not give us any word exactly corresponding to gargoyle, but *colliquiæ*, akin to *liqueo*,

*liqueo*, *liquidus*, occurs in his writings, and means a gutter for carrying the water from the roof into the impluvium; vi, 3, *colliquias ab angulis parietum ad angulos tignorum intercurrentes*: cf. *Forma iii, f. colliquiæ*, Einkehlen, ed. Rode.

The gargoyles of the Middle Ages differ considerably from the classical types: they show greater variety of grotesque forms—animal, human, and daemonical; they generally project much further from the wall; they are often furnished with leaden pipes from which the water issues; and they are sometimes placed in front of a buttress. In ancient gargoyles no signs of lead have been found, as far as I am aware, and buttresses were very rarely employed by the Greeks and Romans, because their roofs were lighter, and their walls were not weakened by the insertion of windows. Parker's Glossary, Text, and Illustrations in vol. ii, pt. i, Pl. 95; Architectural Publication Society, "Dictionary of Architecture," engravings chiefly of examples in Somersetshire churches.



and when he has left this beautiful city, they remain most deeply engraved on his memory. Architecture in their case is subordinate to painting, and we, therefore, look back on the Cappella Palatina and the Duomo of Monreale as shrines inclosing the chefs-d'œuvre of mediæval mosaicists.<sup>1</sup> These magnificent works charm the lover of the picturesque by their gorgeous colouring, their colossal size, and their variety of subjects, at the same time that they interest the historical enquirer by an intermixture of different styles—Classical, Byzantine, Arabic, and Norman—for which it would be hard to find a parallel.<sup>2</sup> But, after all, these monuments are not the highest art, for they were executed under the influence of a degenerate sacerdotalism, and though the figures have a solemn and mysterious grandeur that inspires the beholder with awe, they want the beauty and animation which we admire in ancient Greece.<sup>3</sup>

Palermo contains examples of mosaics in this better style, which are not generally known, and have not been described by any English traveller. They were found amongst the remains of a building in the Piazza Vittoria, formerly called Reale, a large open space with the Royal Palace on its west side, and the Corso Vittorio Emanuele on the north. A glance at these pavements is sufficient to show their superiority, and to convince all except those who depreciate classical antiquity, and reserve their praise for clumsy imitations of it executed in later ages. The discovery was made accidentally in December, 1868, on the occasion of a fête offered by the city to Prince Umberto and his Consort, now King and Queen of Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Il Duomo di Monreale illustrato e riportato in Tavole chrono-lithografiche da D. Domenico-Benedetto Gravina, Abate Cassinese, folio, reproduces the drawing and colouring of the mosaics with great fidelity; cf. Serra di Falco, *Del Duomo di Monreale e di altre Chiese Siculo Normanne*.

<sup>2</sup> Gally Knight quoted by Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," p. 72.

The Cappella Palatina contains within a small space columns with Corinthian capitals, the Temple of Jerusalem depicted as a Byzantine church, Saracenic honeycomb work in the roof, and Norman chevrons in the pulpit; Dennis, *ibid.* 72—77.

<sup>3</sup> Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstge-*

*schichte* I, 261. In diesen Formen, in diesen Satzungen eines äusserlichen Ceremoniells erstarrt die byzantinische Kunst und bewährt aufs Neue, dass nur aus wahrhaft geistigem Leben eine Entwicklung der Formen entspringen kann, und dass ein äusserlicher Dogmatismus der Tod aller Entwicklung ist. Kugler, "Handbook of Painting," Italian Schools, edit. Eastlake, vol. i, 25 sqq., The Byzantine style.

A popular account of the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and Monreale is given by Mr. G. F. Rodwell, South by east, "Notes of Travel in Southern Europe," pp. 189-193; the frontispiece and engraving opposite page 190 show their position in the buildings.



For some time the mosaics remained in situ, only protected by a shed (*tettoja*), and were much injured by exposure to rain ; they were, therefore, removed for better preservation to the National Museum, where they are now accessible to visitors.<sup>1</sup>

No account has been given of this building either by writers contemporaneous with the probable date of its erection, or by those who flourished subsequently. Hence, a wide door stands open for the conjectures in which Italian archæologists have freely indulged. The Abate Di Marzo sees here the *Aula Regia* mentioned by Falcando as being under the new palace of the Norman Kings. Signor Pitrè, agreeing with the French and German authorities, assigns the edifice to Roman times ; he considers that it was originally public, but afterwards applied to private uses ; he also expresses an opinion that it was once the palace of the *Quaestors*.<sup>2</sup> This last notion seems improbable, as under the Republic there were two *Quaestors* for Sicily, one residing at Lilybaeum, and the other at Syracuse ; which was obviously a convenient arrangement, because these two places were remote from each other. I believe there is no mention of a *Quaestor* at Panormus (Palermo), nor was the city sufficiently important at this period to require the presence of such an officer.<sup>3</sup> Signor Starabba endeavours to refute Di Marzo's opinion, remarking that the extent of the monument excavated does not correspond with the place in which William I. assembled the people, and still less with the vast structure that, according to the Arabic historian — Ibn Giobair — included a hall of Council, residences for courtiers, a Roman amphitheatre, etc.<sup>4</sup>

Professor Basile, in a memoir recently published by the Academy of Science, Literature and Art at Palermo, has considered this building almost exclusively from an architectural point of view. M. Aubé's plan being defective,

<sup>1</sup> Sull'antico edificio della Piazza Vittoria in Palermo Memoria del Socio, Prof. G. B. F. Basile, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Basile, *ib.* p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. ii, lib. ii, c. 4, s. 11. *Quaestores utriusque provinciae, qui isto praetore fuerant, cum fascibus mihi praesto fuerunt.* Cf. *Pro Plancio* xxvi, 64, 65. Cicero served as Lilybaean *Quaestor* under the Praetor Sextus Pedu-

cæus. An interesting narrative of his administration of the province and return thence to Rome will be found in Middleton's "*Life of Cicero*," vol. i, 65-69.

<sup>4</sup> The Norman Ugo Falcando has described the Palace of the Arabian Emirs at Palermo ; see a quotation from his writings in Gregorovius, "*Siciliana*," p. 132.



# ANTICO EDIFIZIO NELLA PIAZZA VITTORIA DI PALERMO.

FIG II

Tentativo di restauro

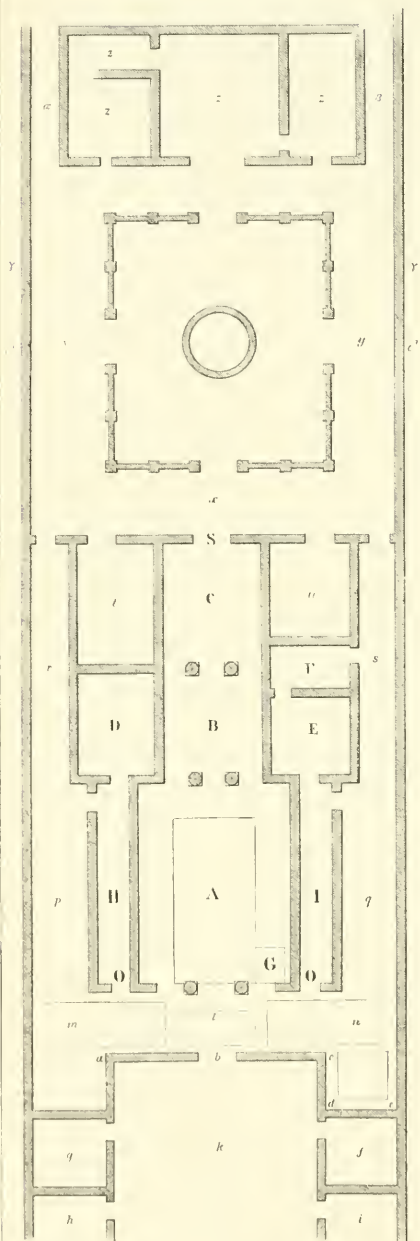
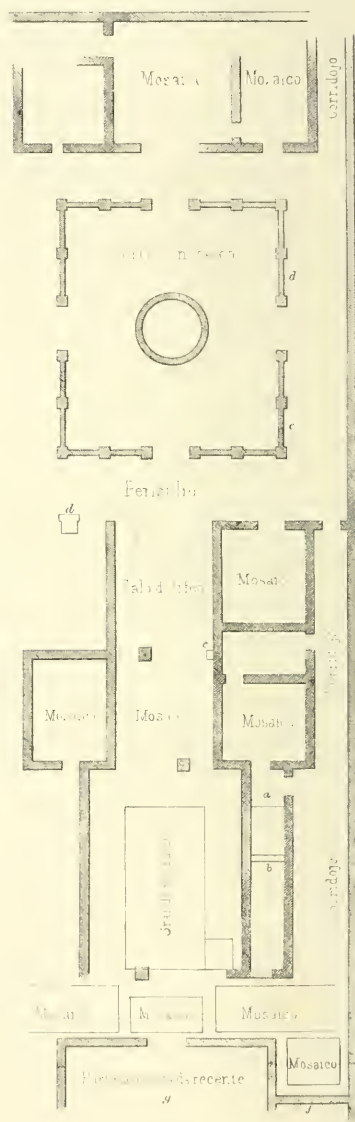


FIG I

Stato attuale.



because it did not distinguish ancient constructions from modern, the Professor has appended to his essay a diagram where ancient walls of which only the foundations exist are marked with a single line, those which still appear above ground with a double line and shading, and recent ones with a double line and no shading between. This diagram is accompanied by an attempted restoration, which supplies, from analogy, the parts that are now wanting; so in Fig. II. we have the corridor H and room *t* added as counterparts to corridor I and room *u* respectively. The rooms *h*, *i*, are indicated, but not fully defined, because there is no evidence in the remains to show how far they extended; transverse walls have been drawn in accordance with the symmetry which must have prevailed. These ground plans prove that the usual arrangements of a Roman private house are not carried out here; we do not see the succession of prothyrum, atrium with cubicula round it, tablinum, and peristyle, as in the house of Pansa at Pompeii,<sup>1</sup> which is probably contemporary or nearly so, but in the centre of the building there are three great halls opening into each other. Such a disposition of the apartments seems to indicate that a public office, or basilica, was combined with a private residence; and this theory is confirmed by the double corridors on both sides of the central halls. The inner ones, H and I, would be used by persons approaching the halls, A, B, C, from D, E, etc., ante-rooms for attendants, suitors, or witnesses. It would obviously be convenient that the public halls should have means of ingress and egress distinct from the long corridors, *p*, *q*, that communicated with the private apartments at either end of the building.

An objection to this supposition might be founded on the fact that there is no evidence here of a semi-circular apse, in which basilicæ usually terminated.<sup>2</sup> We might

<sup>1</sup> Gell and Gandy, "Pompeiana," vol. ii, p. 181, give a plan of the House of Pansa with a detailed account of the apartments. Mr. Scharf's "Guide to the Pompeian Court in the Crystal Palace," pp. 38, 39, exhibits many varieties of construction in the private dwellings at Pompeii. Overbeck, *Erster Band*, s. 296, says of the House of Pansa, "am meisten von allen die Regel darstellt und die charakteristischen Räumlichkeiten am vollständigsten enthält."

<sup>2</sup> The semi-circular arch was used exclusively by the Romans; it appears in their aqueducts, bridges and drains; we see a similar form in the shrines of their deities and in the alcoves (hemicyclia, exedrae) where they met for conversation. Hirt, *Die Lehre der Gebäude bei den Griechen und Römern*, V Abschnitt §§ 4—8, mentions the halbzirkliches Tribunal, and gives many examples: Taf. xxii [vii] Figg. i-vii.

quote in reply instances of the rectangular form, *e.g.*, at Pompeii, where, as in Sicily, Greek influence was strong enough to modify the style usually adopted by the Romans.<sup>1</sup> Professor Basile remarks that other cases are known in which a basilica was combined with a mansion, and calls attention particularly to the palace on the Palatine.

These mosaics here are interesting for two reasons. In the first place they are Græco-Roman, and so belong to a class of which we have few examples in Sicily, though there are abundance of antiquities, both earlier and later. Secondly, they are finer than we might have expected. Sicily, as is well known, suffered much from the exactions of Verres, but injuries still deeper and more lasting were inflicted by the civil wars between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius; the island never recovered its former prosperity, and consequently does not exhibit in its architecture, like other parts of the empire, many proofs of Roman luxury and civilization.<sup>2</sup>

This building was of considerable size, and its decorations sumptuous. Fragments of Corinthian columns with beautiful capitals, mural paintings and tessellated floors bear witness to the skill of the artists employed upon it. In the Mosaics we observe a rich variety of mythological scenes, a fertile invention untrammelled by hieratic rules, a natural pose in all the figures, maidenly grace and sweetness in some of the heads, masculine force and animation in others. This monument therefore deserves to be classed among the best of the kind, and will sustain comparison with any that have been excavated at Pompeii.<sup>3</sup>

The most important of these pavements are the following:—1. The Death of Hippolytus; 2. The Great Mosaic

<sup>1</sup> Gell and Gandy, "Pompeiana," vol. ii, Pl. 44, Plan of Forum and Basilica, especially Nos. 14-21. Overbeck i, 128-134; at p. 130 he remarks that there was no apse in this building, though some have regarded it as the criterion of the basilica: cf. Fig. 101, Raum unter der Tribüne.

<sup>2</sup> We know the desolate condition of Sicily from the testimony of Strabo, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, Lib. vi, p. 272, ἡ δ' ἄλλη κατοικία καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιμένων ἢ πλείστη γεγένηται ὅτε

γὰρ ἡμέραν ἔτι συνοικουμένην ἴσμεν ὅτε Γέλαν ὅτε Καλλίπολιν ὅτε Σελινούντα ὅτε Ἐσβιαν ὅτε ἄλλας πλείους, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>3</sup> With respect to composition the great mosaic at Palermo is decidedly inferior to the Battle of Issus at Pompeii, but individual heads in the former—*e.g.*, those of Neptune and Apollo, Spring and Autumn, equal, if they do not surpass, any in the latter. Overbeck, "Pompeii," vol. ii, p. 225, has a fine coloured plate "Die Alexander Schlacht."



in the central hall; 3. Orpheus surrounded by birds and beasts: they would be seen in this order by the visitor who proceeds from the principal entrance through the interior. With respect to the first, we may remark that it is too elaborate to have been placed immediately inside the door, as was at one time supposed. In the Pompeian vestibules we only find a simple figure and brief inscriptions, such as *Salve* and *Cave Canem*, but no complicated subjects.<sup>1</sup> The Great Mosaic consists of numerous designs enclosed in ovals, circles and octagons; a double border, the inner part of which is the usual cable pattern, encompasses the whole. Each oval space is filled by a fish, a device that would naturally occur to the inhabitants of a sea-port; it reminds us of the tunny on the coinage of Agrigentum and the dolphin on the Syracusan decadrachms.<sup>2</sup> A seated figure occupies each of the three octagons that form the lowest row<sup>3</sup>; the one in the left hand corner is best preserved, and evidently represents a tragic poet. He supports his chin with his hand in a posture of meditation. On his right is a roll and on his left a mask, which, on account of its height, we may infer to be tragic.<sup>4</sup> The back of the chair is semi-circular, as

<sup>1</sup> The death of Hippolytus figured in relief occupies one end of a sarcophagus in the Duomo at Girgenti, now used as a baptismal font: Dennis, p. 197; Baedeker, p. 275. At Pompeii there is a wall painting which represents Phaedra disclosing her guilty passion for Hippolytus, Gell, vol. ii, Pl. lxxvii. For the dog collared and chained in the action of barking see the Vignette, and the vestibule in the Plan of the House of the Tragic Poet. Gell, vol. i, pp. 142, 143, 145.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Leith Adams has pointed out to me that the dorsal fins of the fish in one of the ovals enable us to identify it with the marine perch; cf. Cuvier, "Règne Animal," tome iv, p. 16, Les Percoides; p. 29. Les Serrans propres, Vulgairement Perches de mer; Atlas, Poissons, Pl. 6, "Ses deux dorsales;" Pl. 7a, Genre Pomatome, "plus abondant du côté de la Sicile."

Admiral Smyth, "Sicily and its Islands," pp. 21-25, under the head Resources, gives an account of the Sicilian fish and fisheries; in the Appendix, No. vi, p. lxxvi, is a list of the fish that frequent the Sicilian coasts and

waters: for various kinds of perch see p. lxx.

<sup>3</sup> Of the second figure only the legs and feet remain, but to the right of it we see a box (scrinium) containing six rolls according to Heydemann, though there are only four in Basile's engraving; as part of an arm chair is also left, and the design resembles the preceding, we may infer that the subject is a comic poet. The lower half of the third figure is still extant, but there are no accessories by which to identify it.

<sup>4</sup> Tragic masks were usually higher than comic: Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v. persona tragica, "the grand superficies for stately tragedy"; cf. Juvenal vi, 502, altum ædificat caput, and Liddell and Scott, s.v. ὄγκος: Gell, "Pompeiana," i, Pl. 45, Mosaic Pavement in the House of the Tragic Poet: Overbeck, "Pompeii," i, 138, Fig. 106, Eine Reihe Masken; p. 142 "um durch einen hohen Haaraufsatz (den Onkos) das Maas der handelnden Personen zu erhöhen": Rheinhard, "Album des Classischen Alterthums," iv, Theater, 55, Chor.

in the case of the celebrated statues of Menander and Posidippus.<sup>1</sup>

Above the lowest row there were originally four medallions that contained heads of the Seasons: Spring wears a chaplet of leaves and flowers, Autumn has a falx or knife for gathering grapes, Summer is not so clearly defined by special attributes, and Winter has wholly disappeared.<sup>2</sup> It is gratifying to the English antiquary to compare these symbols with relics of Roman art in his own country. A beautiful mosaic at Corinium exhibits in three of the corners as emblems of Spring, Summer and Autumn, heads of Flora, Ceres and Pomona, crowned with flowers, ears of corn, and fruits. These goddesses are here very well distinguished, but we must admit that they are deficient in the beauty of form and expression, which are so striking in their counterparts at Palermo.<sup>3</sup> In the octagon enclosed by the medallions is a female of whom nothing is left but the bust and right arm; she wears a necklace and armlets.<sup>4</sup> On the left of this figure we have a satyr pursuing a Bacchante, the former holds a pedum or shepherd's crook, which is often carried by Pan or attendant Fauns; the latter is recognised by the thyrsus entwined with vine-leaves, and the tambourine (tympanum) used in the worship of Bacchus or Cybele.<sup>5</sup> The corresponding space on the right side is occupied by Jupiter and Leda; the god visits her in the form of a swan, as he is often portrayed on engraved gems. It will

<sup>1</sup> For the roll and curved back of chair compare the plates in Visconti, "Iconographie Ancienne," Pl. 7, No. 1, Moschion; Pl. 17, No. 3, Pythagoras, both seated: Clarac, "Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne," Pl. 841, No. 2118, Menander; ib. No. 2120, Posidippus; the portrait-statues of these two comedians are well described by A. W. Von Schlegel, "Lectures on Dramatic Literature," xiv, fin. p. 199, English Translation.

<sup>2</sup> Heydemann says that Spring, Summer, and Winter are here portrayed; he distinguishes them by their drapery, Spring having little clothing and Summer less, while Winter is covered to the throat.

<sup>3</sup> The Mosaics at Corinium (Cirencester) are fully explained and illustrated by coloured plates in the work of Messrs. Buckman and Newmarch; the *Archæological Journal* may also be consulted for this subject, v. General Index. Cf. Prof.

A. H. Church, "Guide to the Corinium Museum," p. 19.

Representations of the Seasons are a frequent subject in Mosaics; e.g., there is probably a reference to them in those discovered at Carthage: Davis, p. 183, Ground Plan of a Punic Mosaic Pavement; p. 191, coloured engraving of head of Ceres.

<sup>4</sup> To the right of the figure we may observe some traces of the golden shower in which Jupiter visited Danaë, so that the female may be identified, although so much of the composition has perished.

<sup>5</sup> Jupiter, metamorphosed into a Satyr, pursued Antiope; Ovid, Met. vi, 110.

Addidit, ut Satyri celatus imagine  
pulchram  
Jupiter impleret gemino Nyctæida  
foetu:

If the group contains allusion to this story, we have three myths of Jupiter in three octagons in the same line.

be observed that there is a certain symmetry in these groups, which is quite in accordance with the practice of ancient art; thus in the pediments of the Parthenon at Athens, and the Temple of Minerva at Ægina, the statues on each side are arranged so as to be parallel with each other.

In the centre of the next row Apollo is seen riding on a griffin, probably with reference to his wanderings amongst the Hyperboreans, as this fabulous animal is said to have lived in Scythia and to have guarded the gold which the Arimaspians endeavoured to obtain.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly we find the griffin on the coins of Panticapæum and the Tauric Chersonesus, Greek cities near this country; but the best analogy for our present purpose is derived from the money of Chalcedon, where Apollo is represented exactly as he appears in the Palermitan mosaic.<sup>2</sup> The octagon on the left encloses the head of Apollo, the one on the right that of Neptune; the former is radiated to show that he is identified with the sun, the latter is distinguished by his trident, and by his "dank and dripping hair."<sup>3</sup> These two deities surpass every other part of the composition; not only are the heads much larger than the rest, but the artists have successfully exerted themselves to exhibit with a pleasing contrast in Apollo a type of youthful beauty, in Neptune a vigorous and venerable age, while a divine sublimity pervades both alike.

The medallions in the centre of the next row contain two heads of Pan, horned as usual; <sup>4</sup> but on the right a

<sup>1</sup> Professor Basile in the memoir quoted above gives an engraving in outline of the Great Mosaic, and a coloured plate of Apollo riding on a griffin, Tav. iii, Dettaglio del Mosaico scoperto nella Vittoria in Palermo, 1869. Forcellini, *s.r.*, Gryps, quotes "Claudian de Sexto Consulatu Honorii," v. 30.

At si Phoebus adest, et frenis grypa  
jugalem

Riplaeo tripodas repetens detorsit  
ab axe.

For the combats of griffins with Arimaspians see Herodotus iii, 116, iv, 27, passages which are illustrated by Taylor Combe, "Terra-cottas of the British Museum," Pl. vi, Nos. 7 and 8, and C. O. Müller, "Denkmäler," Pt. ii, Pl. xiii, No. 113, Kampf der Arimaspen mit den Greifen um das Gold in Rhipaischen Gebirgen.

<sup>2</sup> Eckhel describes the coins of Panticapæum, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. ii, p. 3; (comp. Hunter's "Catalogue," Gryphi alati cum capite radiato pars anterior ad sinistram) and those of the "Tauric Chersonesus," *ib.* p. 2. A bronze coin of Chalcedon is engraved in the "Denkmäler," loc. cit. No. 141. Apollon auf einem greife herabschwellend. Æschylus, "Prometheus," v. 809, applies the epithet *ὀξύστομος*, sharp-beaked, to the griffin; this feature is very conspicuous in the mosaic.

<sup>3</sup> The white hair of Neptune, perhaps, represents the foam of the sea.

<sup>4</sup> In expression and general appearance these heads bear some resemblance to Pan, as seen on the coins of Panticapæum (Hunter's "Catalogue," Tab. xli, No. 10) or in a Terra-cotta in the British Museum (Plate xxiv, No. 45); comp.

peculiarity presents itself. The semi-circular space near the edge is decorated with an arabesque pattern, which proves that this edifice was inhabited by the Saracens, or by Normans who employed workmen of that nation. The succeeding line also shows a novel feature; Byzantine crosses, somewhat like Maltese, composed of little triangles, will be observed in the centre of each octagon where the original design has been obliterated, so that here again we have evidence of occupation by a people differing in religion from the first builders.<sup>1</sup> Enough, however, remains of the Roman work to enable us to explain its motives. On the left we have probably Diana seated on a stag, represented as in a bronze coin of Faustina Senior;<sup>2</sup> the central octagon is filled by the group of Jupiter, in the form of a bull, and Europa, the latter draped to the feet;<sup>3</sup> on the right a nude female is seen riding on a marine monster, perhaps a Nereid. A symmetrical arrangement is adopted here, as before.

Beyond this line the tessellated pavement has suffered so much injury that a full account of the designs is impossible. A square is drawn in the centre with a medallion at each corner enclosing a large star.<sup>4</sup> On the right side of this square is part of a female figure crowned, veiled, and carried aloft on the back of a bird. This group is probably Juno seated on a flying peacock. In repairing the mosaic a pattern has been inserted which bears some

"Denkmäler," Part ii, Pl. xlii, No. 523; Pl. xliv, No. 556: Hirt., "Bilderbuch für Mythologie," Zweites Heft, s. 161, Taf. xx, xxi. But perhaps the projections on the top of the heads are not horns, they may be stiff curls or fins; the latter, taken in connection with the green colour of the hair, would indicate marine deities.

<sup>1</sup> Crosses of different kinds are a striking characteristic in the Byzantine series; some approximate to the Maltese, *c.g.*, John I. Zimisces, Reverse; Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Pl. xlviii, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Apollo and Diana are twins, similar in character and form, with the sexual distinction but slightly marked; their actions and attitudes are often the same, so here Apollo rides on a griffin, and Diana, if my attribution is correct, on a stag: Müller, "Archäol. der Kunst," sec. 364, Remark 5. "Artemis with

torches, borne by a stag, coin of Faustina, Pedrusi v, 13, 3." More frequently she drives a chariot drawn by stags, as in the Phigaleian Frieze (Sir H. Ellis, "Elgin Marbles," vol. ii, p. 193, and Pl. xi at p. 198), and in some Roman Denarii (Cohen, "Médailles Consulaires," *Ælia* or *Allia*, p. 7, Pl. i, *Ælia*, No. 3,) Diane dans un bige de cerfs à droite, tenant deux torches; *Axia*, p. 55, Pl. vii, *Axia*, Nos. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps we have here *Pasiphaë* and the bull; Virgil, *Æneid*, vi, 24,

*Hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto Pasiphaë.*

Heyne in his note on this passage refers to Winckelmann, "Monumenti Antichi Inediti," Parte Seconda, pp. 127-129, Tav. 93 and 94; both these engravings of bas-reliefs show *Pasiphaë* standing near the bull, as in the Mosaic.

<sup>4</sup> Four females—one at each corner of the square—support with extended arms a medallion placed in their midst.



resemblance to the lunated shield (pelta) of the Amazons, viz., a crescent with two semi-circular indentations. On the opposite side nothing remains but the hoof and part of the leg of some animal. Above the square two heads and a sea-horse are visible in a fragmentary condition; some arabesques and Byzantine crosses have been subsequently interpolated.<sup>1</sup>

The next hall takes its name, Sala d'Orfeo, from the subject of the mosaic there. It is better preserved than the one just described, but decidedly inferior both in the drawing of individual figures and in the general composition; critics have assigned it to a later period, and some have conjectured the Age of the Antonines as its date. The design reminds us of a wall-painting in the catacombs of San Calixtus at Rome; but in the latter case there is much less variety, Orpheus being attended by two camels, a bull, and lions, while some birds are perched on the branches of trees behind him.<sup>2</sup> At Palermo Orpheus occupies the centre; his importance is shown by his size, which is disproportionately larger than that of the surrounding creatures. He is seated on a rock under a tree, holding the plectrum in his right hand, and supporting a lyre of four strings with his left. He wears, as usual, the Phrygian bonnet, and is clothed in a short tunic extending only as far as the knees, not unlike that in which the Good Shepherd is sometimes represented.<sup>3</sup> Attracted

<sup>1</sup> I have revised my account of the Great Mosaic with the assistance of Heydemann's Article, *Antiken in Palermo*, "*Archäologische Zeitung*" for 1869, pp. 38-40, from which the following plan is copied:—

18		19		20
	VII		VIII	
17		16		15
		a      c		
		ix		
13		b      d		14
12		11		10
	V		VI	
7		8		9
	II		III	
6		5		4
	I		IV	
1		2		3

In this scheme the compartments are indicated by numbers, the Arabic repre-

senting octagons, and the Roman circles. The mosaic is fifteen paces long by eight broad; it was found about one metre below the present level of the pavement on the north side of the Piazza Vittoria. The entrance of the house to which it belonged looked towards the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, formerly called Cassaro. Before this discovery no important vestiges of the Græco-Roman period had been brought to light at Palermo.

<sup>2</sup> Kugler, "*Handbook of Painting*," edit. Eastlake, vol. i, p. 15, engraving.

<sup>3</sup> For the similarity of costume between Orpheus and the Good Shepherd, see Lübke, "*Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*," vol. i, pp. 251, 252, 255; and compare Fig. 170, *Wandgemälde aus den Katakomben von S. Calixtus*, with Fig. 174, *Aus den Katakomben von S. Agnese*. In both these cases the dress is short, but in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna the subject of the Good Shepherd is treated in a different



by the power of music, beasts and birds assemble round the performer, and show by their gestures that they are listening in mute attention.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to identify the horse, bear,<sup>2</sup> bull, lion, stag, hare, antelope, snake, tortoise, and lizard, besides these there are some four-footed animals so imperfectly executed that their denomination is uncertain. Among the birds the ostrich, peacock, and crane are most conspicuous; one perched on the tree seems to be a jay, another to the right of it is perhaps a raven,<sup>3</sup> and a third to the left is possibly a magpie. We may remark that the Fauna of Africa appears in the ostrich and antelope with long straight horns; this is easily accounted for by the proximity of Sicily to that continent, and its close relations, commercial and political, with the Carthaginians.

If we compare this mosaic with the Barton pavement at Corinium, our national vanity may be flattered by observing that the domestic example is, in some respects, superior to the foreign one. In the former case the lyre is kept in its place by the left hand and knee of the musician; in the latter, he awkwardly puts the fingers of his left hand against the strings of the lyre instead of supporting its frame. Secondly, the Corinium mosaic expresses more vividly the influence of music over a savage nature; the beasts of prey have a stealthy look, and move with measured pace, "subdued not maddened" by the Orphic strains. We may also notice another difference between the two compositions; at Corinium the central medallion is surrounded by a circle devoted to birds,<sup>4</sup> and this is separated by a wreath of bay-leaves

manner; he is seated amidst his flock, wears a long robe with ample folds, has a glory round his head, holds a cross in his left hand and caresses a sheep with his right.

<sup>1</sup> There are also shrubs growing out of rocks; probably both are supposed to listen while Orpheus plays on his lyre, Horace, "Odes," i, 12, 12.

Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris  
Ducere quercus.

Milton, "Paradise Lost," vii, 34.

The Thracian bard

In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears  
To rapture.

<sup>2</sup> The bear seldom occurs in ancient works of art; see my remarks, *Archæological Journal*, for 1878, vol. xxxv, p. 402, with reference to Mr. C. W. King's "Mémorial" on an antique cameo in which a bear is figured; cf. engraving *ibid.* p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> The raven seems to be placed over the head of Orpheus because this bird is sacred to Apollo; cf. King's "Antique Gems and Rings," vol. ii, Pl. xv, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Viz., "the duck, goose, hen, peacock, common and silver pheasant. . . . walking around the circle with rapid strides."

from an outer circle in which the lion, panther, leopard and tiger are portrayed ; on the other hand, at Palermo no attempt at classification has been made, but birds, beasts and reptiles are intermingled promiscuously.<sup>1</sup>

This mosaic is in a good state of preservation, which may perhaps be partly accounted for by its subject. The myth of Orpheus was a favourite with the early Christians, and that for more reasons than one. Orphic precepts were held in respect by the Fathers of the Church : no other allegory expressed in a form so attractive the soothing and controlling power of Religion ; and, lastly, this old pagan bard with his lyre, surrounded by subject creatures, called to mind the Good Shepherd amidst his flock, with his pastoral flute in his hand—an emblem which the Lord Himself had selected, and which sculpture and painting had rendered most familiar.<sup>2</sup>

IV. Of the smaller objects in the Museum the most remarkable is a Byzantine gold ring. It was discovered by a stone-cutter in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, together with numerous coins and ornaments, in the year 1872. Many pounds' weight of gold from this find were sold at Catania, and some bracelets are said to have been exported to Malta. The ring, however, remained at Syracuse where it was purchased by Professor Salinas ; he deposited it in the Museum at Palermo, thus inaugurating a series of Byzantine goldsmiths' work, afterwards increased by the treasure from Campobello.<sup>3</sup>

This ring is of solid gold and weighs 23·1 grammes.

<sup>1</sup> Buckman and Newmarch have fully described the Barton Pavement in their work on "Remains of Roman Art at Cirencester" (Corinium), pp. 32-34, Pl. vii. coloured.

<sup>2</sup> Kugler, "Handbook of Painting," ed. Eastlake, vol. i, p. 8: Seroux D'Agincourt, "History of Art by its Monuments," vol. iii, Painting, Tav. vi. *Pittura di diverse camere sepolcrali antiche e di Catacombe Cristiane, II secolo*; No. 3 shows Orpheus in an octagon, like those of the Great Mosaic at Palermo, surrounded by eight compartments in which Scriptural subjects and rural scenes alternate : comp. Nos. 1 and 2 of the same plate, and *Denkmäler*, Part i, No. 431, *Wall-painting from Aringhi, "Roma Subterranea,"* tom. ii, p. 101.

Gregorovius, "Siciliana," p. 44, men-

tions Orpheus in the Catacombs of Naples "Christus wird als Orpheus vorgestellt." In the same passage he traces back the characteristics of Byzantine art to these subterranean abodes of the early Christians, and thus accounts for the gloomy, almost cadaverous, figures, by which it represented Christ and the Saints.

This mosaic is much smaller than the one previously described, measuring only five paces by four. For some details of the description I am indebted to Heydemann's Article, "Antiken in Palermo."

<sup>3</sup> Salinas, "Del Real Museo di Palermo Relazione," gives an engraving of the ring that reproduces the size and colours of the original. A memoir upon it appeared in the "Archivio Storico Siciliano," N.S., Anno iii, fasc. i, 1878, and has been republished separately.

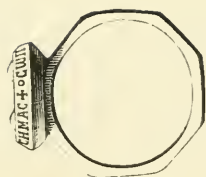
Inside it is circular, but outside it has seven facets, each nine millimètres long and seven broad. In some of them the artist has introduced as many as five figures of whitish gold, silver, or some other metallic substance. All the subjects are derived from the Gospel history, and we have here perhaps the most minute representations ever executed of the Annunciation, Visitation of Elizabeth, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism of Christ, Ecce Homo, and Women at the Sepulchre. In the centre of these compartments is a shield bearing figures of an emperor and empress standing, and Christ between them, also erect, apparently in the act of uniting the two august personages.<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the caduceus, the value of this precious relic is considerably enhanced by the inscription upon it, ΟCΩ ΠΛΟΝΕΥΔΟΚΙΑCΕCΤΕΦΑΝΟCΑCΗΜΑC, which is nielloed and circular. No one can doubt that this motto is derived from the last verse of the fifth Psalm, ὡς ὄπλω ἐνδοκίας ἐστεφάνωσας ἡμᾶς, and that it contains a punning allusion to some princess named Eudocia.<sup>2</sup> But as there are no less than eleven mentioned in Byzantine history, it is difficult to determine who is meant here. Of these ladies the earliest occurs in the fourth century, the latest in the twelfth, and some of them were called Eudoxia as well as Eudocia. In this long series the wife of Arcadius stands out most prominently on account of her persecution of Chrysostom, who is said to have reviled her as Jezebel and Herodias; but two of her successors distinguished themselves more honourably by literary performances, and deserve to be classed with the historian Anna Comnena.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In consequence of the very small size of the figures it is difficult to distinguish whether the central one is intended for Christ or the Virgin; it has been suggested that the artist might have preferred to introduce the latter out of compliment to Eudocia. This view is to some extent supported by the prominence given to the Empress in the legends upon the coins of Romanus IV. and Eudocia; see the "Memoir" quoted in the last note, pp. 17 and 18. Again, the head-dress appears to be a wimple, square and straight over the forehead, and coming down the sides of the face, as we see it in illuminated manuscripts, *e.g.* head of St. Thecla in a Greek

Psalter from Byzantium, shown me by Mr. Thompson of the British Museum; comp. Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Pl. i, No. 12, Roman IV. et Eudocie.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly the words Ἀγάθυνον, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἐνδοκίᾳ σου τὴν Σιών, καὶ οἰκοδομηθήτω τὰ τείχη Ἱερουσαλήμ. Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem, Psalm li (ed. Bagster), 18, were applied to Eudocia, wife of the Emperor Theodosius II; she spent many years at Jerusalem, and repaired its walls; Glicas, Annales, in the "Byzantine History," tom. ix, p. 202 A.

<sup>3</sup> The Eudocia mentioned in the preceding note wrote poems chiefly on Scriptural subjects; Eudocia Macremboli-



† ΘΕΟΤΟΚΗ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΗ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

Byzantine Gold Ring.





If we look to internal proofs and to external circumstances connected with this ring, the choice of attribution seems to lie between Eudocia Fabia, wife of Heraclius I, and Eudocia Macrembolitissa,<sup>1</sup> wife of Constantine XIII (Ducas) and afterwards of Romanus IV (Diogenes). The former of these empresses died in the earlier part of the seventh century, and the latter probably towards the close of the eleventh. As they are thus separated by an interval of more than four hundred years, it might be expected that the style of workmanship would indicate which date we ought to prefer. But this kind of evidence will not afford a sure criterion, because the Byzantine goldsmiths wrought for centuries in the same fashion: Constantinople being the only great city in Europe not pillaged by the barbarians, its traditions were unbroken, and therefore, as in ancient Egypt, the sequence of art was uninterrupted.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Salinas says that the ring was certainly worn by an imperial personage; he draws this inference from the superiority of the execution, the name of Eudocia, the allusion in the motto, and the great value of the find.

tissa, or Delassena, as she is sometimes called, compiled a dictionary which bore the fanciful title *Ἰωνία*, violetum, a bed of violets; it contains accounts of gods, heroes and heroines, their genealogies and metamorphoses, &c., and is addressed to her husband Romanus Diogenes, the Emperor loving Christ, most pious, victorious, gaining trophies; it was published by Villosion, "Anecdota Græca."

<sup>1</sup> Macrembolitissa is a name difficult to explain. Finlay, "Byzantine and Greek Empires," MLVII—MCCCCLIII, p. 28, Note 2, gives the form Makremvolitissa, and says that its origin is unknown. Pape, "Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennahmen," s.v. *Μακρεμβολίτης*, thinks it means fighting at a distance; Langenlotz, d.i., lang hin oder in die Ferne hin kämpfend. Professor Ugdulena mentions Macrembolitissa, and adds "ossia da Macremboli;" so the writer in Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Biography, "of Macrembolis," as if it was the name of a town. But the word is derived from *μακρὸς ἔμβολος*, signifying a long portico or colonnade. *Ἐμβολος* was also used to mean a street with porticoes, as we see them at Bologna; hence it was applied to the adjoining quarter. Macrembolitissa therefore means a lady belonging to

a family that lived in a street or neighbourhood of this kind. Du Cange, "Glossarium medicæ et infimæ Græcitatæ," s.v. *Ἐμβολοι*, quotes many passages to illustrate the use of the word, e.g., *αὐτὴ ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ ἔμβολῳ τῆς αὐτῆς πλατείας*, cf. "Glossar. medicæ Latinitatis," in *Embolus*, *Imbolus*, *urbis angiportus*; Cinnamus, vi, 10, *Στενωπὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὃν ἔμβολον ὀνομάζουσιν ὁ πολλὸι*: see "Constantinopolis Christiana," lib. i, c. xxiii. Dr. Paspatis, the most learned antiquary among the residents at Constantinople, translates *μακρεμβολίτης*, un homme qui demeure dans un long endroit du commerce, and says that Pape's interpretation would correspond with *μακροβόλος*.

<sup>2</sup> Byzantine art resembles Egyptian in its hieratic rigidity as well as in its long duration: Plato, de Legibus, lib. ii, p. 656, edit. Orelli, p. 556, 16-47, *τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα, . . . τῶν νῦν δεδημιουργημένων οὔτε τι καλλίονα οὐτ' αἰσχίω, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα*; this important passage has been inaccurately translated by Professor Jowett. Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," iii, 87, 275; my paper on Ravenna in the "Archæol. Journal," under the heading *Byzantine Influence*.

He proceeds to argue that Eudocia here mentioned must be the wife of Heraclius I, because the ring was discovered in Syracuse, together with many gold coins of her grandson Constans II, who, after an ineffectual attempt to transfer the seat of empire from Constantinople to Rome, took refuge in Sicily, resided there more than five years, and was assassinated at Syracuse, A.D. 668. This view calls for some remarks. In the first place it may be questioned whether the ring was worn by any emperor or empress. Many of the same pattern might have been made to commemorate a marriage or coronation, or both events, and presented to courtiers as marks of favour. Secondly, the reasoning from the money found is by no means conclusive, as a great number of coins were melted down by the goldsmith Russo of Catania, so that, for all we know to the contrary, they might have formed a series extending over a long period.<sup>1</sup>

While the circumstances of the finding favour Salinas's theory, an examination of the ring itself would rather lead us to assign it to Eudocia Macrembolitissa. On the death of Constantine XIII, A.D. 1067, she assumed the government together with her sons Michael, Constantinus, and Andronicus. Though her husband in his last illness had bound her by a most solemn oath not to marry again, when she found her provinces overrun by the Saracens, and her capital distracted by rival generals, she raised one of them, Romanus Diogenes, from a prison to a throne, and their nuptials were celebrated with a haste which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been indecent. But Zonaras expressly informs us that Eudocia associated him as a colleague with herself because he was a man of great energy, of tried ability in war, and incomparable strength, and she trusted in his vigorous arm to repel the attacks of the barbarians. The historian's words seem like a commentary on the motto of the ring, Ὡς ὄπλον Ἐυδοκίας ἰστεφάνωσας ἡμᾶς, Thou hast crowned us as a defence of Eudocia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Più libbre di monete di oro, che Porefice Russo di Catania mi assicura di avere liquefatto, Salinas, Relazione sul Museo di Palermo, p. 57: comp. Lettera del P. Giuseppe Romano, p. 12, Archivio Storico Sicil., loc. ; from the latter authority I have chiefly derived the

arguments relating to the date of the ring.

<sup>2</sup> Zonaras, "Annales," tom. ii, 217 A, Ἐαυτῇ προσαρμόσαι τὴν Διογένην . . ὡς ἄνδρα δραστήριον, καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόκιμον, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὴν ἀπαράμιλλον . . ἵν' ἡ βαρβαρική φορὰ ἐπισχεθῇ πούσῳ, αὐτὸν τύτοις ἀντερείσαντος τοῦς βραχίονας.

This attribution is supported by comparing an aureus of Eudocia and Romanus, where the device is similar to that described above. On the obverse Christ appears standing on a pedestal in the centre of the field, and crowning Eudocia and Romanus; this figure is higher by the shoulders than the other two, just as in the pediments of Greek temples deities exceed heroes in size. The reverse shows the three sons of Eudocia, Michael, the eldest, holding a sceptre ( $\nu\alpha\rho\theta\eta\xi$ ) or the labarum between Constantinus and Andronicus, each of whom carries the orb and cross.<sup>1</sup> A similar subject may be seen on a leaden seal engraved by Marchand. Again, the combination of a sacred with an imperial personage in one group belongs specially to that period in Byzantine history which followed the Iconoclast reigns. Though an instance occurs at an earlier date, it was only after A.D. 840 that the practice became habitual, as is proved by Sabatier, Plates xliv and following.<sup>2</sup>

If we turn from the device on the bezel to the motto of the ring we shall find new analogies between it and some varieties of the coin to which reference has been made. In the words adapted from the Psalm the empe-

<sup>1</sup> See the description in Sabatier, vol. ii, p. 169, Pl. L, No. 11. Many variations occur both in the legends and in the device, e.g. sometimes the Augusti stand upon cushions or stools, and the crosses on their orbs are adorned with pearls; but these accessories sometimes disappear, perhaps through jealousy on the part of the imperial couple. De Saulcy, "Essai de Classification des Suites Monétaires Byzantines," p. 297, Pl. xxv, No. 4. Another confirmation of the date assigned to the ring is supplied by an ivory cover of the Gospels, which was formerly preserved in the church of St. John, at Besançon, and of which Du Cange gives a large engraving in his "Familiae Augustae Byzantinae," p. 136. Our Saviour is here represented of superhuman stature, erect on an elaborately ornamented pedestal, between Romanus and Eudocia, on whose heads he places his hands. The names are inscribed in Greek characters  $\text{IC-XC}$ ,  $\text{POMANOC}$   $\text{BACILEUC}$   $\text{POMAIQN}$ ,  $\text{EUΔOKIA}$   $\text{BACILIC}$   $\text{ROMAIQN}$ . Westwood's "Pictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum," '58, 26, where some additional particulars are given: Didron, "Annales Archéologiques," vol. xviii, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Eudocia married Romanus Diogenes under circumstances like those which caused the union of Pulcheria with Marcianus six hundred years before. Hence we find these events commemorated by similar types. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," viii, 191, 192, describes a coin preserved in the Hunterian collection, which has on the reverse the legend  $\text{FELICITER NVBITH}$  (sic), and exhibits Marcianus and Pulcheria joining hands, with Christ between them; compare Sabatier i, 124, and "Numismatic Chronicle," 1878, New Series, No. lxix, p. 47, and No. lxxi, p. 199. A still earlier example of Christian emblems in connexion with an Emperor is afforded by a cameo in the possession of Herr Tobias Bieler, which is supposed to refer to the victory of Constantius II over Magnentius. The former has a roll in his hand which is perhaps the Gospel, and a banner with the monogram of Christ is raised higher than the standard that bears the letters S.P.Q.R., cf. "Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine I, the Great, his Family, and his Successors," by F. W. Madden; "Numismatic Chronicle," New Series; and "Catalogue of the Borrell Collection," pp. 82–104, especially p. 96.

ror is mentioned as a defence of Eudocia, and therefore, to a certain extent, as inferior to her: similarly in the legends he takes a subordinate place, she is *Βασιλις*, he is only *Δεσπότης*, and in the supplicatory formula *CRPΔ*, i.e., *Κύριε* or *σταυρέ βοήθει Ρωμάνω δεσπότη*, his name is only represented by an initial. The word *στεφανώω*, which in the Septuagint is used figuratively and means to *surround* or *protect*, occurs here in its primary sense of *crowning*, but it may also have the signification of *uniting in marriage*, like *στεφανώνω* in modern Greek.<sup>1</sup> If the epigraphist intended this latter allusion, we should have another reason for believing that the ring belongs to a late period.

The discovery at Syracuse cannot be regarded as an unanswerable objection to the preceding attribution, which has been proposed by Giuseppe Romano. When Romanus returned from captivity among the Saracens to Constantinople, he was pursued with unrelenting hostility by John Ducas, brother of Eudocia's first husband, Constantine XIII, while the empress herself was driven from the palace and compelled to retire into a convent. Amidst this disorder the imperial treasures might easily be dispersed, and thus a memorial of her ill-fated connection with Romanus would pass into other hands.

Lastly, it should be observed that not only all the scenes depicted on the facets are of a sacred character, but that four of the seven are closely connected with the Virgin Mary, viz., the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Adoration of the Magi. As I have pointed out in my paper on Ravenna, the worship of the Virgin does not occur in Christian art so early as some have imagined; accordingly in the Byzantine series of coins she appears prominently for the first time during the reign of John Zimisceus towards the end of the tenth century;<sup>2</sup> and the cameos of the Lower Empire, in which the Annunciation is a common subject, may with great probability be assigned to the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> Thus, an examination

<sup>1</sup> Contopoulos, Modern Greek and English Dictionary. *Στεφανώνω*, to crown, to marry; *στεφάνωμα*, *στεφάνωσις*, coronation, wedding; similarly *στεφανωτής* has a double meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Sabatier, vol. ii, p. 141, Pl. xlvii, Nos. 17, 18; De Sauley, pp. 241-246, Pl. xxii, 1, 2. Compare the marionatrous Legend ΔΕΦΟΙΝΑ . ΚΩΖΟΙΣ . ΕΥΣΕΒΗ . ΜΟΝΟ-

ΜΑΧΩΝ. "Domina salva pium Monomachum," ib. p. 270. Mr. C. W. King says that the Panagia begins with John Zimisceus. The "Numismatic Chronicle," N.S., No. lxxi, pp. 177-188, contains an elaborate account and chronological table of the types of Christ and the Virgin.

<sup>3</sup> King's "Antique Gems and Rings," vol. i, pp. 306-8.



of the facets leads us to the same conclusion concerning the date as has been already drawn from the bezel and the motto.<sup>1</sup>

V. Many of the inscriptions now in the Museum at Palermo were brought thither from the suppressed Monastery of San Martino delle Scale, a few miles distant from the city.<sup>2</sup> They cannot, like the great mosaic of the Piazza Vittoria, claim a foremost place among monuments of their own class; but they present too many points of interest to be passed over altogether. In the first place, we find here names which occur in the New Testament, but rarely or not at all in any classical author, so that epigraphy affords a confirmation of the sacred text which is otherwise deficient. Trophimus, the the Ephesian, is well known to us; he was a faithful companion of St. Paul, and shared his labours and dangers in the propagation of the faith:<sup>3</sup> a person of this name is mentioned in No. 57a of Salinas's Catalogue as having erected a sepulchral monument for his daughter;<sup>4</sup> another example is supplied by the Roman Catacombs, where the words TROFIMUS FOSSOR may be read.<sup>5</sup> Again, in the Epistle to the Philippians, Euodia is exhorted by St. Paul to be of the same mind with Syntyche; the former

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Churchill Babington, in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii, p. 1800, has written a detailed description of the Scriptural subjects on the ring; he seems inclined to attribute it to Eudocia, wife of Heraclius.

We have seen above some instances of the changes in the Greek Alphabet made under the Lower Empire; some remarks on this subject will be found in Kopp "Palaographia Critica," iii, 516, sec. 427. "Maximam . . . literarum et linguarum confusionem Byzantium temporibus:" ib. iv, 350, sec. 864, nummus Constantini XIV ap. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." viii, 273, ΑΤΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ, Ω pro O.

<sup>2</sup> The monastery is so called in consequence of the steep ascent, Le Scale, from Monreale. It lies north-west of this place and is marked Badia di S. Martino in Baedeker's map, I contorni di Palermo; it must not be confounded with the Convento de Baida, which is nearer the capital: Dennis, "Handbook for Sicily," pp. 131-136.

<sup>3</sup> Acts of the Apostles, xx, 4. Συνέπειρο δὲ αὐτῷ ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας Σάπατρος . . . Ἀσιανοὶ δὲ Τύχικος καὶ Τρόφιμος. Ib. xxi,

29; cf. Tim. ii, 4, 20. Conybeare and Howson, "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," ii, 105, ed. 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> Torremuzza, "Siciliae Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio," 1784, classis xii, No. 4, p. 152. In a foot-note the words wanting in the original are supplied from Burman's "Latin Anthology." The references in Salinas's "Catalogue" correspond with the second edition of Torremuzza's work, which is a great improvement upon the first.

<sup>5</sup> Maitland, "Church in the Catacombs," p. 72, "There existed formerly on the walls of the Catacombs many paintings, representing persons . . . employed in excavating an overhanging rock, with a lamp suspended from the summit;" and see the engraving annexed. The name Trophimus must have been common in Spain; cf. Hübner, "Inscriptiones Hispanicae," Index, Cognomina virorum et mulierum; of the feminine Trophime examples are still more numerous. One instance of Trophimus occurs in London, Hübner, "Brit. Insc," 1331, No. 115, Londinii in ansa amphorae, E VALER TROPH.



name is an uncommon one, for it does not appear in the copious collection of Gruter, but we have an instance in No. 84, which is also sepulchral.<sup>1</sup>

The dates of the inscriptions could, of course, be ascertained approximately from the mode in which the letters are cut, but it may be inferred without seeing the originals. We meet here with proper names, *e.g.*, Aelia Sabina, Mauricus, Quietus, that synchronize with the Epistles of the Younger Pliny, the works of Tacitus, and the Augustan History, or in other words belong to the close of the first or the commencement of the second century. However, some illustration, even of an earlier writer may be found here: BETTIOC is only another form of Vettius or Vectius. This name occurs in the latter part of the Republican period as well as under the Empire, and Cicero in his Verrine Orations, which are a treasury of information concerning ancient Sicily, mentions P. Vettius Chilo who was engaged in farming revenues of the province, and another P. Vettius who was quaestor of Verres.<sup>2</sup>

One of the inscriptions is not by any means remarkable for its subject, but deserves notice because it contains ten examples of II for E.

DIS M P MAMMI  
VS FORTVNATVS. VIX  
ANNIS. LXX. MIINSIBVS  
VIII DIIBVSIX HORIS III  
ARIILLIA FILICIA PA  
RIINTISVO BIINIIMII  
RIINTIFIICIT<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Torremuzza, "Sic. Vet. Insc.," Cl. clxii, No. 49, p. 161. Philipp., iv, 2. *Ἐυδοίαν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν Κυρίῳ*. Stephens and Alford read *Ἐυδοίαν*; Griesbach, Tischendorf, and Cardinal Mai in his edition of the "Codex Vaticanus," *Ἐυδοίαν*; the former word means fragrance, from *οἶω*, *οῶδα*; the latter, a good journey, success, from *ὁδός*; either would be suitable and complimentary as a female name. As the inscription containing *EVODIA* is in Latin prose it does not assist us to determine which of the two Greek forms should be preferred. *Ἐυδοία* is analogous to *FELIX* in the line immediately preceding, and to *FILICIA* in No. 75 of Salinas's "Catalogue." Orelli, "Collectio Inscript. Lat.," gives the form *EVHODIA*, No. 1503. The words *JVLIA EVODIA* were found in an epitaph in the Roman catacombs without any

signs of Christianity, hence some persons too hastily inferred that there was a Saint who bore this name. "Mabillon," quoted by Maitland, p. 132, mentions this "remarkable instance of carelessness in the manufacture of Saints."

<sup>2</sup> Torremuzza, "Sic. Vet. Insc.," cl. xiv, No. 22, p. 177; who mentions that the stone was found near Enna: he gives a fac-simile of the original with a Latin translation. Cicero in *Verrem*, Act ii, lib. iii, c. 71; lib. v, c. 44. Ad Atticum, ii, 24, l. Vettius is mentioned, who supplied Cicero with information concerning the Catilinarian conspiracy. Comp. Cohen, "Médailles Consulaires," p. 327, sq., Pl. xl, Vettia 1, 2; the former of these coins is attributed by Borghasi to the father of the quaestor of Verres in Sicily.

<sup>3</sup> Torremuzza, "S. V. I.," cl. xii, No

The "Lapidarium Septentrionale" gives only a single instance of this peculiarity, viz. from Hunnum, Halton Chesters.

CHO. VIII  
> CAECILI  
CLIME<sup>1</sup>

No. 80, an elegaic couplet, records in epigrammatic terms the death of a centenarian.

D. M.  
CAESIUSÆQUIDICIUSIAM  
CENTUMCLAUSERATANNOS  
FELICESANNOSTOTTVLIT  
HORABREVIS  
P. P.

Cæsius Æquidicus had completed his hundredth year; a brief hour ended so many happy years—erected at the public expense.<sup>2</sup>

We come now to another class of inscriptions, quite different from the preceding with respect to the nature of their contents and the material on which they are stamped. These historic documents refer to the potteries and were impressed upon bricks, tiles, and other ceramic products. They are in a high degree both difficult and interesting. The obscurity results from three causes; in the first place, there is often no mark, like the cross in Saxon or Early English coins, to show where the sentence begins; secondly, there are many ligatures which may be interpreted in different ways; thirdly, mistakes were made by the labourers who cut the stamps or dies. The substance employed being comparatively of little value, we cannot expect that the same care would be taken as when an inscription commemorating an important event was engraved on bronze or marble, and placed in a temple or basilica. But the interest also is manifold: the chronologist finds

42, p. 160, in his note says that II is the same as the Greek H, and refers to cl. xiii, No. 3, which ends with BHNH MHPHNTI FHCHR. The combination of the two languages in the inscriptions at Palermo bears witness to the mixed character of the population that inhabited Sicily in ancient times.

<sup>1</sup> "Lapid. Septentr.," p. 55, No. 100; Bruce, "Roman Wall," 4to. ed., p. 142; in both cases a fac-simile is engraved. Dr. Bruce observes that the substitution CHO for COH is not uncommon. The inscription may be translated—the century

of Cæcilius Clemens belonging to the Eighth Cohort.

<sup>2</sup> Torremuzza, "S.VI.." cl. xiv, No. 27, p. 178; this epitaph is contained in Gruter's collection and in the Latin Anthology; the latter has a various reading, *vixerat* for *clauserat*. Torremuzza is sometimes quoted as Castellus or Castello; his full name and title are Gabriele Lancillotto Castello, Principe di Torremuzza. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," calls him Princeps T.M., i.e. Turris Mutiæ.

in these objects, that seem so trivial, a long series of Roman consuls, names of provincial magistrates and indications of epochs ; the topographer is assisted in determining the site of ancient edifices ; and the historian derives information which throws light on many social questions, especially on the distribution of property, the management of estates, and the occupations of slaves and freedmen.<sup>1</sup> It is known that the potteries were in active operation during the prosperous reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines ; and as the inscriptions on bricks at Palermo seem to belong to this period, they may be regarded as corroborating the evidence which other collections supply.

But to proceed to details, the following seem worthy of special notice.

No. 100—101 DOLEX PRAE D. CAESAR N  
C AQVILIAPRILIS<sup>2</sup>

Pot-work from the estate of Caesar our lord and the manufactory of Caius Aquilius Aprilis.

The first line written in full would be *Doliare ex praediis Domini Caesaris nostri*, and *DOL* is an abbreviation for *opus doliare*. The title *dominus* is given to Trajan by Pliny the Younger in his "Epistles," but the earliest example in earthenware occurs under Hadrian; afterwards it became common. Hence the letters *D.N.* enable us to approximate to the date, and fix it between the latter reign and the political disturbances in the third century which accelerated the decline of architecture, and caused these memorials on buildings to disappear. The estates of the emperors were managed by freedmen and slaves, and from his having three names we may infer that the person mentioned in the second line belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Birch, "History of Ancient Pottery," part iv, chap. i, vol. ii, pp. 239-251, for an account of Inscriptions on Tiles, Stamps, Firms, Potteries, Manufactories, and Makers, Legionary Tiles, Devices; the Appendix, No. x, p. 404, supplies a useful list of books on this subject. Fabretti, "Inscriptionum Antiq. quæ in redibus paternis asservantur explicatio," cap. vii, Romæ, 1699 and 1702, may be consulted with advantage.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the circular inscription on a stamp, Birch, *ubi sup.* p. 242, OPVS DOLI DE FIGVL PVBLINIANIS EX PREDIS AEMILIAES SEVERAES; and "Descriptive

Account of the Antiquities belonging to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society," pp. 81, 82, Nos. 1, 2, fragments of bricks: the latter is inscribed, EXPDRPFLVCILLAE ODOL FEC MAPR LAEL CAES II P COEL BALBN COS (*i.e.* *Ex Praedio Domitiae Publii Filiae Lucillae Opus Doliare Fecit M. Aper Lucio Ael. Caes. II P. Coel. Balbin Consulibus*). Domitia Luella was mother of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Her name occurs twice in Torremuzza, "S. V. I., cl. xv, No. 69, and Note, p. 214. From evidence of this kind we learn that under the Empire women possessed much landed property.

former class. Aprilis seems to denote the month in which he was born, as it is analogous to the surnames Martialis, Decembris and Januarius.

Nos. 104—105. DOL. DE FIG IVLAE. PROCVL. TIG.  
F L V. NEG.<sup>1</sup>

I am inclined to read the inscription thus: (Opus) doliare de figlinis Juliae Proculae Tig (?) felix liberum vindicandum neglectu. Pot-work from the potteries of Julia Procula, auspicious, free, to be protected from neglect.

If this interpretation is correct, the last words have nearly the same meaning as the close of No. 96, H. M. D. M. A., *i.e.*, Huic monumento dolus malus abesto, Do no mischief to this monument. The brick probably served as a memorial, and therefore, was to be distinguished from the rest that were only used for constructive purposes—a view which is confirmed by the abbreviations CO. S. T., *i.e.*, continens sacros titulos<sup>2</sup>

No. 106. : : : ANAVGGDQVINTIAIR

The letters AVGG indicating the plural number show that this inscription cannot be earlier than the reigns of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, for this was the first instance of two Emperors having the title of Augustus simultaneously. It is probably later, as Augusti do not appear on the coins till Severus associated Caracalla in the Government with himself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Torremuzza, "S. V. I.," cl. xvi, No. 42, p. 236, prints the first line with ligatures, DOL DE FG IVLAE PROCVL TIG.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation is founded upon the interpretation of FLV in Gerrard's "Siglarium," appended to Forcellini's Lexicon, ed. Bailey; he gives Pancirolus (Pancirolli) as his authority, but I have been unable to verify the reference. Dr. Dressel, of the German Archæological Institute at Rome, has proposed another version, which, on consideration, I think preferable. He reads the inscription thus:

TEG DOL DE FIG . IVLAE . PROCVL  
F L V . NEG

And suggests that the words in the second line may stand in inverted order NEG . FLV, as the stamp is circular. According to his view the sentence in full would be Teg-(ula) dol(iaris) de fig(linis) Juliae Procul-(ae) neg(otiatore) F L V. The word negotiator is supplied from the following inscriptions:—

EXPREDIO HORTESI PAVLI  
NI NEG NETILI PROCL  
(Fabretti, p. 516, No. 241.)

NEGOT NETILIO PROCVLO FIGVL ZOSAN

EXFIG PROPETIANIS

(Marini, syll. dol. inser. 1053.)

FLV is probably an abbreviation of the name of the agent employed to negotiate the purchase of the bricks.

<sup>3</sup> Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. viii, p. 354, &c., cap. iv, "De Nomine Augusti;" p. 357, "Aurelius and Verus;" p. 358, "Severus and Caracalla." Cohen, "Médailles Impériales," tome iii, p. 236, Nos. 23, 26, ANNONAE AVGG: p. 283, Nos. 410-416, VICTORIAE AVGG: p. 329, No. 6, IMP INVICTI PH AVGG, Bustes laurés accolés à droite de Sévère et de Caracalla jeune. Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," chap. vi, note 10, vol. 1, p. 265, ed. Dr. Wm. Smith.

Many examples of inscriptions on bricks will be found in the following works:

Gruter, p. clxxxiii, Nos. 10-12, "Romæ in antiq. figlinis;" p. clxxxiv, Nos. 1, 2, quadrilateral brick with circular stamp in the centre; cf. Nos. 10 and 12, ib.

Caylus, "Recueil d'Antiquités," tome iii, pp. 253-255, Pl. lxxviii, No. 3; the



There is reason to suspect that some Inscriptions at Palermo are forgeries of the last century, but documents of the class just described are so full of errors and obscurity that we cannot without great difficulty distinguish the true from the false.

Resplendent as a pearl set in a golden shell—conca d'oro—Palermo surpasses the other cities of Sicily in the natural beauty of its situation ; it is equally pre-eminent for its ecclesiastical buildings, enriched with most gorgeous master-pieces of mediæval art, but it has no historical associations like those which crowd on the spectator's mind when he looks down from Epipolæ on the scene of a battle that decided the world's destiny ; nor can it show a single seat of a theatre or column of a temple to perpetuate the memory of Hellenic culture or religion. However, its Museum contains, as we have seen, besides well-known monuments, others that should detain the classical traveller for a while. But this is not the only reason why he should halt at Palermo before commencing a Sicilian tour. He will here receive advice and protection from our Consul General, the highest British official resident in the island—advantages he ought not to forego if he wishes to pursue his journey safely. Moreover, as Palermo is the seat of the national University, and the place of meeting for learned Societies, it includes among its residents many eminent men, able and willing to assist a stranger by the influence of their social position as well as by directly communicating information. In this class the Archbishop of Palermo, the Abate Mondino, the Conte di Tasca and the Duca di Reitano may be mentioned : but Professor Antonino Salinas is specially qualified, both by his studies and his office, to promote archæological research ; this gentleman unites a patriotic enthusiasm with a profound knowledge of the works of foreign savans, and he has the latest intelligence concerning recent explorations. I feel sure he will extend to others the kindness and courtesy which I have experienced

letters here are in three rows, Gruter gives them only in a single or double row.

Orelli, " *Collectio Inscript. Lat.*," pp. 371-374, Hagenbachii, " *Critice Observationes*," sec. 22, *De Figlinis in circulo sive in orbem inscriptis*, where some difficulties

in this branch of epigraphy are discussed.

Torremuzza, " *Sic. Vet. Insec.*" cl. xv, pp. 203-215, *Figulinae Chronologicæ* ; this section throws great light on the Sicilian names of months and magistrates ; cl. xvi, pp. 232-242, *Sigilla Figulina*.



at his hands, and which I now beg permission publicly to acknowledge.

# APPENDIX.

I add a list of works relating to Sicilian Antiquities with the hope that it may assist the enquirer in his researches.

Thucydides, lib. vi, cc. 2—5.

Cicero, Verrine Orations.

Filippo Paruta, *La Sacilia descritta con medaglie*.

Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Siciliae, Sardiniae, Corsicae, &c.* 15 vols. folio.

Antonio Mongitore, *Bibliotheca Sicula sive De Scriptoribus Siculis*. . . notitiae locupletissimae.

Brydone, *Tour through Sicily and Malta*.

Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*.

Sir R. C. Hoare, *Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily*.

Torremuzza, *Siciliae et Objaentium Insularum Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio: Siciliae Populorum et Urbium, Regum quoque, et Tyrannorum Veteres Nummi*.

Serra di Falco, *Le Antichità della Sicilia: Del Duomo di Monreale e di altre Chiese Siculo-Normanne*.

Gravina, *Il Duomo di Monreale illustrato, &c.*

Admiral Smyth, *Sicily and its Islands*.

Ferd. Gregorovius, *Siciliana*.

Salinas, *Relazione sul Museo di Palermo: Le Monete delle antiche città di Sicilia, incomplete*.

Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*.

Gally Knight, *The Normans in Sicily*.

E. H. Bunbury, *Article Sicilia in Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography*.

Watkiss Lloyd, *History of Sicily with Elucidations of Pindar*.

Goethe, *Italiänische Reise*, chapter on Sicily.

G. Dennis, *Handbook for Travellers in Sicily*.

Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*.

Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens in Alterthum*, with useful maps.

Schubring, *Versuch einer historischen Topographie und Denkmälerkunde von Akragas*.

Edmond Le Blant, *Revue Archéologique*, Dec. 1877. *La Vierge au Ciel représentée sur un Sarcophage antique*.

Renan, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 15, 1875. *Vingt Jours en Sicile*.

Lichtenthal, *Manuale Bibliografico del Viaggiatore in Italia*, pp.199-208 *Sicilia, Descrizione, Storia, Letteratura, Iscrizioni, &c.*

G. F. Rodwell, *Etna, A History of the Mountain and its Eruptions*.

Barclay V. Head, *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse, with autotype illustrations*.

E. A. Freeman, *Five articles in Macmillan's Magazine, Sketches from Eastern Sicily*.

The collection of Graevius above mentioned usually forms a part of his great work, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Graecarum et Romanarum*. This compilation contains Cluverius, *Sicilia Antiqua*; Mongitore, *Regni Siciliae Delineatio*; Fazelli, *De Rebus Siculis Decades duae*; Falcando, *De Rebus gestis in Siciliae regno historia*; Paruta, *Sicilia Numismatica* ed. Havercamp. Vol. viii includes more than 200 plates of coins—Greek, Roman, Carthaginian, Gothic, Saracen, Norman, and modern, ending with Charles III. and Viceroy. The old writers edited by Graevius must be read in a critical spirit, and their errors corrected with the aid of more recent investigations.

Torremuzza published 23 separate works, the most important of which relate to coins and antiquities; a complete list of them will be found at the end of his *Siciliae Veteres Inscriptiones*; the series extends from 1749 to 1784.

Mr. Dennis's Handbook is a mine of Archæological information, and quite indispensable to the student; but as a traveller's guide it has become in some respects obsolete; for this purpose Gsell-Fels was specially recommended to me by Professor Salinas.

The Christian Sarcophagus described by M. Le Blant in the *Revue Archéol.* was found in the catacombs of Syracuse. Cavaliere Arezzo di Targia, director of the Museum in that city, informed me that he could not altogether agree with M. Le Blant's attributions.

## LINCOLN IN 1644.<sup>1</sup>

By EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.

From what we see and hear around us one would imagine that writing history was one of the easiest things imaginable. Every day there are lectures given about it, and every week history books are published. There are literary men among us who have so thoroughly mastered the art of writing about past times that, to use a simile of Cervantes, they toss their speculations out into the world by the dozen, like fritters. Very amusing this must be, we do not doubt, to the writers, and we have even met with readers who profess to admire this kind of work, but then such persons are only to be found among those who have none, or but the very slightest interest in past times. They read history as they do novels, and are much worse employed when engaged in the former than the latter occupation. There is probably no period of our annals that has had so much nonsense written about it as the era known as the Great Civil War. It has been the battle ground for more senseless controversies than we care to mention, or even think of, but there have been very few persons who have seriously set themselves to work to ascertain what did really happen, and what were the causes, near and remote, which produced that sad catastrophe. At present I can but deal with a very small fragment of it. A mere chip, indeed, and of this very little bit I cannot tell you much. I am limited by two causes. I do not know nearly all that persevering research might yet recover about it, and there will not be time to give, even in the most skeleton outline, an account of such facts as have come to my knowledge.

In the great war of the seventeenth century Lincoln-

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Annual Meeting at Lincoln, July 28th, 1880.

shire was remarkably fortunate; few battles or sieges took place within her limits. If we leave out of count Lincoln, there was no serious fighting except at Ancaster, Gainsburgh, and Winceby. Lincoln, however, suffered on more than one occasion, but even our capital was mercifully spared when we contrast her fate with that of Bristol, Gloucester, Leicester, and many other towns of less note.

A few dates not seemingly connected with this city must be mentioned that what follows may be intelligible. On the 4th of January, 1642, although no blood was spilt, took place the first great act in the civil war. On that day the King endeavoured to arrest the five leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition, Pim, Hampden, Haselrig, Holles, and Strode. The attempt was a failure. Six days afterwards the King left Whitehall, and the breach between himself and the Parliament was past remedy. There was now an immediate prospect of war. The Queen went to Holland to sell certain of the Crown jewels and her own personal ornaments. The money which these made was turned into munitions of war, and landed on the coast of Yorkshire. On the 23rd of April the King, accompanied by a large following of the cavalier gentry of Yorkshire, demanded to be admitted within the fortifications of Hull, and was refused entrance by Sir John Hotham, the governor. On the 22nd of August the Royal Standard was raised at Nottingham, and two months later the battle of Edgehill, or Kineton Heath, was fought on the borders of Warwickshire, and ere evening closed Charles's General, the Earl of Lindsey, the noblest of our Lincolnshire cavaliers, Sir Edward Verney, the Royal Standard bearer, and Lord Saint John were cold in death, or helplessly dying of their wounds.

It is certain that until blood had really been spilt Lincolnshire men never comprehended the seriousness of the issues that were before them. They did not realize that they were about to be plunged into all the horrors of civil war. The slaughter at Edge Hill brought all men face to face with this. Lincolnshire folk have never been in their nature warlike. They have preferred building churches and abbeys, draining fens, and reclaiming heaths, to the excitements which come of bloodshed,

but they have, on every occasion, shewn themselves to be sufficiently brave when battle has become a necessity. This was evident in our last great civil strife, for no sooner was it clear to them that the cause must be settled by the sword, than Lincolnshire joined itself with Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex, and Huntingdonshire, in a Puritan league, under the name of the seven associated counties. The object of this Eastern Association was to keep the peace within its own limits, and to assist the Parliament in carrying on the war in the more Royalist part of the country.

Lincolnshire, it must be borne in mind, was a distinctly Puritan shire. Several of the nobility and higher gentry, as, for instance, the Berties, Monsons, Heneages, Pelhams, Scropes, and Dalysons, were Royalists, and suffered most heroically in the King's cause, but many of the noble houses, nearly all the lesser gentry, and the middle class, sympathised ardently with the Parliament. We are fortunate in having had preserved for us a list which, although far from perfect as regards people of small note, contains the names of nearly all our Puritan gentry. It is a catalogue of the persons indicted at Grant-ham Sessions, before Peregrine Bertie and Sir John Brooks, for high treason. This list was printed on the 10th of May, 1643.<sup>1</sup> It is too long to read in full, but a few well known names must be mentioned. Among peers we have the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Willoughby of Parham, afterwards follow Sir Thomas Trollope of Caswick, Baronet, the ancestor of Lord Kesteven, Sir John Brownlow of Belton; Sir Edward Ayscough of South Kelsey, and members of the families of Saville, Massingberd, Rosseter, Welby, Fines, Witchcott, Disney, Coney, and Skipwith. In fact, there is scarcely one of our old Lincolnshire houses that is not represented in this catalogue.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming preponderance of political Puritanism in this county, it must not be supposed that the Parliamentary cause was unresisted here. The King had visited Lincoln in July, 1642, and

<sup>1</sup> Printed at the end of a quarto tract, by Sir John Brooks. London: entitled *a Declaration of the Commons* Edw. Husbands, 1643.  
*Assembled in Parliament, upon two letters*



seems to have made a most favourable impression, not only on those with whom he was in political sympathy, but also on all persons of every class who came in contact with him. It had probably some effect on Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, and the person intrusted by the Parliament with the duty of levying horse and foot for the protection of the shire. He served his masters faithfully, but we never find in his conduct any of that personal violence which disgraced some of those who fought on the same side. Lincoln, as the capital of the county, and the chief fortress also, was the place of all others he was most bound to defend; this he did to the best of his ability. The old fortifications were restored, and the inside of the city north of the river, rendered capable of defence. In those days it was completely walled round, except on the river margin and on the western side from the castle to the river. A wall must, I think, have existed here in the middle ages, but, from the careful plan made about this time, it seems to have been swept away and replaced by an earthen rampart. When this earthwork was raised I have no means of knowing. It seems not improbable, however, that it was cast up by Lord Willoughby, in the early days of the wars.

In the month of July, 1643, Lincoln was still in the hands of the Parliamentarians. There does not appear to have been a military commander. Affairs seem to have been managed by the committee for the county appointed by the Parliament. Though no engagement worthy of the name of a battle took place, skirmishing was going on in various parts of the north of Lincolnshire. Brocklesby and Swinhope were plundered by guerillas, and at this period much of the wanton damage from which our churches suffered was inflicted. Gainsburgh was at this time a Royalist garrison, under Lord Kingston. The time was come for him to act on the offensive. He, therefore, made arrangements with the Royalist garrison at Newark for a combined attack, and their united forces, amounting to 3,000 men, were told off for this duty. The place was very strong, and it did not seem possible to take it by assault, so treachery was determined upon.





PLAN DE  
LINCOLNE

Vicars, the Puritan historian, gives so graphic an account of what followed that I shall quote his words. They are interesting, not only as a contemporary narrative, but as a specimen of the literary style of the time :—

“First, they within the town were to seiz upon the Parliament’s committee there, then upon the magazincs and on all the Parliament’s forces within the town, those 3,000 cavaliers being secretly and suddenly let in by night. . . . And as proeme and preample to the ensuing tragedie or treacherie, Serjeant Major Purfrey had let into the town, at a back gate, about sixty bloodie cavaliers, all of them disguised in countrie marketmen’s habits, who were all hid and sheltred (as it was credibly enformed) in the Deane’s house in Lincolne. Now Major Purfrey had no sooner parted from them, having laid these hell hounds safe, as he thought, in their kennels, and going about to fit his other agents and instruments for the completing of this desperate designe, but sodainly he and his brother were seized on by the Committee, who at that very instant . . . had received intelligence from the Major of Hull . . . that a treacherie was also intended against Lincoln by the Purfreyes, yet all the while, till this information came, the Committee knew nothing of the plot, nor of the 60 cavaliers already let into the town . . . yet [they] set good guards about the town and at the gates especially, and so went to bed as at other times, only, I say, relying under God on the care and diligence of their especiall guard. . . . But just about 12 of the clock at night, those 60 desperate cavaliers burst out of their dens . . . and marched immediately toward the magazines . . . but instantly upon their coming it pleased the Lord that by the discharge of one piece of cannon by a plain mean fellow of the town, who never discharged a piece before in his life, ten of them were sodainly killed. The centinells also perceiving their approach gave fire at them & thereupon fired two peices of ordnance more upon them and slew many of them and the rest retreated. The town also hereupon took the alarm, and being risen and up in armes, put all the rest of those disguised marketmen of treacherie and hucksters and venters of villany to the sword except

Captain Dallison, Serjeant-Major Williamson, and some others of quality whom they detained prisoners.”<sup>1</sup>

It would be tedious to quote Vicar's involved narrative at greater length. The result was that the 3,000 Newark and Gainsburgh cavaliers, seeing the plot discovered, made a hasty retreat, and the Parliamentary Committee were for a time left in the quiet possession of Lincoln. Shortly after this, however, Lincoln fell into the hands of the Royalists. How this happened I know not. The ordinary printed authorities give no information, and I have been able to learn nothing from manuscript sources. It is probable that the Parliamentarians found it necessary to gather their forces together at fewer centres as the war went on, and that Lincoln was vacated by them, and that the cavaliers took possession of it without the effusion of blood.

As time went on, the Parliament became more and more potent in the Eastern Shires. In the latter end of April, 1644, the Earl of Manchester was at Huntingdon. From thence he marched to Oundle, Stamford, and Grantham, dispersing the small bodies of cavaliers he met with on his way. Early in May he arrived before Lincoln, and encamped on the brow of the hill near Canwick. The lower part of the city beyond the river had been fenced by fortifications of a temporary nature, and was made “very strong.” Manchester at once sent a trumpet demanding the surrender of the place, but received what he thought an uncivil answer, taunting him with a reverse which the Parliamentarians had received before Newark a few days before. On the following day a party of horse was sent in the direction of Gainsburgh, who took some prisoners, and reported that a strong body of some five or six thousand men, under the command of Lord Going, were coming to the relief of Lincoln. On receiving this information, the Earl of Manchester dispatched 2,000 horse, under the command of Oliver Cromwell, who was at that period his lieutenant-general, to meet the enemy, and hinder them from coming near Lincoln.

<sup>1</sup> John Vicars, *Jehovah-Jerah. God in the Mount or Englands Parliamentarie Chronicle*, London. 4to. 1644, p. 372.



On the following day the lower part of the city was attacked, and taken with little loss. This skirmish must have been a very slight affair, for Vicars, the Parliamentary chronicler, says that the low town was taken "without the losse of any on our side."<sup>1</sup> The Royalists, on their retreat, endeavoured to set fire to the low-town, but were happily unsuccessful. On Monday, May 6th, the Castle was stormed, further delay would have been advantageous, but Manchester was in dread of Goring's horse, which Cromwell was still watching. On the Saturday before there had been a heavy fall of rain, which made the sides of the hill very slippery, and was a great disadvantage to the besiegers. The attack began in the grey of the morning. The signal given was the letting off of six pieces of ordnance at once. It must, I imagine, have taken place on the south-western side. "Our foot," says an anonymous letter writer, who was evidently present, "never left running till they came to the top of the hill, which would have been enough to tire a horse." When they arrived at the Castle walls the besiegers set up their scaling ladders, many of which proved too short, for the walls were very high—as high as London walls—Vicars says<sup>2</sup>—some, however, were long enough, and the Parliamentarians swarmed in under a fire, not only of shot, but also of "mighty stones," cast down upon them from the Castle walls. Over the walls, however, they got, and, when once in, the danger was really over. The garrison, which seems to have been composed, not of trained soldiers, but of peasantry gathered from the neighbourhood, and probably, in many cases, pressed into the service, at once fled, begging for quarter, and saying "they were poor array men." About fifty of these were put to the sword, twenty being killed in the yard of the Castle. Only eight men were killed of the besieging force; most of these met their deaths from the stones thrown down from the ramparts.

A list of the prisoners taken on this occasion was sent to London, and has been preserved for us in a contem-

<sup>1</sup> John Vicars, *God's Arke overtopping the world's waves*. London. 4to., 1646, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 221.

porary pamphlet.<sup>1</sup> Nearly all the persons who can be identified were Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire gentry. Among the more prominent names are those of Sir Frances Fane, the governor, Sir Charles Dalyson, Colonel and Captain Baude of Somerby near Grantbam, Captain Quadring, Ensign Ralph Artington of Milnthorpe, near Leeds, Sergeant William Clerk of Ashby, my own ancestor Captain Richard Woodruffe of Ranskill, and two members of the Skipwith family. About 700 common soldiers were taken prisoners; nearly all of them consented to enter the service of the Parliament. All the pillage of the upper city was given to the victorious army.

It was on this melancholy occasion that the Minster was so wantonly injured. Nearly all the stained glass, with which every window was rich, was broken, the tombs of the dead defaced, and every monumental brass within the building carried away. Popular rumour and the writers of partizan history who represent gossip when at its worst have constantly affirmed that these atrocities were due to Oliver Cromwell.—Cromwell has indeed, to bear the blame not only of his own acts, but of every deed of destruction that has been perpetrated by reformers, Puritans, churchwardens, and architects during the last three centuries. In the popular mythologic history he has become the arch destroyer, just as in France, West Germany, North Italy, and the Rhine country Karl the Great is looked upon as the great constructor. If you make enquiries about an old building anywhere between Helvoet Sluys and Florence you are sure to be told that it was founded by Karl, and so in England every old ruin is thought to have been reduced to its present state by the order of the great Protector. Perhaps, as Mr. Matthew Arnold is reported to have said about a very different matter, "On the breast of the huge Mississippi of falsehood called history, a foam bell more or less is of no consequence." Certainly it is of no matter to the dead, but if history is to be known at all, it is well for us that it should be history of the right sort, truth not falsehood, and in this case it is capable of demonstration that Oliver had no more to do with the miserable

<sup>1</sup> *A true Relation of the taking of the City, Minster and Castle of Lincoln.* London. 4to, 1644, p. 4.

destruction we so much lament than has the present dean and chapter. The person on whom the responsibility rests is the Earl of Manchester.

From this time forward Lincoln remained for some years in the hands of the Parliamentary authorities. Lincolnshire men were fighting bravely on both sides. Nathaniel Fiennes of Brumby Wood Hall, Samuel Sheffield of Croxby, and Edward Rosseter of Somerby, near Brigg, each commanded a troop of Lincolnshire Horse for the Parliament at the battle of Naseby, and Lord Bellasyse of Worlaby, Sir George Heneage, and more than one member of the house of Bertie served their royal master while he had armies in the field.

After the autumn of 1645 the land for some time had peace, the revolution was slowly making its way by intrigues in Parliament and by quarrels between the Parliament, the army, and the city of London, and lastly, between the two great factions in the army. At length, in the summer of 1648 it began to be whispered that a wonderful and horrible thing was about to happen, that the king, now a prisoner, was to be tried for his life; there were rumours, too, afloat that it might even be possible that he would be put to death without trial. This latter course, which would have been a crime with many precedents for it, never seems to have seriously occurred to any, even of the most extreme of the Anti-Monarchist leaders. There is authority for stating that Thomas Harrison and others of the Regicides viewed it with horror. The idea that a king should be murdered or tried for his life filled men's minds with terror unspeakable. The world had had, it is true, many examples of the murder of kings, but no body of men had ever ventured to put "The Lord's anointed" upon his trial.

We, with more than two hundred years of later experience, can but faintly picture to ourselves what the effect was when the news was first told in whispers. All England was once more wrapped in the flames of war. A great part of the fleet revolted, put their Admiral (Thomas Rainborowe) on shore, and declared for the King.<sup>1</sup> In Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northamptonshire, Essex, Wales,

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xlv, p. 33.

and Kent, the cavaliers flew to arms, and they were joined by many of the Presbyterian party who had aforetime fought on the side of the Parliament. Had the Royalists at this juncture possessed a competent leader, it is not impossible that the whole future course of history might have been very widely different. Pontefract Castle, the key of the north as it was termed, had fallen into the hands of the Royalists by the strategy of Colonel John Morris, a Yorkshire gentleman, of Emshall, near Doncaster. The desperate state of affairs in other parts of England rendered it impossible that prompt measures should be taken against Pontefract at once, and the consequence was that it became a centre for operations against South Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire. Late in June, a party of horse, under the command of that dashing cavalry officer and devoted loyalist, Sir Philip Monckton of Cavill (the direct ancestor, I may remark, of the present Viscount Galway), sallied forth from Pontefract Castle, and made themselves masters of the Isle of Axholme. The gentry of the neighbourhood and their retainers flocked to join them from all sides—members of the families of Byron, Cholmeley, Saltmarsh, Dolman, Constable, Lassels, Langton, Savile, Wombwell, Morley, and Fitzrandal were there, among many others equally worthy of note, whose names sound as music to those who love to dwell upon the memories of that heroic time. They ferried over the Trent at Gainsburgh, and marched at once on Lincoln, where they took the Bishop's Palace, captured several prisoners, killed a certain Mr. Smith, a person who had rendered himself especially odious by having been employed in the sequestration of the Royalists' estates. I fear the Lincoln Puritans fared as badly at their hands as their Royalist neighbours had done from the other party in 1644—they were plundered without mercy, and we are told that all the prisoners in the castle, even those confined for murder and felony, were set at liberty.

After Lincoln had suffered all that they chose to inflict, the band retreated once more to Gainsburgh. Colonel Rosseter of Somerby, near Brigg, the Parliamentary officer who had commanded a body of the Lincolnshire horse at the memorable field of Naseby, was at this time Governor of Belvoir Castle. He, as soon as this outbreak came to



his ears, despatched messengers to Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby, begging for all the cavalry that could be spared. On Sunday evening, July 2, he had about 550 men under his command. The next morning he set off for Gainsburgh; on his way he had the good fortune to fall in with some other troops coming from Lynn, under the command of Captain Taylor. Rosseter and his forces slept that night in Waddington Fields, near Lincoln. At three o'clock the next morning (Tuesday, July 4), they marched through Lincoln and there fell in with a man who had been a prisoner in the hands of the Royalists, who told them that they were now marching in the direction of Newark. This news caused Rosseter to change his plans. He cut across the country directly to the point at which he believed them to be. He reached a spot within a mile of Newark that night, where he was informed that the Cavaliers had encamped in Bingham Field. The next morning the Parliamentary leader came up with them among some beans in the parish of Willoughby. He at once gave battle. The Cavaliers' war cry was *Jesus*, that of the Puritans *Fairefax*. Neither party seem to have had any infantry. It was a hand to hand fight on horseback. So intense and personal was the hate that inspired the combatants, that all order was lost, and for a time, Royalist and Puritan were blended in one fierce struggling mass. The victory, notwithstanding the courage and devotion of the Cavaliers, was naturally with the trained soldiers of the Parliament. About two hundred of those who were best mounted made their escape, the rest were left dead on the field or taken prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

Here my story must end. Lincoln and Lincolnshire were henceforth spared from the horrors of war. The Royalist movements of the summer and autumn of 1648 had no leading spirit to organise them, no common centre of action, they were therefore stamped out one by one by the forces of the Parliament, and did but hasten, if, indeed, they did not cause, the great tragedy which they were undertaken to avert.

<sup>1</sup> A list of some of the prisoners taken in the Battle of Willoughby is given in Rushworth's *Historical Collections* part iv, vol. II, p. 1183, but a more complete catalogue may be seen in a contemporary

pamphlet entitled *An Impartial and True Relation of the Great Victory obtained . . . , [by] Col. Edw. Rosseter, Tuesday July 5, 1648.*—London, Edw. Griffin, 4to, 1648.



## THE MEDIÆVAL JEWS OF LINCOLN.<sup>1</sup>

By M. D. DAVIS.

The precise period in which the Jews of ancient date settled in this country is involved in obscurity. There exist no traces of their existence in England before the middle of the eleventh century. Whatever may be urged to the contrary, the mere haphazard mention of the word "Judei" in some of the early penitentials and charters affords no basis for the conclusion that Jews dwelt in England either during the Roman period or under the sway of the Saxons.

It may be accepted as a matter of certainty that the Jewish race first found its way into this realm either at the Conquest in 1066, or some very few years subsequently. They came originally from Rouen, and were favored by William the Norman, who assigned them certain localities for their residences. These localities were appointed in the larger towns solely, such as London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, &c. As a rule, their dwellings were in the immediate neighbourhood of the king's royal castles, and the Jews, termed "*Judei nostri*," were placed under the jurisdiction of the Constables of the respective castles, so that they might, as far as was practicable, be protected from molestation and ill-usage.

This policy subserved a motive of self-interest on the part of the monarch. It was desired that the Jews should be located in one quarter only of a city or town, in order that the Constable might readily obtain access to them and control them, and might freely ascertain the nature and amount of their property, they being taxed apart from the other inhabitants, and required to yield a large proportion of their gains for the king's needs.

The comparative benignity of William the Conqueror naturally attracted many Jews to these shores. They flocked over from Normandy in vast numbers, and settled among their earlier brethren. London and Lincoln became

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Annual Meeting at Lincoln, July 27, 1880.

their favorite resting-places. Bringing with them immense treasures, these they employed in lending out at usurious interest to needy barons, to the clergy, and the commonalty, earning, however, for their complaisance, nought but obloquy and reproach. Their restless spirit did not allow them to remain stationary, if money was to be had elsewhere than in the places already assigned them. With the connivance of the authorities, they found means to spread themselves all over the country, so that, after no very lengthened period, scarcely a town or village existed in old England that did not contain its Jew or its contingent of Jews. Bungay in Suffolk, for instance, became a favorite locality for the Hebrews, and here they flourished not only as money-lenders, but as corn and wool merchants, and traffickers in all kinds of vegetable produce. It must be noted, however, that while dwelling on sufferance in prohibited localities, they were required to register themselves as Jews of the nearest royal city, and were taxed with their brethren of such town.

The Jews who settled in Lincoln soon after the Conquest made their way to the northern part of the city, and dwelt in that portion known as the "Bail," being partly under the jurisdiction of the Constable of the castle, and partly under the authority of the Bishop of the diocese. Here they formed a "communa," or community, being permitted the free exercise of their religious rites and ceremonies, subject to the control of their Rabbis and their other clerical officers. From the very earliest day Lincoln was distinguished for its Jewish notabilities, both clerical and secular. The name of Aaron of Lincoln is well known, he being doubtless the prototype of Isaac of York, made famous by Sir Walter Scott in *Ivanhoe*. Leo, or Levi, of Lincoln, is cited in the records as being one of the richest men in England. Magister Joce was another of similar character, and Magister Benedict fil' Magister Moses was in a later age the most prominent figure in Lincoln during the latter part of the reign of Henry III. We shall have something to say of each of these in his turn.

This freedom and royal license to conduct their rites and ceremonies after their own pleasure produced, as a result, the extension of Scriptural and Rabbinical know-

ledge amongst them. Their synagogue in the upper part of the city was well attended, and all classes of Jewish society vied with each other in supporting it with efficiency. In the records of the times it is termed the "scola" or school, an appellation which finds its counterpart in the word "shool," current everywhere at the present day when Jews are speaking of their place of worship. The synagogue was not merely the meeting house for prayer, but formed also the school for study ; and in the Lincoln synagogue the rabbis taught the Scriptures and the commentaries, not only to their own co-religionists, but to such of the Christian clergy as desired to benefit by their instruction. From first to last Rabbinism, with all its minutiae and refinement of ceremonial, secured a strong hold in the city of Lincoln, to such an extent indeed that the very highest classes of Jews drew up their agreements and acquittances in Rabbinical fashion, stating very distinctly over and over again that these were written "after the usage of the sages." It is curious to note that the barons and lords of manors who availed themselves of Jewish loans, were more content to accept a deed or an acquittance from their Hebrew creditors, written in Hebrew "after the usage of the sages," than receive a Latin document embodying the same particulars. The motive for this procedure lies on the surface. The debtor had more confidence in a Hebrew instrument with such weighty religious supports to it as an oath taken on the Ten Commandments, or on the scroll of the Law, or more commonly, the holding in the hand of some sacred emblem, than in the mere signature of his Jewish friend attached to the fag end of a Latin deed.

In proof both of the learning and the wealth of the earlier Jews of Lincoln, we may here cite a fact dating as early as the year 1169. In that year a Jewess of Lincoln was married to a son of a Jewess of Cambridge, the latter popularly known as "the Countess" by reason of her riches. The parties contracted these nuptials without royal license, the result being that every one concerned was fined in a sum forming a total of seven gold marks. This Countess of Cambridge had favoured one Anesty with sundry loans at the rate of fourpence per pound per week for the use of her moneys, and during her age she became

a well known character. Now the Hebrew for "the Countess" is "Hannassiah," and it is a well established fact that a certain Moses, son of Hannasiah, flourished in England as a famous scholar and linguist, being the author of a Hebrew Lexicon, still to be found in the Bodleian Library, which has not yet been printed. This Moses has never been identified, simply because no one could guess who was "the Countess." It is no stretch of imagination to urge that this Moses was the very person mulcted with others of seven gold marks, because of his having chosen a bride without King Henry's consent. Jewish women named Cuntasse are frequently mentioned in the records, both in Hebrew and Latin; but this is the only female, popularly known as "la Comitessa," for which "Hannasiah" is the Hebrew equivalent.

At this period of their history flourished the famous Aaron of Lincoln, whose life and dealings are of such importance that they will demand elucidation in a separate paper.

Aaron of Lincoln had as coadjutors in his money-lending business, his brothers Senior and Benedict, and his sons Elias, Abraham, and Vines. One of the charters of this noted Aaron was drawn up in the year 1176, and granted to William Fossard, a great Yorkshire baron, who was relieved of his pecuniary necessities by the monks of the wealthy Abbey of Meaux in Holderness. Fossard's debt to Aaron had accumulated in 1176 to the formidable total of 1,260 marks, or £840 sterling.

Aaron of Lincoln often appears in the records as Aaron le Riche, and one Benedict fil' Isaac is known by a similar designation. This Benedict fil' Isaac, in the year 1185, lent to the Earl Albric of Dainmartin the sum of £115 sterling at the rate of 1d. per pound per week interest. In consideration of this loan, the Earl mortgaged to Benedict his manors of Rihale, Haton, and Wakelingewurd. In connection with this transaction, it is to be observed that the sum mentioned includes both capital and interest in the first instance, and had to be paid off in five periodical instalments. The 1d. per pound per week was not to accrue at all till the expiration of the latest date, and then was only to accrue provided the Earl had not discharged his debt at the time appointed.



While alluding to this Benedict fil' Isaac, surnamed le Riche, it is to be observed that he calls himself Elias fil' Ursell, and sometimes Elias fil' Isaac ; and this leads us to make the following remark. The Jews, during their entire stay in England, possessed their synagogue or family names, known technically as "Shem Hakkodosh" or sacred names, these being derived generally from the Scriptures. The constant recurrence of such names as Moses, Isaac, Samuel, Abraham, &c., proved a source of worry to the Christian clerks, so that it was deemed very essential that the Jews should vary their titles. This was done accordingly, and aliases abound in great numbers. How was a Christian clerk to put upon record such an uncouth description as Jekuthiel ben (son of) Joseph Yechiel, a famous Lincoln money-lender ? How much easier was it to cite him as Bonefy fil' Josce ? These aliases form a great stumblingblock in the struggle to ascertain who are the actual persons engaged in a money transaction, or those signing a Hebrew or Latin deed. It is only by intense study and comparison that this difficulty can be overcome, and accurate identifications be made out.

Besides possessing its famous rabbis and leading men, Lincoln shared with Norwich the credit of having at all times within its walls a goodly proportion of notable men, then popularly characterised as Nedevim, the plural of Nodiv, a term similar in meaning to Nabob. Under the sway of Henry II., Lincoln had its Nodiv Rabbi Isaac and its Nodiv Rabbi Joseph ; Rabbi, by the way, being under all circumstances the mere counterpart of "Mr." of the present day. These Nodivs undertook the duty of protecting their poorer brethren when oppressed, of encouraging learning in the scolas, of paying indigent scribes their wages for writing scrolls of the Pentateuch, and taking a leading part indeed in all matters which concerned their body politic. Among other things, they paid the talliage imposed on their poorer brethren, they redeemed Jewish captives if enslaved, they furnished dowers to poor Jewish maidens, and acted the rôle of the Mœcenases of their age. The most famous of these Nodivs were Aaron of Lincoln and Isaac of Norwich. If these men laboured hard to amass riches, we must at least give them credit for being



lavish and judicious in their charitable dealings, and for allaying much misery, wretchedness, and destitution by means of their open-handed liberality.

The Public Record Office possesses among its archives some documents of a very early date in which figure the names and dealings of Aaron of Lincoln and his sons, and of Benedict fil' Isaac le Riche. Barons and clergymen frequently sought their aid, and in several instances, the latter, when in difficulties, pledged and mortgaged their tithes to Aaron and the others for certain money considerations specified in detail.

The Jews of Lincoln seem to have enjoyed a fair run of prosperity during the reign of Henry II. Their main difficulty consisted in procuring a suitable piece of ground in the suburbs wherein to deposit their dead. Up to the year 1177 they were compelled to inter their dead in the burial-ground common to all the Jews of England, situate outside Cripplegate, London, close to Jewin Street of the present day. Henry II. accorded them the privilege of purchasing burial places in other localities; but it appears that the Jews of Lincoln either could not, or would not, avail themselves of the king's concession till a later date. They joined the Jews of York in the purchase of a plot of ground outside the latter city, which was denominated "Jewbury," a name which is still retained. In the sale of the Jews' property which fell to Edward I. on their expulsion in 1290, mention is made of sundry houses and tenements, pieces of empty ground belonging to them in Brauncegate, St. John's, St. Martin's, St. Michael's super Collem, St. George's, St. Benedict, and St. Cuthbert's, and allusion is also made to the scola and the burial ground.

The reign of Richard I. opened fatally to all the Jews of England, the Lincoln Jews sharing in the vicissitudes and misfortunes of their compatriots. The massacre of the London Jews in 1189 was followed up by a similar onslaught on the Lincoln Jews during March 1190. They seem, however, to have taken refuge in the Castle, the Constable of which protected them against injury and maltreatment. They did not, however, escape scot free, as 30 of their number, at least, fell victims to the fanaticism of the rabble of the city. There can be no doubt

that the benign influence of Bishop Hugh proved to them most beneficial in its results, and it is related on good authority that when this excellent prelate died in 1200, the Jews of Lincoln gratefully acknowledged the services he had rendered them. They marched mournfully with the funeral procession, following the Bishop to his last resting-place, and shed bitter tears at the loss they had sustained. Bishop Hugh was certainly one of their most considerate and influential friends.

On the return of Richard I. from Germany in the fifth year of his reign, he found himself embarrassed in money matters, and, as a natural consequence, determined to extort aid from his Jews. A roll of three membranes is still in existence among the ancient Exchequer Miscellaneous Rolls, giving in detail the names of all the Jews in England who subscribed to a talliage of 5000 marks, dating from September 3rd, 1193, to September 2nd, 1194. The antiquity of this famous roll is not its sole recommendation to notice. We have here an authentic record of the names, and in many instances the quality, of all the Jews then resident in England—an authentic record of valuable information. The most important towns only of England are mentioned, although York is missing from the list. An analysis of the rolls shows that the Jews were most numerous in Lincoln and in London.

Among the Lincoln Jews figure the names of Aaron's three heirs, and his brother Benedict aforementioned. Then we have the name of a lady, Pucella, one of the creditors of William Fossard in the charter of 1176, and side by side with her is Benedict le Riche, the creditor of Earl Albric. Lincoln is here "Nicole," and Lincolnshire, "Nicol Sir." We may notice the following. Samson and Josse are spoken of as "bissop" and "episcopus." It is not to be imagined that these two held any clerical office. The Jews then as now were distinguished as belonging to three distinct religious classes. First and foremost are those who trace their descent from Aaron, the first Pontifex Maximus of their race. These individuals have ordinarily but not invariably the name of Cohen (priest), although their sacerdotal functions are at present almost nil. Samson and Josse belonged to this class, as do now the Rev. Dr. Adler, chief rabbi, and Mr. Arthur Cohen,

Q.C., M.P. for Southwark. The second class adds the designation Levi to their names, and are the descendants of that tribe, but not of the House of Aaron. The third class comprehends the largest proportion of Jews, who do or may belong to the other tribes of Israel. In the Hebrew records copied by the writer, this class distinction is invariably maintained. To resume. The Lincoln Jews could then boast of a Manasses le Gros (fat or great); Peitevin fil' Jacob, evidently from Poitiers; Acer the Lombard, evidently from Italy. One Vines is described as Scriptor, and further on as le Scrivenur, he being one of the poorer classes patronised by the Nodivs of his day. His occupation consisted in writing out family deeds, acquittances for debts, &c., and in making copies of Hebrew works for the wealthier classes. The synagogue is represented in the persons of Abraham the Parnass and Benedict the Parnass. This term is in common use now for the President of a Jewish congregation. Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild is as well known among the Israelites of the present day as the Parnass of the Great Synagogue in London, as Abraham and Benedict were recognised as the Parnassim of the Lincoln synagogue of old. There is much on this roll in reference to other localities worthy of observation, but it is our purpose to note that only which refers to the city we are discussing.

During the reign of King John, we obtain further glimpses of the dealings of the Lincoln Jews, all of one and a similar character. In 1200, Hugh de Bard, who was indebted in the sum of £101 sterling, acquires the right of having twelve legal Jews of Lincoln and twelve freedmen (Christians) to assemble under an inquisition and to decide a dispute he has with Manser fil' Leon and Solomon of Eden'n, both Lincoln Jews. The result is not recorded. This year also Elias, Aaron of Lincoln's son, pays a mark as a fine to the king for an order to admonish Roger the Constable to pay him certain demands the Jew professes to have on the Christian. In 1201, Pucella, the wife of Deodatus, pays ten marks to have a dispute settled between her and Aaron of Lincoln's family. Jacob, son of Samuel of Northampton, pledges himself that the lady shall be ready with her proofs against the defendants on a certain day. In 1202, Simon de Dena contends with Deudone

fil' Samuel over a debt of £9 3s. 4d., which he owes on account of debts originally Aaron of Lincoln's. In 1204, King John releases Petronilla, Countess of Leicester, mother of the Earl, of 55 marks owing to the Crown on the debts of Aaron of Lincoln. In the same year Matilda of Colchester pays 20 marks and gives a palfrey to the king, in consideration of her regaining the land which Jacob senex of Lincoln held of her in the parish of St. Cuthbert. This year also, Vines fil' Aaron offers the king ten marks to have seisin of the lands of Ralph Lovell; but the king will not take the fine, "quia non placet." Vines' uncle, Benedict, brother to Aaron of Lincoln, gets into hot water with Ursell of Lincoln, accuses him of forgery, and offers his liege lord xx marks for the opportunity of substantiating his accusation. From all that we read here and elsewhere of Ursell, we are inclined to set him down as a *mauvais sujet*. Meanwhile one Benedict fil' Jacob is convicted of felony, and loses a messuage he possesses in Lincoln, which King John kindly gives to Geoffrey, his salter. Geoffrey, who appears to have been a favorite with his master, obtains other possessions of the Jews, both in Lincoln and in London. Other Jews and Jewesses figure about this time, and large sums of money usually accompany their names. Vines, son of Aaron of Lincoln, occurs frequently, and we have repeatedly the names of Elias of Bungay and Manasser Grassus, formerly cited as le Gros in the roll of 1194. Elias Blund (the white or fair) of Lincoln gives 200 marks of silver and 2 marks of gold to the king in the course of a suit of law which he enters against Robert de Veteriponte. In 1206 Bona, the wife of Jacob of Lincoln, having lost her husband, claims her dower of 40 marks against her son Peitevin (mentioned in the roll of 1194), and the justices of the Jews allow her claim in consideration of her forfeiting to the Crown one quarter of the sum demanded. In 1207 a certain John de Russell seems to be in difficulties. King John, in order to raise the 20,000 marks he engaged to pay King Phillip of France, laid a tax of 3s. on each hide or rather carucate of land throughout the kingdom. The Jews of England, under the pretence that their charters required confirmation, were compelled to pay 4000 marks out of this sum. John de Russell, who had been paying



off by instalments the debts which had been contracted with Aaron of Lincoln, received in 1207 a respite for the remainder of his liability, owing to the Crown then £8 12s. 8d. of Aaron's debts. Having paid into the Treasury the sum of 6 marks, he obtained the king's acquittance for the remainder.

Some idea of the wealth of Aaron of Lincoln may be estimated from the fact that in 1208 his son Elias paid 200 marks into the treasury to have license to secure payment on 400 charters drawn up by his father during his lifetime, which he represented of being of no value to the king. He also paid a further sum of 200 marks to obtain possession of 40 other charters of a higher value. Aaron of Lincoln appears to have owned several houses situated within the precincts of the Bail. An inquisition was held on these houses, and the jury returned a verdict to the effect that they had escheated to the Crown at the decease of Aaron the rich, and were of value 60s. and more per annum. Lands also in the parish of St. Michael's, which originally belonged to Senior, the brother of Aaron, escheated to the Crown, their value being set down at 10s. per annum. The recital of these facts goes to prove that the Jews were most numerous in Lincoln during the reign of King John, that they thrived immensely in spite of his exactions, and that they not only possessed personal property and chattels of great value, but that they had acquired in course of time the right of acquiring real property likewise. It is wholly a mistake to imagine that the Jews spent lives of privation, penury, and squalor. They had their "pauperes" certainly, for allusion is made to them; but as an offset, the majority of them rolled in riches. There is evidence to prove that they acquired sumptuous dwellings in the city of Lincoln, and these proud mansions, added to the too ostentatious habits of the owners, conspired to arouse against them bitter feelings of animosity, which had its dire outlet in the accusation made later against them of having crucified a boy in despite of the Christian religion.

Acts of spoliation are recorded of King John up to the very end of his reign. Thomas de Neville, his clerk, obtained by the favour of his master, possession of a house in Lothbury, near Walbrook, London, which had belonged



to Aaron of Lincoln; while Jordan de Esseby, Constable of Lincoln Castle, was equally fortunate in obtaining a house in Lincoln which had belonged to Moses, a resident in the Bail. This latter person had been murdered by the retinue of Walter de Evermeu, the persons implicated in the felony being summoned to Westminster, in 1220, to answer the charge made against them. There had evidently been some raid on the houses of the Jews, for on the day of their appearance at Westminster, the mayor of Lincoln was commanded to produce the persons concerned in the murder of Sarah, the wife of Deulecresse, the latter being summoned also to give his evidence in the matter. The sheriff of London was reprimanded by the justices for his negligence in prosecuting these matters as they deserved.

In the earlier part of the reign of Henry III. the Jews of Lincoln appear to have had considerable dealings with the priories and monasteries of the vicinity, Elias especially having ingress into the priory of Bullington as if he were the veritable owner of the property. At this time also another Aaron of Lincoln appears on the scene, one of this name being summoned before the justices of the Jewish exchequer at Westminster. He and several others had had a dispute with William fil' Herlicun, and on their putting in an appearance, the Court required them to swear on the five books of Moses, the scroll of the law being brought from the synagogue, and held in the arms of the attesting witnesses while the oath was administered. Ursell of Lincoln, the presumed forger and *mauvais sujet* was also summoned to Westminster, on the plaint of Engeram de Bovinton and Johanna his wife, from whom he had seized two carucates of land in Oureby. And now for the first time we meet with a deed, wholly couched in Hebrew, made out to an English priory. Josce fil' Elias de Nicol—for so he signs himself—gives an acquittance to the abbot and monks of Newhouse (Newsome) for the moneys received from them in payment of the debt of William fil' William de Silvedune, who had pledged his three bovates of land to his Jewish creditor. Josce takes the money of the abbot, and William resigns the land to him. In this acquittance, as in all others, the Jew or Jews writes his name, and uses no seal. The deed is

attested in Hebrew by others in the same way. The state of Hebrew learning must have been pretty considerable if the commonest Jew was able to write out and sign his acquittances, while his noble creditor was compelled perforce to employ a seal. In many of the Hebrew deeds coming under the observation of the writer, two incongruities are made apparent. First, the names and titles of persons, places, saints' days, terms and times of payment, &c., assume a Hebrew garb, which is altogether strange. For certain letters and sounds—*th* for instance, or the final *ch* in Norwich—there exists no equivalent in Hebrew, and the attempt to bridge over the difficulty becomes ludicrous. Again, the desire of making the Hebrew a perfect legal document in all particulars led to the attempt of translating the Latin in complete detail. The attempt was novel and laudable, and has succeeded admirably. The distortion of the Hebrew jars very much on the ears of a student of the ancient language. This Josce fil' Elias was evidently a scholar; and the name of one Josce of Nicol is mentioned in terms of high commendation in certain marginal annotations printed with the Talmud, technically called Tosephoth (additions). His decisions on Rabbinical questions are recorded and received with all the authority due to his eminence and learning, as are likewise those of a Benedict of Nicol, of whom we shall hear further. It is not certain whether this Josce fil' Elias is the actual Josce of the Talmudical quotations, as a Josce fil' Moses likewise resided in Lincoln at a contemporaneous period, one of the two having a son, Aaron, pursuing a flourishing business at Ipswich. The most eminent rabbis were nothing loth in earning a livelihood by lending money to the impecunious. Both of the Josces mentioned, together with a Judah le Franceys, all Lincoln Jews, had monetary dealings with William fil' Roger de Castre, who was unable to pay his debts and redeem his houses pledged to the Jews. Thereupon the abbot and priory of Newhouse stepped in, purchased the debt, and received in exchange for their cash the Hebrew acquittance of the Israelite creditors, and a charter of gift from the man they had aided. Two of these three Jews were men of importance in their day, for when Henry III. summoned a Jewish parliament at Wor-

cester, anno 1240-41, Judah the Frenchman and one of the Josces were selected as delegates to meet the monarch.

In 1228 we read of John de Neville coming before the justices at Westminster, ready to abide by their decision relative to the debts his father Geoffrey had contracted and left unpaid to Deulecresse of Lincoln. Deulecresse is a name which appears very often. It stands as a common name, and may represent any Shem Hakkodosh. At this time, also, we hear of the nuns of Halywell receiving as a gift the house in Lincoln of Abraham the son of Aaron, the arrears of taxation on the domicile being remitted in their favor. Henry III. was as free with the money of the Jews as he was with their property. In 1233, two Lincoln Jews, Isaac Peitevin and Dyaya, heirs of Elias Matrin, were said to owe the king £44, which they were paying off at the rate of 12 marks each per annum. The money came in too tardily. Henry offered them a compromise; let them give him an additional hundred marks, and he would let them off at the rate of six marks per annum. The Jews accepted the terms, and the agreement was enrolled accordingly. This was evidently a period of some distress, for Josce fil' Moses, mentioned before, could only afford 3d. off a talliage of 5000 marks imposed on the community, and another 3d. off a second talliage of 6000 marks.

In 1236 Ivo fil' Robert de Wickham, who had possessed lands in Netelton, county Lincoln, failed to meet his engagements with his Lincoln creditors. Again the abbot and convent of Nehus (Newsome) came to the rescue, and a repetition of the former procedure takes place. Translating the Hebrew acquittance in this instance, we find the names of the persons to be as follow: Garsie ben (son of) Judah the Cohen, Dyaye ben Elias, Vives ben Moses, Bendit ben Moses (brothers), Manser ben Dovey, attorney for Josce his father in law, and Josce ben Samuel. Josce, the father in law, is Josce fil' Abraham of Bungay, another of the Jewish representatives at the congress held four years later. In another Hebrew deed of the same date, Garsie of Nicol alone gives an acquittance to the abbot of Newhouse of the ground acquired by purchase from Ivo de Wickham. Some of the individuals here mentioned wielded great authority in Lincoln. When Henry III.

required money from his Jewish subjects about this time, he appointed some of their principal men to act as inquisitors and tax gatherers in each of their towns. It is unnecessary to repeat all the names even so far as Lincoln is concerned. Leo of Lincoln was one, being represented in the rescript as one of the six richest Jews in the realm; Garsie le Eveske, alluded to before as the Cohen, was another; Josce of Bungay, mentioned above, was a third; Judah Gallicus (le Franceys of before) follows; and Moses "sine brachiis" with others, completes the number. The mode of procedure with regard to the assessment of individuals is set forth with great precision and care, but it is apart from our purpose to enter into details here. We have not yet done with the abbot of Newhouse. This excellent gentleman, ever ready to oblige, acquitted Geoffrey Berner of Harburg, county Lincoln, of his debts to Leo of Lincoln, just mentioned—Leo, that enormously wealthy Jew, who dwelt in their midst. The acquittance was drawn up and signed by Jacob, Leo's son, and the Hebrew states that Leo was detained in London at the moment, probably following up some suit or answering some plaint at Westminster. Some time after this, Leo is "dampnatus," why or wherefore is not stated, and his house in the parish of St. Martin's, held by William Badde, escheated to the Crown under an inquisition held in 1275. Its value is set down at 20s. per annum. This Leo, in another Hebrew deed, covering his own signature, acquits the abbot of Newhouse of a debt they had paid on behalf of Hugh Parnel of Lincoln, the abbot receiving in return lands of the debtor lying in the parish of St. Martin. The deed mentions Hannah as the wife of Leo. His daughter was married to Moses Crespin, one of the wealthiest Jews then residing in London.

In a roll of the year 1239 we read of Dyaya de Risin-ges, son of the Moses of Lincoln who had been murdered, as the possessor of several counterparts to charters relating to sums he had lent to sundry Christian debtors. This Dyaya is also enrolled among the "dampnati." He had a daughter named Avigay (Abigail) who was so deeply versed in the art of money-lending that a facetious clerk of the exchequer caricatured her, with others of her tribe, on the top of an exchequer roll in 1233. A fac-



simile of this cartoon with an explanation of its signification may be seen in the first volume of Mr. Pike's "History of Crime in England."

An examination of a roll endorsed "*Debita Judæorum inventa in archâ Cyr. apud Linc. die Lunæ prox. ante festum sci. Michaelis anno r. r. Hen. vicesimo quarto*" (1240) reveals the names of nearly all the Jews then residing in Lincoln, together with the sums and nature of the debts appertaining to them. The Jews at this time must have been very numerous, and the amounts owing to them would make a fabulous total. Frequent mention is made of their dealings in corn; bussels of frumentum crop up repeatedly, summa avenæ, bussels of rye, ulnæ de russets, precium ulnæ x denarii, summa fabarum, summa albarum pisarum, &c., appear on the record. Every individual beforementioned is found on the roll; but it would answer no practical purpose to analyse it in detail, pregnant though it be with much curious matter for reflection. Genealogical tables might be formed from it, and every Jewish resident in Lincoln might be identified with his family belongings. French names and descriptions abound in it, and sacerdotal designations, such as *le Prestre* occur occasionally. It will be well to pass it over for the present.

In 1240-41 was held the famous *Parliamentum Judaicum*, alluded to before. All details relating thereto may be found in Tovey's "*Anglia Judaica*." Jews still plied their money trade with vigour and persistence. Jacob fil' Samson the Levite figures as the creditor of a Christian debtor, bought off by the Prioress and nuns of Grenefeld (county Lincoln) for a sum of money delivered into the hands of the Jew, Jacob giving his acquittance in Hebrew.

We now meet for the first time with another Jewish Lincoln worthy, Josce fil' Benedict, whose operations commenced about the year 1250. This man, Josce of Lincoln, *par excellence*, did a roaring trade with his contemporaries, and his acquittances are still found in the Record Office. He was a second Aaron of Lincoln in his way. His terms were uniformly 2d. per week per pound interest on the capital sum lent, with a mortgage upon houses, lands, and tenements, if the money were not forthcoming at a stated time.



The story of the boy Hugh of Lincoln may be omitted, so much has been written on the subject already. It may be taken for granted that the tale is a fabrication from beginning to end, fanaticism being its origin, and cupidity its aim and motive. Anyhow, the Jews of Lincoln suffered severely under the accusation. Judah of the Bail (Judah the Frenchman, probably,) was hanged; Deulecresse of Bedford was hanged; Elias ben Jacob met with a similar fate, and Joppin or Copin, the supposed ringleader, met with a horrible death. It is very probable that this Copin is the Jacob fil' Leo spoken of before. John the Convert was pardoned, as was also Benedict fil' Mosse. The great Leo was "dampnatus" and consternation spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. We meet henceforward with such suggestive additions to their names as "suspensus" "fugitivus" and "utlagatus" and in Hebrew the description "Hakkodosh" the martyred. It is a matter of difficulty to identify the various persons to whose names the term "Hakkodosh" is appended. Allusions are found to the martyred rabbis (Messrs.) Vivo, Isaac, Moses, Solomon, Josce, Yechiel, Yezreel, Yomtov, and others. The major portion of these sufferers lived in the Bail, and their houses were given over to individuals residing in the neighbourhood.

We now meet with a fresh batch of persons (1257) who flourished in Lincoln, whose names appear repeatedly on the records, and whose signatures are found attached to Hebrew deeds. Foremost among these were Manasseh of Bradford, Elias the Cohen, his son-in-law, and Moses of Colton. These three combined had a transaction with the abbot of Newhouse similar to those mentioned before. Josce of Lincoln was selected in 1260 to arrange the details towards an assessment of all the Jews in England for the due discharge of a fresh talliage of 10,000 marks. He will be remembered as the son of the man pardoned in the affair of Hugh of Lincoln. Contemporaneous with these were Hagin fil' Magister Mosse, Josce Bullock, Josce fil' Abraham de Bungay, David and his wife Licoricia, all leading people in Lincoln. Samuel of Lincoln (or rather Nicol) is found mentioned in two Hebrew deeds about this time, and Abraham ben Jacob figures as a creditor, letting certain lands in St. Trinity, Lincoln, to the prior

and monks of Bullyngton. Isaac the Gabay, *i.e.*, treasurer to the synagogue, succeeds to the house of Judah in the Bail, who had been executed. Among other prominent members of the Jewish race was Ursell fil' Sampson, who possessed property not only in his native city, but houses and tenements in Mancroft street and Nedham street, Norwich, which fell to the lot of his wife Cuntasse on her paying a fine to the king.

In 1264 the Lincoln Jewry suffered greatly from the brutality of the barons, then engaged in civil discord with Henry III. The barons, aided by an infuriated soldiery, sacked the Jewish quarter, maltreated the inhabitants, seized their books of learning, and made a bonfire of all the charters relating to debts, on which they could lay their hands.

We have now to consider an important document, drawn up wholly in Hebrew on the day immediately preceding the Jewish new year 5028, *i.e.*, September 1267, A.D. In this parchment, the leading rabbi of Lincoln, Magister Benedict, son of Magister Mosse, makes over to his son Hiam (Vives amongst Englishmen) the house which he had bought originally from one William Badde. With the house went a yard which he had purchased from William of Newark. The house and yard situated in the parish of St. Benedict, apparently the gift of Benedict the Master, was really the gift of the young man's maternal grandfather, Josce fil' Aaron, who gave £60 for it to his son-in-law, and handed it over to his grandson Vives. Two witnesses, Josce fil' Joshua and Hiam (Vives) fil' Jocepin attest this deed, which is drawn up thoroughly in accord with "the usage of the sages." It was deposited in the common chest of the Jews in Lincoln, and at their dispersion in 1290 found its way into the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, whose property it still remains. It is unnecessary to know who were two of the persons mentioned in this parchment, but it will be useful to recognise the other three. First is Magister Benedict, the father. The term Magister, where Jews are concerned, was only applied to those holding rabbinical jurisdiction, the corresponding Hebrew in this case being Rav, not Rabbi. Benedict was a leading Rav, holding much of a

position similar to that of the present Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler, who is popularly known as "the Rav" among all classes of his people. Benedict's father was a Rav before him. He was enormously wealthy, and wielded both high ecclesiastical powers and a secular authority. He was the chirographer of the Jews of Lincoln, having charge of all the documents deposited for safety in the common chest of the city. Benedict under his Hebrew name Berachia, is cited in the marginal annotations of the Talmud as an authority in Jewish jurisprudence. He was a money lender, rabbi, author, nodiv, and chirographer all at the same time. His son Vives, or Hagin, or Hiam, will be alluded to further on. One of the attesting witnesses, Vives (Hiam) fil' Jocepin, acted as chirographer in concert with Master Benedict, whose daughter Belaset he had married. We shall hear of all these individuals again. Benedict and this latter Vives had each his key of the common chest, acting on behalf of the Jews, at the same time that Osbert fil' Egidii and John de Luda acted in the same capacity on behalf of the Christian debtors.

In 1268 we meet with a Norman-French deed, accompanied with a Hebrew addendum made in the handwriting of Hiam of Nicol, and attested by Cok fil' Deulecresse. The Hebrew speaks of a debt of 300 marks incurred by Sir Adam de Stratton. If this Hiam de Nicol (Hagin le fiz mestre Mosse) perform certain covenants during 1268, then the sum of 300 marks deposited with the umpires John Pirun and Richard of Enfield is to go to him; if he fail in any particular it is to revert to Sir Adam. This Hagin fil' magister Mosse was the son of a London "Rav" and was probably the brother of Master Benedict. The records of this period bristle with his name. A starr (Hebrew deed) of his is quoted in full on page 32 of Tovey's "*Anglia Judaica*," accompanied with observations bearing upon it; and this is followed by a Norman-French document, covering the signature of his son, Jacob le fiz Hagin. This Hagin of Lincoln, in a rescript of Henry III, and addressed to Philip Lovel and Simon Passelewe, his justices of the Jews, is desired not to plead before the ordinary justices, but to bring all his disputed concerns under the notice of the justiciars appointed to consider Jewish matters only. Hagin, among other properties,

had some tenements in the Thorngate, Lincoln, and a messuage with appurtenances in the parish of Little St. Martin, London. Hagin had bought this latter property from an eminent Jew, Abraham fil' Muriel, and had had his charter confirmed, subject to his paying into the exchequer the sum of 6d. every Michaelmas "pro omni servitio."

A Latin deed of 1270 speaks of these Lincoln Jews: Josce fil' Benedict, Hagin son-in-law of Benedict (both spoken of before), Moss fil' Josce, and Judah fil' Milo. But the gem of the Westminster collection of "starrs" is a well-preserved document, dated 5031-1271. This document demands special notice. It was none other than a betrothal contract drawn up by the leading people of Lincoln, and is important, as much for its age and rarity, as for the light it sheds upon the religious and social status of the Jews. The gist of the document is as follow: On Friday, the 3rd Shevot (February) 5031-1271, Judah fil' Milo, Abraham fil' Josce, and Josce fil' Joshua having received a preliminary "God speed you" from a "minyan" of ten (no important religious task is performed even now without the presence of ten male adults), undertook the functions of a Bethdin (a tribunal of three) to arrange, determine and attest the following transaction between Benjamin fil' Joce Yechiel on the one part, and Belle-assez, the daughter of the "Rav" Benedict on the other. This is Magister Benedict fil' mag. Mosse. Belle-assez undertakes to marry her daughter Judith to Aaron the son of Benjamin, giving as a wedding gift to the young bridegroom 20 marks sterling and a precious volume containing the whole 24 books of the Hebrew Bible, written on calf skin, properly revised as to accuracy and punctuation, according to the best authorities. Further details of this handsome book are appended. The young folks being too youthful to marry yet, the father of the bridegroom undertakes to take charge of the book, which is to be employed meanwhile for the "instruction of both the children." Belle-assez also delivers into the hands of the father these 20 marks sterling, to be lent out at interest to Gentiles, until Aaron is grown up. In lieu of this, at the period of Aaron's marriage with Judith, Benjamin undertakes to give them £20 ster-



ling, and as much more as has accrued out of the original 20 marks by way of interest in the meanwhile. Out of this sum also, he is to provide both bride and bridegroom with wedding apparel befitting their station, both Sabbath and weekday clothing, and to make a grand wedding feast, all out of the same proceeds. He has to put forth no further claim on Belaset, the mother. The wedding is arranged to take place during the month of Adar (February) 1275, four years later, unless some impediment arises, some impediment publicly well known. If such difficulty occur, the nuptials are to take place within one month after the lapse of such impediment. Benjamin mortgages all his chattels and property, real and personal, as a guarantee that he will perform his part of the covenant. Should the affair not proceed prosperously, Benjamin refusing at a future date to marry his son, he is to restore the precious volume or to retain it at his pleasure, giving 6 marks for it in exchange. With regard to the 20 marks Benjamin is to be believed on oath as to what he might have gained by them in the course of time, and undertakes to refund one half of the amount, reserving the other half to himself. The parties, each and either, then enter into a solemn compact and oath of the law, holding a sacred emblem in their hands, and swear to perform their respective shares of the covenant. They thereupon place a partnership deposit (or fine) in the hands of the Bethdin (tribunal), amounting to 100 shillings sterling, with the following undertaking. Should Aaron ever refuse to marry Judith and settle on her £100, "as is the custom of the isle," or should the father refuse his consent to the match, the deposit is to go absolutely to the mother of the jilted bride, or *vice versâ*, she is to lose it, &c., &c.

It is needless to enlarge on this contract. It lays bare a state of things which scarcely anyone expected to exist in Lincoln among the Jews of the thirteenth century. Learning, riches, close bargaining, and rabbinical sway are represented here without concealment, and the document reveals an amount of prosperity among the Jews, the truth of which is borne out and confirmed by an examination of contemporaneous records. A word or two as to the parties concerned. Magister Benedict fil' Magister Mosse we know. Nothing is known of his daughter Belaset (Belle-



assez), unless indeed she be the Belaset of Wallingford, executed later on for clipping the coin. It is very likely. If so, the present Jew's House in Lincoln was probably the very house in which the marriage feast took place, and it will be henceforward regarded with sentiments of additional interest. It is curious to note that Hiam the cyrographer, the husband of Belaset, takes no part in the deed. Perhaps the lady was all-sufficient in herself and prepared for any emergency. Benjamin was Bonami fil' Josce, and an own brother to Bonefy fil' Josce, both leading men in Lincoln. Bonefy fil' Josce is found to sign a deed in that name, although his Shem Hakkodosh was Yekuthiel ben Josce Yechiel, as stated in an earlier portion of this paper.

The year 1272 shews further progress with the Jews in their money concerns, towering above them all being Manasseh of Bradewurth and Benedict the Parnass of the congregation.

Another suggestive document finds a place here, viz., a charter of Pictavin fil' Benedict le Jouene of London, made to the abbot and monastery of Bardeney. Pictavin yields, in exchange for 10 marks, the lands he held in the parish of St. Cuthbert, details of which are furnished. The deed is signed by the donor, countersigned in Hebrew by Hiam the cyrographer, acting on behalf of his coadjutor and father in law, Magister Benedict fil' Magister Mosse, and by Manasser, likewise a cyrographer. The deed is attested among others by William de Holgate the mayor, Richard de Buk'ham, and Walter Leftward, the prepositi, and by John de Luda and Osbert fil' Egidii, the Christian cyrographers or custodians of the chest. The exact locality of this property may easily be discovered by an examination of the original deed now at Westminster.

Allied to this is another deed in Latin, with the Hebrew signatures of notable men, some of them residing in Lincoln. The signatories are Manasser de Bradewurth, Judah fil' Magister Milo, Joce fil' Benedict, Moses fil' Josce de Londres, and Benedict de Londres. The charter takes the form of a stringent acquittance, made to William de Langefeld of the manor of Thornhill. The acquittance is so full and precise, that it would have

been a matter of impossibility for the Jews to evade its provisions, even if they had so desired.

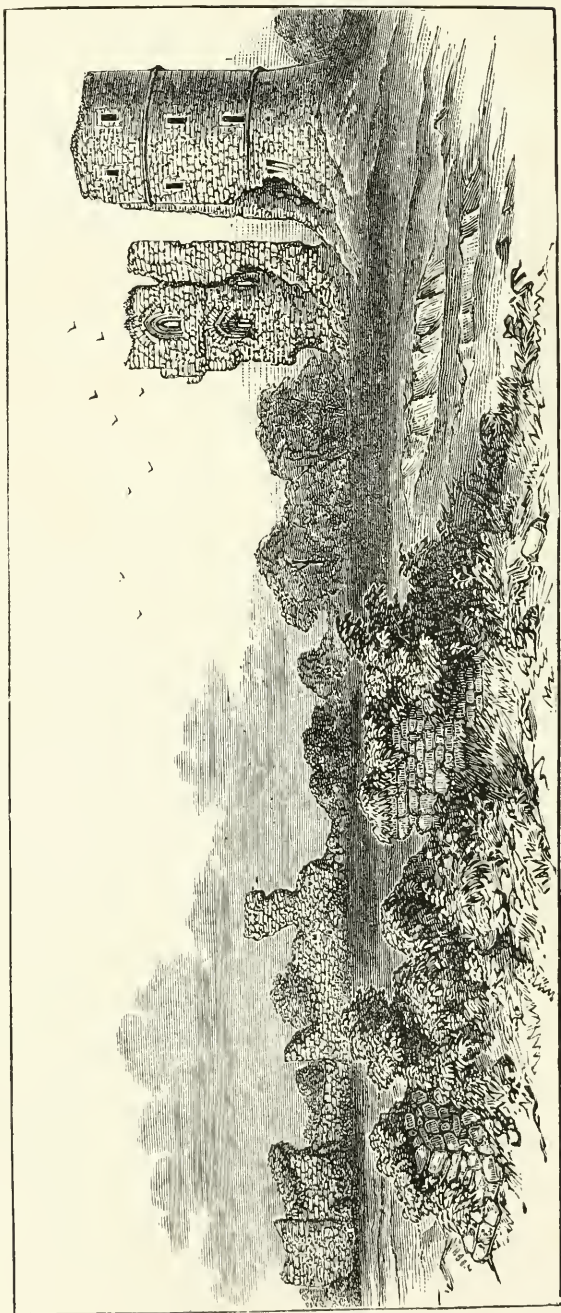
From this time forward, for the next few years at least, little is known of the Lincoln Jews. Many of the old names crop up in the records, but as these are all concerned with money matters of slight importance, there is no need to recapitulate them. The designations Parnass and Gabbay frequently occur, proving that the synagogue was still led by its warden and treasurer. Jews are found buying and selling property in all parts of Lincoln, and lending money in all directions at the uniform rate of 2d. per week per pound. One Jew, Hake fil' Pittavin was outlawed, and his brother, Aaron died in the Tower of London. What misdemeanour they were guilty of is not easily ascertainable. Their property in Mikelgate was confiscated to the crown.

In 1275 two Lincoln Jews, Ursell and Samuel the Little, were accused of robbery, by which Roger de Haydon incurred a loss of 5 marks. Robert explained to the justices that when Gilbert de Preston was on circuit, he had looked into the matter, and had ordered William de Holgate, the mayor, then acting as coroner of the city, to bring the accused to justice. The coroner, instead of so doing, accepted a bribe from the accused, who had meanwhile fled away, and had allowed them to return in peace to their old quarters in Lincoln. This year also sees an order made by Bonami, a York Jew, directed to the cyrographers of Lincoln, the Christians before mentioned, and Manasser fil' Benedict and Jacob of Brauncegate, acting for the Jews. These are instructed to withdraw from the common chest a charter of 55 marks made out in the names of Laurence, prior of Thornholm, the debtor having settled the claim against him. Three Jacobs, all Lincoln men, sign the deed in Hebrew. Josce fil' Benedict, *i.e.*, Josce of Lincoln (so stated in the body of the order) also directs the Nottingham cofferers to do the same with two charters referring to loan he had given to Magister Laurence de Gadham. Josce acknowledges the validity of the deed in a Hebrew postscript, but curiously enough, signs himself Josce of Nottingham. The distinction is not easily reconcileable.

Nothing further is known of the Lincoln Jews. The

closing scene in their history dates in 1290, when they were despoiled of their property, embracing lands, houses, tenements, and rents, which were apportioned among their Christian neighbours, and themselves driven into exile. A list of such property reveals the names of all the individuals alluded to in the latter portion of this sketch, but affords no additional information worthy of being recorded. The total number of Jews who left the country was 16511, of whom the Lincoln contingent bore no mean proportion. The Lincoln Jews made no mark in the history of England; denied every avenue of profit, except that obtainable from the pursuit of usury, their history is monotonous in its tenor, and is associated with no event or incident (except that of Hugh of Lincoln) really worthy of being handed down to posterity. Money was the pivot on which their history turns, and it was by the means of money only that they held their own against oppression, during a period extending over about 250 years.





Hadleigh Castle looking North.—From a Sketch by Miss Garrould.



## HADLEIGH CASTLE, ESSEX.

By J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.

Thirty-five miles from London, and crowning the line of hills extending from Benfleet to Leigh, stand the ruins of Hadleigh Castle. From its position near the mouth of the Thames, this fortress must have been of great importance, but unfortunately very little exists to tell the tale of its former grandeur. No finer position could possibly have been selected for the site of a baronial castle, whether for the purpose of security and defence, or for the beauty and extent of its scenery. On every side, except where it is approached by a narrow lane from the village, the hill upon which it stands descends with a steep and rapid decline, rendering the approach of any hostile force a most dangerous undertaking.

The ruins of two towers form the principal portion of the remains ; they stand respectively at the north-east and south-east corners, and although considerably reduced in height and very crumbling, the northern one being nearly demolished, still sufficient yet remains to show that they were identical in form and construction. They are circular externally and internally hexagonal. The walls are nine feet thick at the base, and lined with squared chalk beautifully and compactly worked. These towers were probably about sixty feet high. The southernmost one is ornamented by a broad band of flintwork above the string course. The northern tower is decorated by flintwork arranged in alternate squares. Each storey of these towers is pierced with loopholes, widely splayed within and lined with chalk ; in one or two of these windows the iron bars still remain. The towers are about sixty feet apart and were connected by a wall eight feet thick, and apparently about twenty feet high, but very little of its masonry now remains above ground. Although there was probably a gateway in this wall no trace of one is now apparent. The length of the ballium from east to west is 338 feet, and the extreme width 180 feet ; its walls vary from four to six feet in thickness, strengthened at intervals by buttresses of great solidity, reminding one of the Roman work at Rutupiae and Gariannonum. On the south side are the foundations of six apartments or offices, the inner walls of which are four feet thick. The principal gateway was upon the north side and near the west end, where undoubtedly the principal apartments were situated ; it was dominated by a large circular tower, now utterly destroyed, but its foundations are clearly defined. Westward of this tower are indications of apartments upon the north side, and about midway between it and the north east tower are the foundations of a small flanking tower. Traces of a similar tower occur exactly opposite on the south side. The entire structure is built of Kentish ragstone, cemented with mortar of great hardness and tenacity, containing a large quantity of sea shells, principally the cockle. Upon three sides, the north, west, and east, the castle is defended by a deep ditch, now partially filled in ; on the south side it was protected by the arm of the river passing between Canvey Island and

the main shore. It appears probable that at the time the castle was built, this stream was navigable to the foot of the hill upon which it stands, because in constructing the London, Tilbury and Southend Railway, which passes between the castle and the stream, there was found at a depth of twelve feet timbers, evidently belonging to sunken vessels, enclosing large quantities of rag stone.

In 1863 rather extensive excavations were carried out under the supervision of Mr. W. H. King, the honorary secretary to the Essex Archæological Society, when, although much interesting masonry was unearthed, nothing of great moment was discovered. No traces of vaults or undercrofts were observed, and nothing to determine the specific uses to which the apartments whose foundations have been exposed, could be applied. Perhaps the most interesting find was that of a large leaden pipe entering the castle beneath the wall near the great gateway tower. This pipe was traced to some considerable distance and was found to have conveyed water from a spring or reservoir in what is now known as Plumtree Hill, nearly the eighth of a mile from the castle. Some few objects of antiquarian interest were discovered during the course of the excavations. Among them were a number of encaustic tiles some bearing a Fleur de Lys, one large key, part of a sword blade, a candle socket with spike for fixing into a wall, some large nails, a horse shoe and one small silver Edwardian coin; these, with three Nurembourg tokens and large quantities of the bones of various domestic animals and fragments of crockery ware, constituted the "find." No tradition as to the origin, or destruction of, the building exists among the villagers, excepting that it was built by a great king and, of course, battered down by Oliver Cromwell, and that its ruins are haunted by a lady dressed in white anxious to divulge the burial place of vast treasure. Fortunately, among the rich store of documents contained in the Public Record Office, the whole history of the castle can be worked out, and the difficulty which so long existed in reconciling the Edwardian appearance of the ruins with the known fact of its having been built by Hubert de Burgh about the year 1232, explained away by the particulars of all receipts, costs, payments, and expenses incurred about the repair of the old houses as well as the "new making of the towers, chambers, chapel, and walls" from the 2nd of December in the 38th year, to the morrow of the Feast of St. Michael in the 42nd year of Edward the 3rd. Although the names of various clerks and controllers, viz., Henry de Mammesfeld, Godfrey de la Rokele, Richard Snarry,<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Raunche, and John Barnton, are preserved; no mention is made of the architect, but as a charge of 3s 4d. is twice entered for the freightage of certain labourers from Hadleigh to the "Castle of Shepeye," designed and built about 1361 by William of Wykeham, "for the strength of the realm, and the refuge of the inhabitants," may we not fairly conclude that the new castle at Hadleigh

<sup>1</sup> For the particulars of this "find" I am indebted to Mr. W. H. King.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 1850, a silver seal was found at Ashington, near Rochford, the inscription is preceded by a star of six rays, and is as follows "Snarry," the device is singular and probably allusive, being a snail in a field lozengy This

seal has been engraved in the fifth vol. of the Journal of the British Archæological Association and in the Transactions of the Essex Society. Judging by the engraving I have little doubt but that it was the seal of the above Richard Snarry.

owed its design to the same master mind? We know that in 1359, to this great civil and military architect, was entrusted the warden and surveyorship of the king's castles of Windsor, Leeds, and Dover, in order that they might be put into an efficient state of defence. From its very position Hadleigh could have been of scarcely less importance, and, therefore, equally required the care and attention of his guiding hand. Added to this, the proximity of the castle to London, and its contiguity to the widely spread hunting grounds of Rayleigh and Thundersleigh, rendered it a favourite resort of his royal patron and master the Third Edward. In the Minister's Accounts, mention is frequently made of the king and queen's chambers; of the king's hall, chamber, and chapel; of payments for the purchase of iron vessels for the candles in the king's chamber; for bran for cleaning the armour of the king; for olive oil for the king's armour, &c. All this tends to prove that the Majesty of England was no infrequent occupant of the castle, and what so natural as that the favourite friend and architect should plan the building, destined to be one of the royal residences?

Cruden, in his "History of Gravesend," page 123, alluding to this castle says, "it being then in the possession of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, son of the reigning king (Henry IV.) was, in the year 1405, replenished with weapons and military stores;" in confirmation of this statement, he, in a foot-note, gives the Patent Roll, 15th Henry III., m. 4, as its authority. Unfortunately, for Cruden's accuracy, the document in question is the grant from Henry III. authorising Hubert de Burgh to build the castle. No account of such restoration in the year 1405 can now be found. Having already published abstract translations of the documents relating to this castle, in the "Proceedings of the Essex Archaeological Society," vol. i, New Series, it will only be necessary here to refer briefly to those bearing upon its history.

In 1227 we find by the Patent Roll, that Henry III. granted and confirmed "to our well-beloved and faithful Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, and Margaret his wife, for their homage and service, all the lands and tenements underwritten, to wit: The Manor of Raylee with the honor, knights fees, and all appurtenances, and the Manor of Hadlee, . . . &c. The Lordship of Rocheforde . . . with the advowsons of all the churches of the lands afore written," which formerly belonged to Henry, Earl of Essex. In 1331 we find in the Patent Roll (15 Hen. III., m. 4), "The king, to all whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that we have granted for us and our heirs to H[ubert] de Burgh, Earl of Kent, our Justiciary of England, and Margaret his wife, that they may at their will construct for themselves and their heirs of the same H[ubert] and Margaret descending or other heirs of the same H[ubert], if it shall happen to the heirs descending from the same H[ubert] and Margaret to die (without issue), without contradiction and difficulty, a certain castle at Hadlee which is of the honor of Rayleg, which honor we formerly gave and by our charter confirmed to the same. In witness, &c. Witness the King at Westminster, the 28th day of November."

Among the "Inquisitiones post mortem," of 34th Henry III. we find the king's writ to the Sheriff of Essex to inquire by jury what rents and tenements belong to the king's Castle of Hadleigh, and how much they are worth yearly. To this the jury say there are 140 acres of arable land

at 3d. per acre, two acres of meadow of the value of 3s., a curtilage of the value of 12d., pasture around the castle and the barns of the castle for supporting a plough, value 3s. 4d., pasture of the marsh for feeding 160 sheep, value 4 marks, also one water mill value 2 marks yearly, also rent of assize of 60s. 7d. at Michaelmas and Easter, and two *alcilia*, value 3d., at Easter. From view of frankpledge, 5s.; from the toll of the fair of Hadleg, half a mark; 123 "opera," yearly value 5s. 1½d.; also 40 works in autumn value 1d. each work; also "opera" for reaping 11 acres of grain in autumn at 2½d. the acre. "And there is a park there but as yet the number of beasts cannot be inquired." In the 40th year of Henry III. the king issued a precept to the Sheriff to take with him four lawful knights of his county and repair to the castle to see in what state the king's well-beloved and faithful (man) Stephen de Salines shall have left it, and in what state Ebulo de Genevre (to whom the King has committed it) shall have received it, and to certify the king. To this precept the Sheriff of Essex made reply, "That he took with him four lawful men of the county of Essex, to wit, John de Brettone, Jordan le Brun of Benfleet, Martin Fitz Simon, and Simon Perdriz, and repaired to the Castle of Hadleg. He found that Stephen de Salines left it in a bad and weak state, the houses being unroofed and the walls broken down, and that all "utensils" necessary for the castle were wanting, and Ebulo de Genevre received it in the same state." In 1290 Edward I. assigned to his bride-elect, Margaret, sister of the King of France, the castle and town of Hadleye, with the park and other appurtenances, in the county of Essex. "To have and to hold to the same Margaret in dower or endowment as long as she shall live." Dated at Canterbury, the 10th day of September, in the 27th year.

In 1312 Edward II. granted by commission to Roger Filiol, the custody of the Castle of Haddele, which Margaret, Queen of England, the king's mother, holds for term of her life. Roger Filiol appears to have been succeeded by Roger de Blakeshall, inasmuch as several petitions were presented to the king by his lieges and free tenants of the town of Hadleye concerning divers damages suffered by them at the hands of the said constable, Roger de Blakeshall. These petitions seem to have caused his removal, because in 1327 we find the king commanding Roger de Wodeham, constable of his Castle of Hadley, to deliver certain premises to Roger de Estwyk and Alice his wife, according to their petition. In the Originalia Roll, m. 4, the 5th year of Edward III. we find as follows: "The king to Richard de London, late keeper of the Castle of Isabella, Queen of England, the king's mother, of Haddele in co. Essex. Whereas the said queen surrendered the said Castle (among other castles, manors, etc.) to the king on 1st of December last, with her goods and chattels in the same castle, and the king on the 10th of the same month granted to the said queen (that she might the more decently maintain her estate), by his letters patent, all the goods and chattels found in the said castles, manors, &c., saving to the king the grain sown in the said lands, and the seed, and the liveries for servants, ploughmen, and carters necessary till next Michaelmas, and also the ploughs and carts which will serve for the *guymeria* of the lands which the same queen held in *gaymeria*, and the animals of the said ploughs and carts; and now by other letters patent the king has granted to Richard de Retlyng the custody of the said castle, at the king's will, rendering £16 10s. yearly. The king commands



the said R. de London to cause all the land pertaining to the said castle, which the said queen, before the said surrender, caused to be sown, to be measured, and the grain sown in the same land, and also the seed, liveries, ploughs, carts and animals aforesaid, reserved to the king, to be appraised, and to deliver the same to the said Richard de Retlyng." Dated at Langele, 3rd February.

In 1335, "The custody of the castle" was committed to John Esturny, to hold for life, at a certain rent, viz., £16 8s; in 1338 this rent was, on account of his good service, remitted. The king reserving for himself and heirs the "*viridi et venatione*" in the Park.

In 1344, the king, at the request of his kinsman William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, granted to Roger de Wodham the custody of this castle during pleasure. He was apparently succeeded by Walter Whithors, to whom the king, in 1355, remitted the payment of an annual rent of five marks. In 1359, the period of restoration and rebuilding of the castle commenced; the king appointing John de Tydelside to repair certain houses in his castle of Haddeleye, taking for his wages 12d a day during the king's pleasure. Among the "Ministers' Accounts" of the 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, and 42nd years of Edward III. we find long accounts and full particulars "of all receipts, mises, costs, payments and expenses incurred in the restoration and rebuilding this castle." Among the items we find—Reygate stone bought 38 cartloads, at 2s. a cartload, including carriage to Baterseye. Kentish Rag at 4½d a ton. Kentish stone "Crestes" scalloped at 17d a foot. "Corbeltables" at 5d a foot. "Coign" scalloped at 2½d a foot. "Ventes" at 8½d a foot. "Anglers" and "Stunchons" scalloped at 2½d a foot. Large quantities of chalk were purchased at Greenhithe and cost, including the carriage to Hadleigh, 7d. a ton. Slacked lime obtained from the same place cost, including the carriage, 20d per quarter. The carriage of sea sand from Milton by water amounted to 3d a ton, the casting (*jactae*) of the same 3d for every 4 tons. For plastering and whitewashing the king's hall, chamber, chapel, and other "defects," for embattelling 16½ perches round the king's chamber, with the chapel, for embattelling 2 "circuits" of the two towers with scalloped stone for the same, for mending a chimney on the castle hill, and for taking down the scaffold of the two towers and stopping the holes, the sum of £17 11s 8d was expended. A hanging lock (*serur pendnt*) bought at London for the gate at the entry of the castle cost 12d. 4 other locks cost 2s 0½d. "Plastre parys" bought at London for making the chandelier in the king's chamber cost 22d. 18½ feet of glass bought of William Glasiere of Reilec, for the windows of the chapel, and other windows within the king's chamber, was paid for at the rate of 12d per foot. Much material, timber, etc., appears to have been obtained from the county generally, as entries of payment for the carriage of various articles to the castle from Billeryke, Thundersley, Northbemflect, Hanynfeld, Westhanyfeld, Maldon, Dannebury, Frestelyng, Badewe and Nevendon, frequently appear. To meet the enormous expense thus incurred the king appointed John Goldeman, reeve of his manor of Thundersley, and Nicholas Raunche the bailiff of his manor of Estwode, to cut down and sell eight acres of wood called Birches, within Thundersley Park, and all the timber growing in the "*alta strata*" within his park of Reylegh. Among sums so received was £18 6s 9½d from the Reeve of Thundersleye for lopwood sold there and at Frestelyng and Borham. In



1375, the castle with its appurtenances, except the water mill, was entrusted to Walter Whithors the esquire; in 1377, George Felbrygge was custodian; the following year, the king having ordered certain works to be made, appointed his clerk, William Hannay, to be clerk of the works. Richard II., in 1381, gave to Aubrey de Veer, his chamberlain, the bailiwick of the Hundred of Rocheford and the castle of Hadley. In 1402, the castle and town being in the possession of Edward Earl of Rutland, Henry IV. upon the supplication of his "very dear son Humphrey," made a grant of the reversion to the aforesaid Humphrey. Henry VI., in 1447, made a similar conveyance to his very dear and faithful kinsman Richard, Duke of York. In 1453 the same king writes, "Know ye that we of our special grace have given and granted to Edmund de Hadham, Earl of Richmond our very dear uterine brother, our castle and lordship or manor of Hadley in the county of Essex." In 1504 Henry VII. granted to Leo Craiforde, an esquire, the custody of his castle, manor, park, and lordship of Hadleigh, with the offices of constable and doorward of the castle, bailiff of the lordship, and parker of the park, to hold for life, with the usual fees. In 1509-10 it formed part of the possessions of Katherine Queen of England, John Raynesford, knight, being bailiff and constable. In 1513 this demesne supplied towards the building of the great ship "Harry-grace-a-dieu," from the park at Rayleghe, xxvij tonnes of tymber. Item, fro Thunderley, out of a grove called Sopars Grove, viij ton and x fote tymber." In the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. the king granted "to Queen Katherine, his consort (in pursuance of the Act of Parliament of 31-32 Henry VIII. enabling the king to do so) in full recompense for jointure and dower, the castle, lordship, and manor of Hadleigh, otherwise called Hadley, in our county of Essex, and one shelf called Hadleigh Roe, and the 'draggyng of muskelles' in Aylesbury Hope, otherwise called Tilbury Hope." Edward Strangman, gentleman of Hadleigh, acted as bailiff for the queen and rendered his first account for one whole year, on the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII. Upon her decease, Edward VI. sold the castle, manor, and park of Hadleigh, with the advowson of the church, to Richard, Lord Riche, for the sum of £700. In what condition the structure was at this period does not appear, but it seems probable, that having now finally passed from the hands of the crown, its demolition was effected by its purchaser, who had, perhaps, as much knowledge as any one of the value of such a quarry and of the profit of such an undertaking. From Lord Riche, it passed to Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke. It is now the property of Major Spitty, of Billericay, in Essex.

Owing to their situation near Southend-on-Sea, and being less than two miles from the Leigh Railway station, the ruins of this castle are peculiarly accessible to the London excursionist, who as a rule is not very delicate in his dealing with such remains. In the present instance the cockle shells in the mortar prove a great temptation, and in order to obtain them the mortar is loosened, and blocks of stone consequently brought down. Thus the work of destruction, commenced probably in the sixteenth century, carried on in the eighteenth, by the farmers and others in the neighbourhood for the purposes of road mending, wall building, etc., is continued at the present day.

## DUNSTER AND ITS LORDS.

By H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

*Accounts of Richard Arnold Receiver from Michaelmas 7 Henry V, to Michaelmas 8 Henry V, 1419-1420.*

“Dompno Johanni Buryngton monacho 69s. 4d. Cuidam capellano celebranti apud Byrecomb<sup>1</sup> hoc anno de assignacione domini £1 16s. 6d., Johanni Blounche parcario de Mersshewode 20s. . . . In expensis Ricardi Arnold laborantis de Hampton versus Dunster et secum ducentis 2 equos domini 5s. . . . In soluto de rewardo facto Willelmo Franceys armigero domini pro expensis suis per Johannem filium domini, Thomam Beaumont et alios de consilio domini 2<sup>o</sup> die Septembris existentes apud Dunster et ibidem existentes pro negociis domini 20s., In 1 homine conducto ad laborandum versus Hampton ad faciendum predictum Willelmum Franceys veniendum usque Dunster pro negociis domini faciendis, 3s. . . . In soluto Nicholao Furbour pro harnesio domini purgando 4s. 5d. In 3 bussellis avenarum emptis pro cignis domini sustentandis 10½d. In 1 homine conducto ad cariandos pisces de Magistro de Bruggewater ad stagnum domini in Dunster 3s. 9d. In soluto cuidam servienti Rectoris de Aller simili modo pisces carianti de dono domini 20d., In 1 libra cere empti pro capella domini cum factura 7d., In expensis Johannis filii domini, Thome Beaumont, Hugonis Cary et aliorum de consilio domini existencium apud Dunster mense Augusti pro negociis domini 9s. 5½., In expensis equorum Thome Beaumont eadem vice 2s. 4d., In expensis equorum Hugonis Cary eadem vice 2s 9d., In 1 clave empti pro ostio lardarii 3d., In certis rebus domini existentibus apud Mynheade provenientibus de Arflu in custodia Rogeri Kyng cariandis versus Dunster 3d., In expensis Johannis filii domini et Willelmi Godwyn laborancium versus London pro patentis domini tangentibus Bristoll et pro aliis negociis domini eundo et redeundo ut per 16 dies in toto 40s., In soluto clerico de pipis<sup>2</sup> pro supervidendo evidencias et recordum de receptis Constabilis Bristollie de et consuetis sibi accedentibus 3s. 4d. . . . Item solutum Rogero Kyng shipman pro diversis victualibus domini cariandis de Pole usque Harfleu hoc anno £11.”

“Novum edificium in castro domini. In diversis hominibus laborariis conductis pro veteribus muris deponendis tam pro parte murorum aule quam pro parte muri Castri deponendis, et pro fundamento novi edifici prope dictam aulam faciendo, et pro veteri meremio aule cum depositum fuerit longeis removendo ac etiam pro grossis petris tractandis, ac pro dictis petris simul cum zabulone et meremio cariandis, simul cum empcone librarum petrarum apud Bristolliam, et cum cariagio earundem per mare et ultimo per terram, et cum cariagio aque, ac pro hurdelles faciendis, simul cum empcone roparum, cordularum, et aliarum diversarum rerum pro opere pertinencium, et similiter in hominibus conductis pro calce juxta Castrum in puteo cremanda, cum factura ejusdem

<sup>1</sup> Bircombe seems to have been near Minthead.      <sup>2</sup> De pipis=of the Pipe.

putei, et carbonibus ac focalibus emptis ad idem, cum ferraturis equorum et boum domini pro cariagio faciendo, et in diversis ferramentis, videlicet, crowes, mattokkes, pycosyes, wegges, spades et schovyilles ac sleigges, faciendis et reparandis, omnibus simul computatis, ut patet in papiro inde facto et super compotum examinato, £45 15s. 10d. In 2379 libris ferri empti et operati, videlicet pro gumplis<sup>1</sup> kacchers pro laechis ut pro hostiis et fenestris, et eciam pro ferramentis illuminaribus fenestrarum imponendis £14 17s. 4½d., In 141 quarteriis 4 bussellis calcis emptis pro quarterio 8d., £4 14s. 4d., Item soluto Thome Hydon latamo pro factura murorum in parte soluicionis majoris summe £11, Item soluto Willelmo Boulond sementario librarum petrarum ultra 100s. anno preterito per ipsum receptos de Thoma Hody, ut patet in compoto ipsius Thome Hody in parte soluicionis majoris summe £20. Item in soluto Thome Pacchehole carpentario ultra 60s. anno preterito receptos de Thoma Hody in parte soluicionis majoris summe 20s. In 13 quarteriis carbonum emptis in grosso pro calce cremanda 15s. 4d.

Summa £98 2s. 10½d."

"In expensis domini apud Dunster a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno 7º. usque festum Sancti Andree tunc proxime sequens ut patet per billam sub signeto domini £14 8s. 3d. In diversis victualibus emptis et missis versus Arflu pro domino ibidem existenti 20º die Julii hoc anno, per indenturam eidem domino missam per Rogerum Kyng de Mynheade shepman omnibus computatis cum £16 17s., superius oneratis de victualibus emptis per Willelmum Godwyn et in predicta indentura contentis £42 6s. 4d., In expensis domini existentis apud Domerham, Hampton et Portysmouth, ut patet per billam sub signeto domini de data 10º die Februarii hoc anno regis Henrici quinti 7º., £64 8s. In soluto preposito de Domerham pro expensis domini existentis, ut patet in billa sub signeto domini 55s. 8d. In certis victualibus emptis per Robertum Ponnyngs chivaler ad usum domini et missis apud Arflu ut patet per indenturam de data 7º die Aprilis anno 8º, sub signeto domini et signeto predicti Roberti £10 4s. In 12 dosenis myllewell et leyngys emptis et missis apud Arflu ad precem domini apud Mynheade, et misse fuerunt domino per Rogerum Kyng per indenturam 36s. In 12 coungerys emptis et missis ibidem per eundem Rogerum 8s., In expensis domini venientis de Hampton die Jovis proxima ante festum Natalis Domini, et existentis apud Dunsterr per certum tempus, et tunc laborando versus Saunton, omnibus computatis per Willelmum Person 12s. 11½d. In expensis ejusdem domini in suo tunc proximo adventu de Saunton et apud Dunstere existentis per certum tempus in Prioratu ibidem 6s. 1d. In 1 pipa cerevisie empta pro domino 6d. In diversis victualibus cariandis, videlicet, carnes, farinam, avenas, candelas et alia diversa victualia de Sheftysbery usque Pole 10s. In piscibus domini cariandis de Mynheade versus Dunstere 4d."

"In liberato domine sue de assignacione domini sui per talliam £13 6s. 8d. In soluto eidem domine ex mutuo domini ad dandum operariis domine de Saunton de assignacione ejusdem 6s. 8d. In liberato eidem domine pro vino empto ad usum suum et domine matris sue contra soluicionein factam per dominum pro eodem 6s. 8d. Summa £14."

"This beth the parcel of the of the (*sic*) costages that beth makid by

<sup>1</sup> Gumphus=a door-band or hinge. Wright, pp. 237, 261.

Williham Godewyn and Richard Arnolde of Bruton a boghte diverse vitails the wheche the forsaide Richard hath delyvered to Rogger Kyng of Mynheade shipman at the harbor of Pole to the use and the profitez of my lord Sir Hugh Lutrell, as hit is speecyfied in endenters bytwixt hem therof maked ; Forst in 18 quarteres of whete boght by Godewyn, price the bushelez 10d., £6. Item in 23 quarteres 2 bushelez whete price the bushelez 8d. Summa £6 4s. Item paid for cariage of the same from the contre to the ship 5s. . . Item in 10 quarteres of Barly malt boght by Godewyn price the bushelez 10d., 66s. 8d. Item in 54 quarteres of Barly malt price the bushelez 3s. 9d., £16 4s. Item in 6 bobus price of 103s. In 30 motons price of 45s. Item in 2 quarters 3 bushelez salt for the same flessch 7s. 6d. Item in 3 pipes for the same flessch 1 hoiggeshede for otemele and 1 barell for candelles price in al 4s. Item in 6 bushelez of otemele price the bushelez 16d., 8s. Item in 9 dosyn pondez of candelles 10s. 6d. In reward of the lardynner for syltyng and dyghtyng of al the flessch 20d. . . In 1 quarter 3 bushelez of cole price the bushelez 3½d., 3s. 3d. In 1 pipe for the same 10d. Item payed for beryng of whete from the hous of W. Waryner in to the ship 16d. Item in mattys and nailles boght for to make a caban in the ship for sayving of the corne and of the malt 3s. Item in caryng of 13 dosyns of fyssh from Dunsterre to the Pole, 12s. . . This was write at Pole Pole (*sic*) in Ingelonde the 20 day of July the 8 yere of the reignyng of Henry our Kyng the 5th."

*Accounts of Richard Arnold, Receiver, Michaelmas 8 Henry V, to Michaelmas 9 Henry V, 1420-1421.*

"De £20 receptis de Willelmo Godewyn de feodo domini ut de Castro de Bristollia hoc anno receptis."

"In soluto Johanni filio domini £10. Johanni Byriton monacho 69s. 4d., Capellano domini celebranti in capella de Byrcumb £6 13s. 4d. Willelmo Gosse senescallo terrarum domini 100s., Ricardo Arnold receptori denariorum domini 60s., Henrico Crosse auditori compotorum ministrorum domini 26s. 8d., Johanni Muskeham attornato domini 20s., Henrico Stone, ballivo de Dunster 40s., Roberto Drapere clerico domini 20s., Johanni Blouche, parcario de Mersshwode 20s., Willelmo Person a festo Sancti Michaelis usque festum Pasche 13s. 4d., Philippo Wyly per annum 26s. 8d., Willelmo Tyly, coco, 20s. . . . In liberato Willelmo vocato lytelwille servienti domini pro expensis suis apud Pole et alibi in negociis domini hoc anno mense Decembris 10s. . . . Item in soluto Thome Pacchehole pro factura de reekis et mangers in stabulo domini factis per preceptum domini 13s. 4d. . . . In 4 virgis panni russeti emptis et deliberatis Thome Pury preposito de Estkantok, precium virge 18d. 6s. . . . In 1 bagga empti pro rotulo compotorum imponendo, 3d. . . . In 54 quarteriis frumenti emptis apud Blanford et Wymborne precium bussellez 10d., £18. Item in 5 quarteriis frumenti emptis apud Ruysshton, pretium bussellez 8d., 26s. 8d. Item in 51 quarteriis avenarum emptis apud Blanford, Wymborne, et Ruysshton precium bussellez, 4d., £6 16s. Item soluto Willelmo Warnere pro una domo ab eo conducti pro bladis domini imponendis apud Pole 6s. 8d. In expensis Ricardi Arnold laborantis in diversis locis ut patet supra pro predictis bladis emendis 10s. In tabulis, clavis, mattis, et stramine emptis pro granario inde faciendo in nave pro



dictis granis imponendis et salvandis 4s. In portagio dictorum granorum 15d. Item in soluto Gervasio Knyte de Pole shipman pro omnibus predictis bladis versus Hareflen ad usum domini cariandis £6. . . . Item in salmone 3s. In 61 mullewell et lynggys 31s. 9d. In 64 hakys 11s. 8d. In 49 couples de Pullockes 5s., emptis et missis domino apud Hareflen, summa empcionis 51s. 5d., In dictis piscibus de Mynheade versus Hampton cariandis 14s., In 1 sarpler<sup>1</sup> empta predictis piscibus involvenda 6d., In maylyngcordes emptis pro eisdem 4d."

"Item in una pipa vini pro domina existente apud Saunton empta de Rogero Kyng de Mynheade ad hospicium domine hoc anno 46s. 8d. Item in soluto Johanni Tannton custodi equorum domini pro avenis et pane equino emptis pro equis domini ante festum Sancti Dionisii anno nono 17s. 9½d. . . . In soluto Georgio capellano domini apud Gyllyngham pro expensis domini ibidem in suo redeundo de London 15d. . . . In soluto Laurentio Taillor, Londonie, pro factura 2 juparum domini de Felewet<sup>2</sup> 13s. 4d. . . . Liberato domine de assignacione domini per 4 tallias hoc anno £13 6s. 6d."

"Dere frende y charge 3ow þt 3e take litill Will oure servant 20s. for his fee of þe last 3er and 3if hit so be þat he compleine to 3ow of his manoir yat y take him be spendid in my servise þat 3e take him whanne he departith fro 3ow to come to me resonable despenses and þis cedule signed wyth my signet sall be 3our warrant. And in al manere wyse þenkyth on my stuf of fisch ageyns lentin. Writt at Harfleu þe xvij<sup>th</sup> daie of Octobre [anno viij<sup>o</sup> Henrici quinti.]

Hugh Lutrel Knight, Lord of Dunsterr and Senescall  
of Normandie.

Unto Richard Arnold oure resseviour at Dunsterr."

"In primis a coppe with a park, a coppe with a sterr, a coppe with oute pomell, a coppe with a perle in the pomell, a coppe with an eglye y gylt in þe pomell, 2 coppis with eglis of silvyr in þe pomelles, 3 hie coppis with þe coverelis, 2 coppis with 2 okurlis of silvyr in þe pomell, 2 flatte pecis with coverelis, a vat y coveryd, an hie coppe y coveryd with feþeris y plomyd, a coppe y namyd Bath, a coppe y namyd Courtenay, 6 flatte pecis with oute coverelis, a note,<sup>3</sup> a spice dissch, 3 eweris, 2 sponis and all þs ys<sup>4</sup> gylt, a peyr doble baceynys, 3 single baceynys with 3 eweris þerto, a galon potte, 2 potell pottis, 4 quart pottis, an ewer with 10 coppis withynne hym and 3 coverelis, a round coppe y coveryd and 8 withynne hym, 3 grete pecis y coveryd, and 17 rounde coppis, and a tastour, and an ewer for water, a . . . spon and a verke fore grene gyngyn and 15 flatte pecis and 3 coverelis, 4 chargeris, 2 doseyn disschis and 23 sauceris, 22 spones of on sort and 17 sponis of a lasse sort, and 3 grete saucerys with 2 coverelis, and 5 flatte saleris,<sup>4</sup> and an ymage of Synd Jon of silver and gylt and an horne y gylt, and 4 candilstikkis of silver. Item por le Chapell, In primis a litil chaleis y gylt, a pax bred y gylt, 2 cruetis of silver, a corperas, a peir of vestymentis, 2 towelles, a lytil mashoke, 2 parelles for the auter and a superaltar.

<sup>1</sup> Sarpelere=canvas for wrapping up wares. Halliwell.

<sup>2</sup> Felwet=velvet.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a cocoa-nut mounted in silver.

<sup>4</sup> Salere=salt cellar.



Of þe whiche somme above saide my lord hathe with hym to Harflu 2 chargeris, 12 disschis, 12 sauceris of silver, 2 coppis and a ewer y gylt, an hie coppe and 8 with ynnre, a gret flat pece with a covercle, 7 flatte peeces and on covercle, a basyn and an ewer, 11 sponis, 2 salers with a covercle and þe chapelles hole, 2 quarte pottys and an hie coppe with a covercle y gylt and 6 littel sponys, and 2 candelstykys of silver."

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"Visus compoti Henrici Stone de receptis et expensis per ipsum factis in novo edificio in Castro domini simul cum aliis expensis forinsecis ibidem solutis a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regis Henrici Quinti 7<sup>o</sup> usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis anno 9<sup>o</sup> . . . In petris libris emptis de Willelmo Boulond mason £3 6s. 8d." . . . "Custus latanorum . . . summa £15 15s. 2d. . . . Custus operariorum . . . summa £16 3s. 5d. . . . Viagium per mare . . . summa £6 16s. 4d. Opera de linekyll . . . summa £7 5s. 10d."

*Accounts of Robert Draper from All Saints 1 Henry VI, to Sunday after Michaelmas 2 Henry VI, 1422-1423.*

"In certo panno sanguineo et viridi empto pro liberatura familie hospicii domini hoc anno . . . £4 15s. 4d. . . . Et tanto magis hoc anno quod Elizabeth Harleston filia domini fuit in supradicto hospicio cum 5 hominibus et 7 equis ad custus et expensas dicti hospicii per 17 septimanas &c. Item Jak Stone Schephurd fuit in hospicio per totum annum nihil solvendo."

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*Accounts of Robert Draper, clerk of the household of Sir Hugh Luttrell, from Sunday after Michaelmas 2 Henry VI, to 1 October 3 Henry VI, 1423-1424.*

"Receptio . . . de £10 4s. 4½d. receptis de Elizabetha domina de Haryngton pro mensa sua et familie sue ac omnium extraneorum eidem domine superveniencium ad dictum hospiciu[m] per indenturam ejus data est apud Dunsterr die Lune proxima ante festum Conversionis Sancti Pauli anno supradicti Regis secundo. Et de £11 11s. ¾d. receptis de eadem domina per manus Johannis Coplestone junioris, ut pro prandio predictae domine, familie sue et extraneorum veniencium ad dictum hospiciu[m] a die lune proxima ante festum Conversionis Sancti Pauli anno supradicti Regis 2<sup>o</sup> usque 23 diem Aprilis anno predicto per eandem indenturam. Et de £9 18s. 4d. receptis de eadem domina ut pro prandio diete domine, familie sue, et extraneorum veniencium ad dictum hospiciu[m] a 23<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis usque primum diem mensis Octobris extunc proxime sequentem."

"In 1 apro empto pro expensis dicti hospicii hoc anno apud Bronton, cum cariagio ejusdem ab inde 8s. 4d. . . . In 5 duodenis panni blodii emptis apud Benehangre pro liberatura familie hospicii domini hoc anno cum expensis emptorum cariautorum . . . 103s. 4d. . . . In 5 paribus manticarum brandred pro 5 generosis domini pro eorum liberatura . . . 16s. Et in 7 paribus manticarum brandred pro 7 valentis (*sic*) domini pro eorum liberatura . . . 15s. Et in 2 manticeis brand pro 2 garcionibus hoc anno pro eorum liberatura . . . 2s. 2d. . . . Et postea oneratur de 5s. pro mensa Margarete uxoris Johannis Lutrell et unius generose sue per

1 septimanam existencium in hospicio domini. . . . Nota. Et isto anno fuit in hospicio domini Magister Johannes Odelond per 18 septimanas diversis vicibus nichil solvendo. Johannes Scolemaystre consimili modo per 10 septimanas ut per vices. Thomas Pacchole carpenter aliquando cum 1 carpentario et aliquando cum 2 carpentariis in hospicio per 19 septimanas hoc anno nichil solvendo. Thomas Hydon, mason cum 1 famulo existens in hospicio per 11 septimanas hoc anno nichil solvendo. Jak Stone, schephurd fuit in hospicio hoc anno per totum annum nichil solvendo."

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*Accounts of Robert Draper, clerk of the household, from Michaelmas 4 Henry VI, to Michaelmas 5 Henry VI, 1425-1426*

"In 25 lagenis vini rubei, 18 lagenis vini vocati Bastard emptis . . . cum cariagio et expensis earundem £25 7s. . . . In panno viridi et rubeo videlicet 66 virgis utriusque coloris emptis pro liberatura 4 generosorum 11 valettorum, et 4 garcionum in hospicio existencium. . . . £7 11s. 6½d., cum expensis et cariagio eorundem." "Et de 1 pipa vini de rein."

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*Accounts of Robert Ryvers, Bailiff at Dunster from Michaelmas 4 Henry VI to Michaelmas 5 Henry VI, 1425-1426.*

"Pro twystys ymeaux et clavis emptis de Hugone Lokyer pro le spere<sup>1</sup> et novo hostio in aula domini 3s. 10d. Et Johanni Burgh pro 2 cariagiis meremii de le lymkyll usque Castrum pro le dit Spere in aula domini 2d. . . . In 1000 pynnys tegulyns emptis 3d. . . . In 2000 petris tegulinis emptis de Henrico Helyer 20d. In cariagio dictarum petrarum tegularum de Treburgh usque Castrum de Dunsterr 3s. 4d. . . . In soluto Johanni Elylsworthi tegulatori ibidem conducto ad reparandam cameram domini et cameram constabularii, per 3 dies ad repastum domini 9d. . . . In 1 magna clave empti de Hugone Lokyer et in emendacione 1 sere pro damhawys towre<sup>2</sup> 4d. . . . In Johanne Bolkinam conducto per 1 diem ad purgandam damhawys toure ad silum domini 2d. . . . Item Thome Pacheholl cum famulo suo ibidem conducto per 1 diem et dimidiam ad faciendum 3 gestys de novo in Castello juxta le Portcoleys ad cibum domini 7½d. In clavis emptis ad emendandum le store hous in castello quo armature domini posite sunt 1d. . . . Pro 2 cariagiis meremii de le Fysspole in le hanger versus predictum stabulum sine sibo 2d. . . . In 10,000 de petris tegulinis emptis pro stauro domini venientibus de Cornubia ad portum de Dunsterre, precium de 1000, 2s. 7d., summa in toto 25s. 10d., In pædictis lapidibus portandis de navi versus le slymvat 4d."

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*Accounts of Robert Ryvers, Bailiff at Dunster, Michaelmas 5 Henry VI, to Michaelmas 6 Henry VI, 1426-1427.*

"Thomas [Pacheholl] ibidem fuit conductus ad faciendum le enterelos et hachys inter aulam domini et capellam ibidem per 2 septimanas

<sup>1</sup> Spere=screen. "Promptorium Parvulorum."

<sup>2</sup> For "damhawys towre," see Part 1.

ad cibum domini capiendo per septimanam 18d. 3s. . . . In soluto Thome Smythi pro 6 paribus de yemeaux pro lez hachys in capella ibidem 2s. Et Thomas Pacheholl ibidem fuit conductus ad faciendum 1 Cophord de novo per 5 dies ad cibum domini, capiendo per diem 3d. 15d. . . . Item soluto Johanni Myrman de Wylyton pro 2 lapidibus clavelli ab eo emptis pro 2 caminis in castello de novo faciendis 3s. . . . Thomas Pacheholl conductus fuit ad ordinacionem Thome Bemont ad castellum ad decadendam veterem coquinam in le donyon per 1 septimanam ad repastum domini 18d. . . . Et Thomas Pachehole ibidem fuit conductus ad faciendum 1 whelberve<sup>2</sup> per 1 diem ad repastum domini 3d."

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*Accounts of Robert Ryvers, Receiver-General of Sir John Luttrell, from Maundy Thursday 6 Henry VI to the morrow of Michaelmas 7 Henry VI, 1428.*

"Solutio Johanni Riever (?) de Shafton per manus Willelmi Godewyn pro speciebus ab eodem emptis pro interemento dicti Hugonis [Luttrell] 19<sup>o</sup> die Augusti 44s. 1d. . . . Item Thome Wylhamo pro panno albo ab eodem empto ad interementum dicti Hugonis £6 4s., Item soluto Johanni Slug pro avenis providendis contra interementum dicti Hugonis 11s., Item soluto Willelmo Stone pro panno albo et nigro ab eodem empto uno cum factura 16 juparum et totidem capiciorum pro 16 pauperibus tempore interementi dicti Hugonis 74s. . . . Item solutum Thome Tonker de Waysslyford pro 1 bargia empti de Johanne Foughler de Hibernia ad opus domini ut de 4<sup>a</sup> parte ejusdem Bargie £20. . . . Item liberatum Roberto Draper per manus Thome Kynggestum pro convivio domine Johanne Luttrell monialis de Shafton 27<sup>o</sup> die Julii precepto domini £10, Item solutum Johanni Mathu pro 1 burthyn et dimidio piscium salsarum ab eo emptarum pro Johanne de Stourton juniore et Willelmo Carent, precepto domini 16s., Item solutum Johanni Foughler de Mynhede per manus vicarii de Mynhede pro vino empto ad hospicium domini apud Karampton anno precedenti precepto domini 66s. 8d. . . . Item Johanni Eylesworthe tegulatori conducto per 3½ dies ad tegulandam cameram supra portam juxta stabulum domini ad mensam domini capiendo per diem 3d. 10½d. . . . Item in 4 paribus sotularum emptis pro Johanue Fitz-James 3 vicibus 12d., Item in 2 paribus caligarum emptarum pro eodem Johanne 10d. . . . Item stipendio Johannis Eylesworth tegulatoris conducti pro domo juxta portam exteriorem castri sementanda pro sale in eadem ponenda per 1½ diem ad mensam domini capiendo per diem 3d., 4½d. Item solutum Johanni Yevan pro ferruris unius affricarii de Carampton 6d."

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*Accounts of Robert Ryvers, Receiver-General of Sir John Luttrell, Michaelmas 8 Henry VI to Michaelmas 9 Henry VI, 1429-1430.*

"Solutum domine Katharine nuper uxori Hugonis Luttrell militis de parte dotis sue ut pro termino Natalis Domini per acquietanciam ejus data est 27<sup>o</sup> die Februarii anno supradicti Regis 8<sup>o</sup> £25. Et eidem domine pro dote sua predicta per acquietanciam ejus data est 22<sup>o</sup> die

<sup>1</sup> Clavell=mantel-piece.

<sup>2</sup> Whelberve=wheebarrow.

Julii anno supradicto ut pro termino Natalis Sancti Johannis Baptiste £10. Et eidem domine pro dote sua predicta per acquientanciam ejus data est 28<sup>o</sup> die Julii eodem anno £10. Et eidem domine pro consimili ut pro termino Sancti Michaelis in fine istius anni per acquientanciam ejus data est die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Luce Evangeliste anno supradicti Regis nono £16 13s. 4d. Et eidem domine per manus Willelmi Person ut pro eodem termino per 1 talliam 60s. Et eidem domine pro consimili ut pro eodem termino per manus Roberti Draper 4<sup>o</sup> die Decembris post datam hujus compoti 106s. 8d. . . . Et liberatum Roberto Couke pro serico emendo apud London pro domina Margareta Lutrell 13<sup>o</sup> die Februarii 6s. 8d. . . Et soluto Johanni Joce conducto ad colligendos lapides super Croudou<sup>1</sup> pro les Botreaux juxta portam Castri de Dunsterre per 1 diem ad cibum domini 2d. Et soluto domino Roberto Kent capellano precepto domini ad distribuendum inter capellanos hic existentes die anniversarii Hugonis Lutrell militis, ultimo die Martii 2s. 9d. Et soluto Thome Marchaunt pro victualibus emendis pro bargia domini precepto domini 20s. . . . Et soluto Johanni Stourton militi per manus Henrici Helyer vadletti Willelmi Wadham pro quadam inquisicione de morte Hugonis Lutrell militis in comitatu Wiltes capiend, ut per literam dicti Johannis Stourton dicto Johanni Lutrell directam £4 9s. 1d. Et soluto Henrico Helyar pro rewardo suo causa laboris sui precepto Johannis Lutrell 20d. Et soluto Johanni Stone de Wotton mason locato ad faciendum 2 Botreaux juxta portam Castri ad cibum domini per 2 septimanas capiend per septimanam 18d. 3s., Et soluto Johanni Thresshe de Wotton mason locato ad laborandum cum dicto Johanne Stone circa predictas Botriaux per 2 septimanas capiend per septimanam 14d., 2s. 4d. Et soluto Johanni Joce locato ad deserviendum Johanni Stone et Johanni Thresshe masons predictis per 2 septimanas capiend per septimanam 11d., ad cibum domini 22d. Et soluto Johanni Burgh conducto cum caretta sua et 4 equis ad cariandum lapides de la Hangre usque portam Castri pro les Botriaux supradictis faciendis per 1 diem ad cibum domini capiend per diem 12d., 12d. . . Solutum Thome Couke pro prebenda equorum Walteri Portman existentis apud Dunster per 3 vices ad loquendum cum domino in materia sua inter ipsum et Ducissam Eboraci 3s. 6½d. Et solutum prefato Thome Couke pro prebenda equorum domine Elizabeth Courteney existentis apud Dunsterre per 1 diem et noctem 7s. 11d. . . . Et in 400 de Bukhurnes emptis apud Exon pro Episcopo Bathoniensi et Wellensi per 100 17d., 5s. 8d. Et solutum Roberto Draper pro expensis domine Johanne Lutrell et sororis sue monialis de Shafton equitantis abinde usque Dunster et ibidem 19<sup>o</sup> die Julii 12s. . . . Et soluto pro 1 virga et dimidia de fustyan empta pro Jacobo Lutrell precium virge 7d., 10½d. Et soluto pro 1 virga de panno lineo vocato Braban pro dicto Jacobo 7d. . . . Et pro permutacione s stularium dicti Jacobi, 2d.

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*Accounts of Robert Ryvers, Steward of the Household of Sir John Luttrell at Dunster, from Michaelmas 8 Henry VI to Michaelmas 9 Henry VI, 1429-1430.*

"In 6 pipes 1 hoggshed 35 lagenis 3 quartis 1 pynt [vini albi et rubei] emptis pro expensis dicti hospicii per annum . . . £15 7d. . . . Et in 5134 lagenis bone et secunde cervisie emptis . . . £26 23½d.,

<sup>1</sup> Croydon Hill near Dunster.



Et in 7 libris piperis emptis pro expensis dicti hospicii hoc anno 7s. Et in 1 libra 2 unciiis croci<sup>1</sup> emptis pro expensis dicti hospicii hoc anno 10s. 4d. Et in dimidia libre saunders empta pro conserva 8d., Et in 30 libris amigdelarum<sup>2</sup> emptis pro conserva 7s. 6d., Et in 28 libris de ryse emptis pro conserva 3s. 8d., Et in 28 libris de roysons emptis pro conserva 3s. 8d. Et in 2 libris cere pro conserva 12d. . . . Et in 1 barell allec empta ultra 1 barrell recepta de preposito de Mynhed proveniente domino de catallis wayfes ibidem hoc anno 9s. 10d., Et in 100 allec rubeis emptis pro expensis dicti hospicii hoc anno 18d., Et in 1 cade (*sic*) de sprottes empta pro conserva hoc anno 2s. 4d., Et in 70 hakys salsis emptis pro conserva 9s., Et in 600 Schalpens emptis apud Exon cum cariagio eorundem 9s. 8d., Et in 72 stokfyssh emptis pro conserva cum cariagio eorundem hoc anno 12s. 4d., Et in 678 de myllewell et lenges emptis pro conserva ad preceptum domini apud Mynhed hoc anno £8 9s. 6d. Et in 53 congres mersaultz emptis pro conserva ultra 20 de remanentibus 18s. 8d., Et in 1 barell de Sturgeon empta pro conserva hoc anno 8s. 6d., Et in 3 lagenis olei emptis pro expensis dicti hospicii hoc anno 5s."

*Accounts of Robert Ryvers, Receiver-General of Lady Margaret Luttrell, from Michaelmas 9 Henry VI to Michaelmas 10 Henry VI, 1430-1431.*

"Solutum Roberto Drapere pro diversis expensis factis pro anniversario domini Johannis Lutrell militis precepto domine apud Bruton, ut in cera et aliis rebus emptis pro eodem ut patet per billam ostensam coram domina Margareta Lutrell sexto die Septembris anno octavo 14s. 11d. Et solutum pro diversis expensis factis circa anniversarium domini Johannis Lutrell militis tenendum apud Bruton sexto die Augusti anno regis Henrici sexti nono ut patet per billam super auditum hujus compoti ostensam et hinc compoto consutam 33s. 3d. . . . Et in expensis domine Margarete Lutrell et aliorum secum veniencium die dominica primo die Julii existencium apud Dunsterre ad sagittandum cum Thoma Bratton et aliis 2s. 5d. . . . Et in 5 virgis de Fustyan in foro de Dunsterre emptis pro toga domine duplici 2s. 11d., Et in 1 quarterio virge de tarterys empto pro dicta toga 10d. . . . Et in 2 virgis panni lenci vocati Braban pro Jacobo filio domine emptis 14d., Et in 1½ virga panni russeti empta pro dicto Jacobo de Willelmo Stone 9d., Et in 1½ virga albi panni empta pro 1 jupa pro dicto Jacobo 7½d., Et liberatum Johanne Noryce nutrice (*sic*) domine pro stipendio suo a retro existente per manus Willelmi Percare (?) capellani de Wallia et Willelmi Warderoppe, 6s. 8d., In 6 douseynys panni albi emptis pro liberatura domine ad diversa precia hoc anno 37s., In 10 douseynys panni albi texti pro dicta liberatura hoc anno de Roberto Northam 5s., In dictis 10 douseyns fullandis dando per doseyne 4d., 3s. 4d., In toto predicto panno una cum 1 pecia panni continente 20 virgas tinctando in nigrum colorem per Johannem Dyer per visum Willelmi Warderoppe, dando per doseyne 12d., 17s. 6d., Et solutum Thome Tonker de Clyva pro tonsura totius panni predicti 4s., Et solutum Johanni Dyer pro tinctura cooperture irecti, tapytes, curteynes, costerys, bankerys,<sup>3</sup> et guyyshenys<sup>4</sup> tam pro aula domine quam camera et capella apud Karampton 7s."

<sup>1</sup> Crocum=saffron.

<sup>2</sup> Amigdalum=an almond.

<sup>3</sup> Banker=the covering of a bench.

<sup>4</sup> Cushions.



“Bruton. Expense facte ibidem per Robertum Draper pro anniversario domini Johannis Lutrell militis tenendo ibidem sexto die Augusti anno Regis Henrici sexto nono. In primis in 6 libris cere emptis pro 5 rotundis cereis inde faciendis precium libre 5d., 2s. 6d. In lichinis emptis pro eisdem 1d. In factura eorundem 1d. In 4 libris cere emptis ut in 4 Torchis locatis de Sacrista ecclesie ibidem dando per libram 5d., 20d. In dono 4 hominibus pauperibus pro dictis Torchis tenendis ad obsequias et ad missam, cuilibet eorum 4d., 16d. In dono oratori pro anniversario pronunciendo in villa 1d. In oblationibus 2d. In pane empto tam pro Priore et conventu quam pro aliis venientibus ad obsequias 15d. In 14 lagenis bone cervisie emptis pro eisdem 2s. 4d. In 1 lagena vini empti pro Priore ibidem 8d. In distribucione facta Priori et conventui ibidem, videlicet Priori 40d., et 15 canonicis, cuilibet illorum 12d., 15s. Item duobus sacerdotibus secularibus 12d. Item 2 clericis 4d. Item 6 pauperibus 3d. Item pro classico<sup>1</sup> pulsando 8d. Item solutum Thome Sartyre nuper Sacriste Prioratus de Bruton pro 5 libri cere ab [eo] emptis cum factura die anniversarii domini precium libre 6d., 2s. 6d. Summa totalis 32s. 3d.”

*Accounts of Robert Ryvers, Receiver-General of Lady Margaret Luttrell from Michaelmas to Lady Day 10 Henry VI, 1431-1432.*

“Solutio Johanni Tresham per visum Walteri Portman ut esset de consilio domine pro quadam die amoris inter Priorem de Bruton et dominam Margaretam Lutrell pro custodia et maritagio Johannis Fitz-james 6s. 8d. . . . In expensis Willelmi Bonvylye militis, Edwardi Seyntjon, Thome Bratton, Johannis Laverance, Walteri Portman et certe familie domine Margarete Lutrell existentencium apud Taunton cum 36 equis a die lune 10<sup>o</sup> die Decembris usque diem Mercurii tunc proxime sequentem post prandium pro quadam die amoris inter dominam Katarinam Lutrell ex parte una et dominam Margaretam Lutrell ex parte altera, una cum rewardis factis coco predicti Willelmi Bonvylye militis et aliis servientibus tunc ibidem existentibus £4 15d. . . . Solutio Willelmo Wardropere per preceptum domine ad distribuendum sacerdotibus pro anima Johannis Lutrell militis 17<sup>o</sup> die Januarii 2d. . . . Solutio Willelmo Stone de Dunsterr pro 6 lagenis 1 potello 1 pinta vini albi empti de eodem die anniversarii domini Hugonis Lutrell militis precepto domine dando per lagenam 6d., 3s. 4d.

Idem Robertus recepit de eadem Margareta ut in vasis argenteis de ea emptis £20. Et idem recepit de eadem Margareta ut in ciphis argenteis eb eadem Margareta emptis £7 5s. Et idem Robertus recepit de eadem Margareta ut in 1 olla argentea de eadem empta 58s. 9d. Et idem Robertus recepit de eadem Margareta ut in 1 lecto albo de dimidio worstede cum aliis vestibus de eadem emptis et receptis in parte solucionis excessus sui supradicti 33s. 4d. Et sic ad huc excedit £90 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.”

<sup>1</sup> Classicum=a funeral knell.

## APPENDIX I.

## CONTRACT FOR BUILDING DUNSTER CHURCH TOWER.

The original of the following contract has unfortunately disappeared from the old chest in Dunster Church, but there is a copy of it in a book of transcripts preserved in the Muniment Room at Dunster Castle :—

“Thys beth the covenants betwyne the paroch of Dunsterr and Jon Marys of Stokgursy in the Schere of Somerset. That is to seyng for the making of a towre in the paroch church of Dunsterr That the sayd Jon Marys schall make suffyciantly the seyde towre with iij french botras<sup>1</sup> and a vice<sup>2</sup> in the fowrth pyler in stede of a botras fynyng<sup>3</sup> at the Altertabyll<sup>4</sup> And in the fyrst flore ij wyndowys On yn the Sowth and another yn the North everych of on day with iiij genelas<sup>5</sup> yn the hedd of every wyndow And iiij wyndowys at the bell bedd of ij days with a trawnson and a moynell according to the patron ymade by the avyee of Rychard Pope Fremason Allso the sayde Jon Maryce schall make suffyciantly the batylment of the sayde towre with iiij pynacles the fowrth pynacle standing upon the vice after reson and gode proportion Acordyng to the same worke And the sayde schall be embatyle Allso the sayde Jon Maryce schall make iij gargyllys in thre corners of the sayde towre And the wall to be iiij fote thykk and a halfe yn to the bell bedd And from the bell bedd ynto the batylment iij fote and a halfe suffyciantly to be made undyr the forme forsayde And the sayde paroch schall bryng all suffycyant materials withyn the palme crosse<sup>6</sup> of the sayde Church And he to have for the workemanchyppe of every fote of the sayde towre xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> And the sayde worke to be full endyd withyn iij ere nexte folwyng aftr the date of this present wrytyng And rather yf hit may be by the power of the sayde paroch And the sayde Jon Maryce schall be redy aftr the stuffe of matyr at all tyme by the warnyng of xiiij days and the crane at all tyme necessary for the same worke with ropys polys wynchchys schall be removyd at the cost of the paroch forsayd with help of Jon Maryce and his mayny Allso the sayd paroch schall fynde all Synternys<sup>7</sup> for the same worke with ropes poleys winchchys and all other thyngys necessary to the sayd work The towre conteynyng yn heyth from the gras tabyll<sup>8</sup> an hundred fote Allso the sayd Jon Marys schall be payd for his labour lyk as he doth his work other ellys at the most xx<sup>s</sup> byfore as hit aperyth yn work Also the sayde paroch schall fynd an howse for the sayde Johon Maryce to sett therein his tole and other necessarys Allso if there be any stone ywro3yte of such quantyte that ij men or iij at most may not kary hym the sayde paroch schall helpe hym Allso the sayde Johon Maryce schall receive of the sayde paroch xx<sup>s</sup> for the pynaclys of the same towre Into the whych wytnys y put thereto my seleez I give and y wrytte at Dunsterr in the fest of Seynt Mychaell the yere of King Herry the vj aftr the conquest of xxi<sup>ti</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> A French buttress must evidently mean an angle buttress.

<sup>2</sup> Vice=winding staircase.

<sup>3</sup> Fynyng=setting back.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a transcriber's error for water-table, the old word for a string-course.

<sup>5</sup> Genlese=cusp. Cf. “Glossary of Architecture.”

<sup>6</sup> Palm cross=Churchyard cross. Cf. Nicolas's “Testamenta Vetusta,” vol. i, p. 326.

<sup>7</sup> Synternys=centerings.

<sup>8</sup> Grass-table=plinth.

## APPENDIX K.

## PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELL FAMILY.

A very scarce little book entitled "A Geneological (*sic*) Account of the Family of Luttrell, Lotterel, or Lutterell" which was privately printed in 1773 or 1774, proves on examination to be nothing more than a reprint of the very erroneous notice of the family which appears in Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland." The more extended account of the Luttrells of Dunster contained in Savage's "History of the Hundred of Carhampton" is in several respects less inaccurate.

Far more valuable than either of these printed accounts of the family is a manuscript volume entitled "Historical Account of the Family of the Lutterells from the Conquest, collected from Records, History, Pedigrees, and Registers, by Narcissus Luttrell, Esq." The learned author of the "Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs, from September, 1678 to April, 1714," which was published at Oxford in 1857, by the University Press in six volumes 8vo., spared no pains to make his history of his own family as complete as possible. The chief fault, indeed, lies in its wearisome reiteration of personal names and dates. After the death of the author in 1732, the manuscript presumably passed to his only surviving son, Francis Luttrell, who died Treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1749. At the beginning of the present century it was in the possession of Dr. Luttrell Wynne, a grandson of Dr. Owen Wynne, of Gwynfynydd, Master of the Mint, who had married a sister of Narcissus Luttrell. From Dr. Luttrell Wynne it seems to have passed to his maternal cousin, Edward William Stackhouse, of Pendarves, whose heir has very gracefully given it to the present owner of Dunster Castle. Several names and dates which had escaped the notice of Narcissus Luttrell have more recently been brought to light by the Rev. Frederick Brown, of Beckenham, who has most kindly communicated them to the compiler of the following tables.

The pedigree of the Luttrells of Irnham is based on authorities cited in the description of the Luttrell Psalter in "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. vi, and in the paper on Holy Trinity, York, in the York volume of the Archæological Institute. Some notes taken from Dodsworth's MSS. at Oxford, by Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, have also been consulted.

The pedigree of the Luttrells of East Quantockhead, Chilton, and Dunster Castle, is based on authorities already cited in these pages, and on wills at Somerset House under the names of Luttrell and Yorke.

The pedigree of the Luttrells of Dunster Castle is similarly based on authorities already cited in these pages, and on wills and administrations at Somerset House under the names of Luttrell, Edgecomb, Malet, Speke, Stukely, Skory, Trevelyan, Francis, Hele, Pym (1672), Tregonwell, Banks, Rooke, and Ashe; on wills in the Archdeacon's Court at Taunton

under the name of Luttrell, on the Heralds' Visitations, and on the registers of the parishes of Dunster, East Quantockshead, Swanage, Buckland Filleigh, Exminster, and St. Anne, Soho.

The pedigree of the Fownes-Luttrells is based on the registers of the parish of Dunster, on entries in the "Gentleman's Magazine," and on private information.

The pedigree of the Luttrells of Kentsbury and Spaxton is based on wills and administrations at Somerset House under the names of Luttrell, Gough, and Ley, on the Heralds' Visitations, and on the registers of the parishes of Dunster, East Quantockshead, Eastdown, Spaxton, and St. Bride, Fleet Street (1606.)

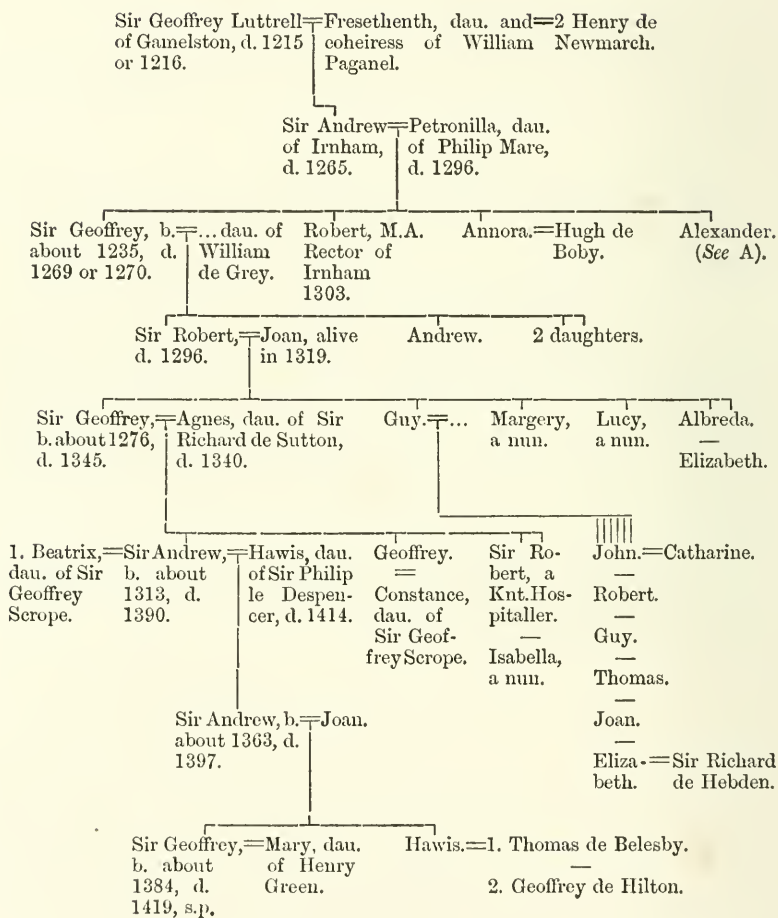
The pedigree of the Luttrells of Rodhuish is based on wills at Somerset House under the name of Luttrell, on the Heralds' Visitations, and on the registers of the parishes of Charlton Mackarell, Carhampton, and Porlock.

The pedigree of the Luttrells of Hartland Abbey is based on wills and administrations at Somerset House under the names of Luttrell, Cheverell, and Gough, on wills and administrations at Barnstaple under the name of Luttrell, on the Heralds' Visitations for Devon and Cornwall, on inquisitions post mortem, and on the registers of the parishes of East Quantockshead, Hartland, and St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford (1642).

The pedigree of the Luttrells of Saunton Court is based on wills and administrations at Somerset House under the names of Luttrell, Hardy, Codrington (1670), Hungerford (1716 and 1754), Wynne, and Lowe, on inquisitions post mortem, on allegations for marriage-licenses in the Vicar-General's Office, on marriage-licenses in the Faculty Office, and on the registers of the parishes of Braunton, Wraxall, Stogursey, Sydling St. Nicholas (1629), Radipole (1613), Chelsea, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrew, Holborn, St. Margaret, Westminster (1647), Clerkenwell, and Waltham St. Lawrence, and of the Savoy Chapel, and Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

In the following tables the surname of Luttrell is generally omitted for the sake of brevity. The dates placed before the names of some of the persons are the dates of their marriages.

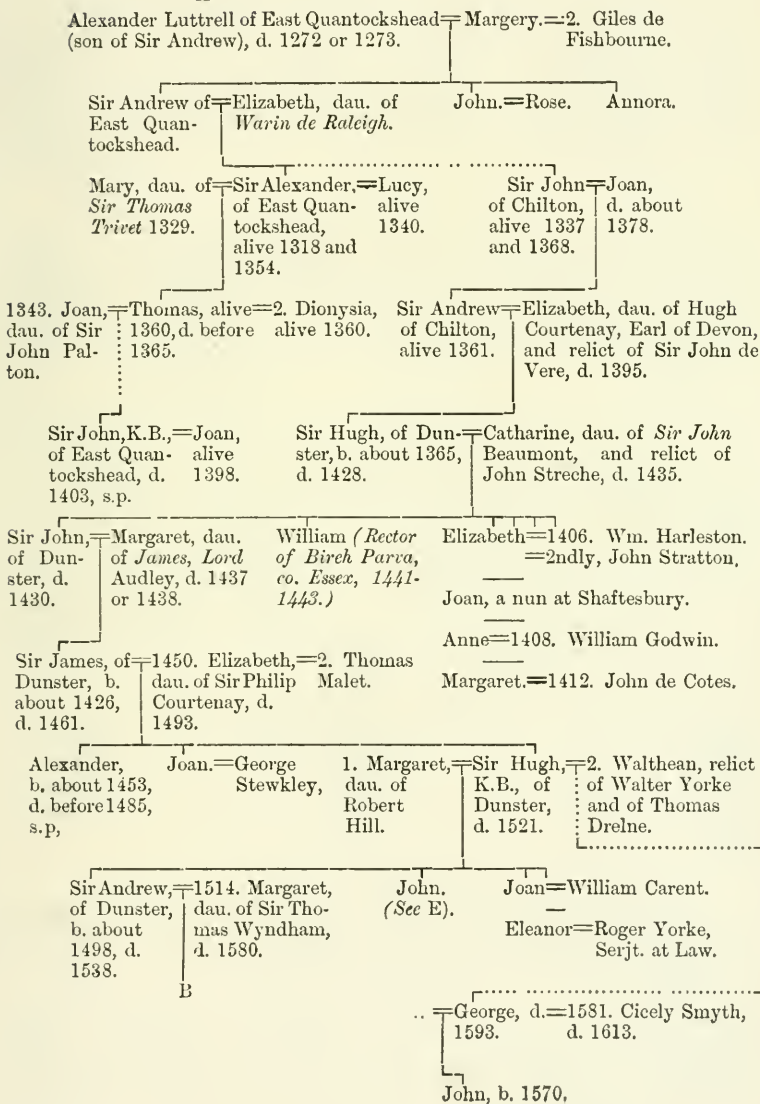
## PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELLS OF IRNHAM.



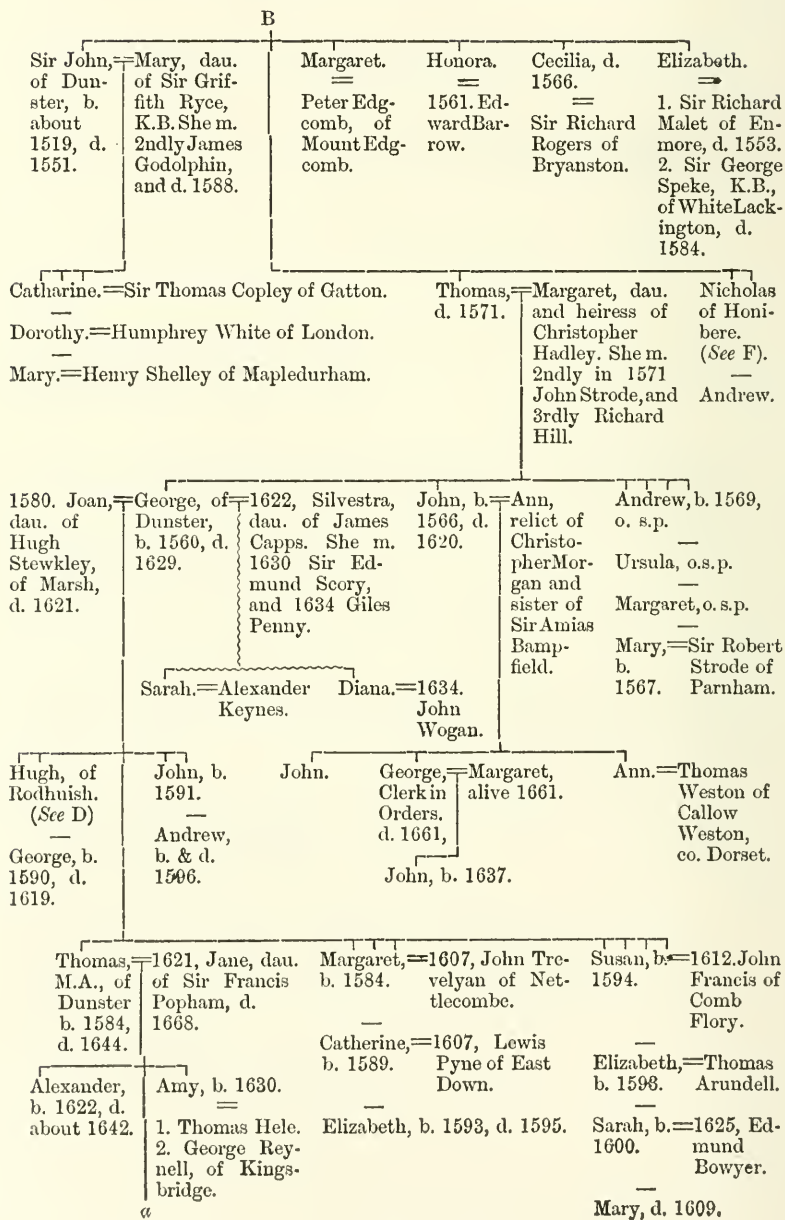


PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELLS OF EAST QUANTOCKSHEAD,  
CHILTON, AND DUNSTER.

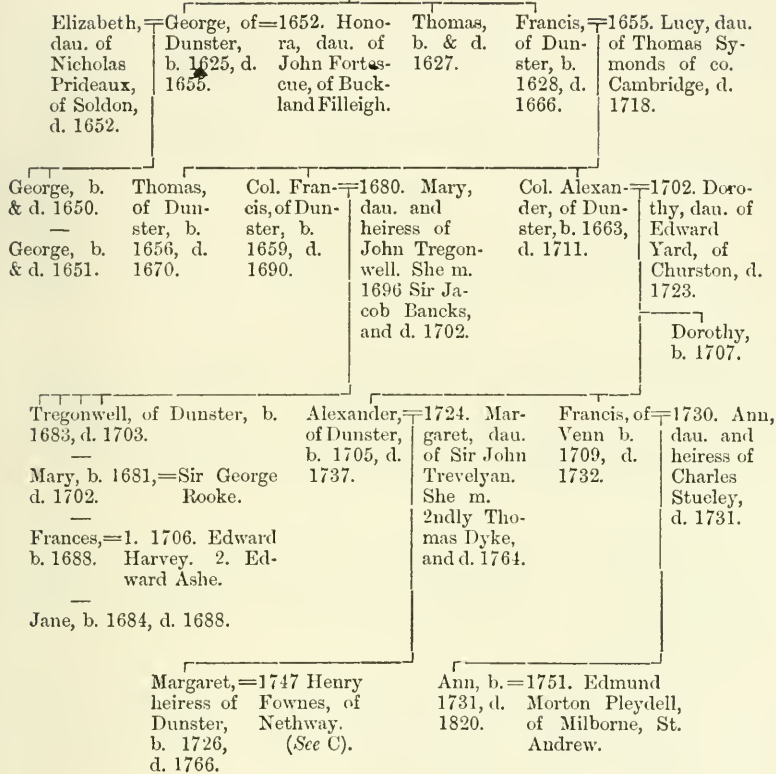
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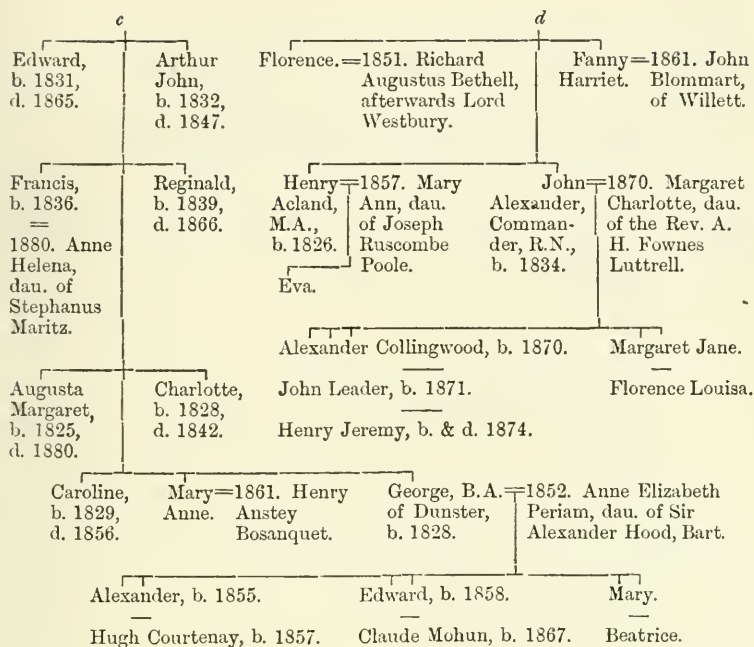
## PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELLS OF DUNSTER CASTLE.



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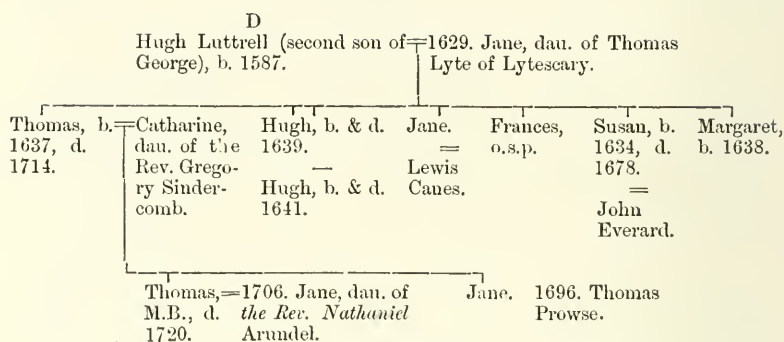




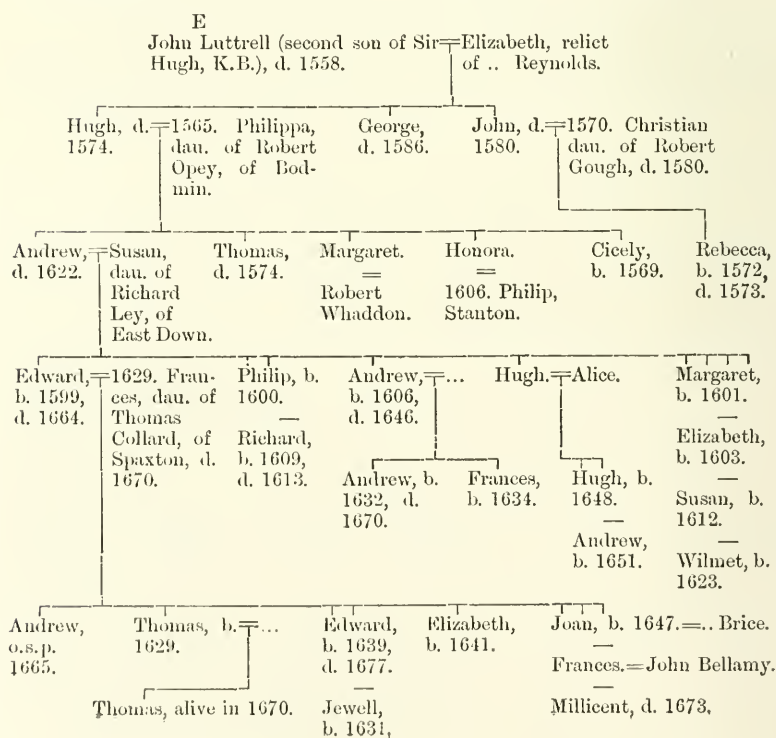




## PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELLS OF RODHUISH.



## PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELLS OF KENTSBURY AND SPAXTON.



## PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELLS OF HARTLAND ABBEY.

F

Nicholas Luttrell of Honibere (son of = Jane, dau. of Christopher Cheverell,  
Sir Andrew Luttrell), d. 1592. of Chantmarel, d. 1627.

Margaret, = 1592. Giles  
b. 1563. Dodington.

Eleanor.

Elizabeth. Thomas,  
b. 1562.

Hugh, = Margaret,  
d. 1612. d. 1627.

Andrew, = Prudence, dau. of William  
d. 1625. Abbot, of Hartland, d. 1639.

Oriana. Mary. = ... Godfrey.

Joan, b. 1584.

Grace, = Robert Ann,  
b. 1590. Loveys. b. 1591.

Elizabeth, Prudence, = 1633. Achilles  
b. 1597. b. 1601. Fortescue.

Ann. John (see G)  
b. 1610. of Honibere.

Andrew, b. 1587. = 1609. Mary Punchard.

Charles, b. 1603. Richard, b. 1604.

William, b. = 1631. Rebecca  
1592, d. 1684. Docton, d. 1671.

Nicholas, of Hartland, = 1609. Elizabeth, dau. of  
b. 1584, d. 1637. Anthony Monk, of Pow-  
dridge, d. 1653.

Prudence, b. 1632. = 1680. Hilary Reeve.

Mary, d. 1655.

Eleanor,  
b. 1617, d. 1647.

Grace, b. 1633, d. 1666.

Elizabeth, b.  
1614, d. 1656.

Francis, b.  
1612, d. 1657

Elizabeth, b. 1639. = 1680. William Gals-  
worthy.

Thomas, b. 1616. = 1666. Wilmet Docton,  
d. 1670.

Arthur,  
b. 1618.

Edward, B.A.,  
b. 1620, d. 1642.

John, b. 1613, = 1650. Jane  
d. 1671. Docton,  
d. 1680.

1636. Mary, dau. of = Anthony, of Hart-  
the Ven. Edward land, d. 1663.  
Cotton, d. 1646.

Mary,  
d. 1659.

Elizabeth, b. 1651.

Edward, = 1663.  
of Hart- Mary  
land, d. Rogers.  
1666.

William,  
d. 1655.  
Nicholas.

Margaret.

Eleanor, b. 1653.

Elizabeth,  
b. 1643.

Mary, b. & d. 1654.

Anthony,  
alive in 1663.

Mary,  
b. 1644.

Jane, b. 1655, d. 1680.

Nicholas, of Hartland, = Mary, dau. of  
b. 1663, d. 1694. John Creed.

Elizabeth, = 1698. Thomas  
b. 1664. Acting.

Mary (heiress of Hartland), o.s.p. 1722. = Paul Orchard.

Andrew, b. & d. 1648.

Christopher,  
b. 1654,  
d. 1655.

Arthur,  
b. & d.  
1656.

Jane, b. 1650. — 1670. John  
Mugford.  
Prudence, b. & d. 1651.

Thomas, b. 1694.

Grace, b. 1657 = 1678. Peter Caul

## PEDIGREE OF THE LUTTRELLS OF SAUNTON COURT.

G

John Luttrell of Honibere = Frances, dau. of Sir Edward Gorges,  
(second son of Andrew and of Wraxall. She m. 2ndly Sir Edward  
Prudence Luttrell), b. 1585, Southcote, and d. 1651.  
d. 1617.

Col. John, of = 1629. Rachel, Francis, = 1641. Catharine, Edward, b. = Dorothy, d  
Saunton dau. of Fran- of Gray's dau. of Narcissus 1616, d. 1668. 1697.  
Court, b. cis Hardy, d. Inn, Mapowder of —  
1610, killed b. 1612, Holsworthy, d. Dorothy, b. = 1631. Jonas  
in action d. 1677. 1686. 1614. Dennis.  
1644.

Francis, Francis, Charles, Jane, b. 1643, d. 1647.  
b. & d. b. 1655, b. & d. —  
1647. d. 1656. 1663. Frances, b. 1648, d. 1657.

1682. Sarah, = Narcissus, = 1725. Mary, dau. Catharine, = 1677. George  
dau. of of Gray's of John Bearsley b. 1653, d. Lowe.  
Daniel b. Inn, b. of co. Stafford, 1684.  
Baker, d. 1722. 1657, d. d. 1745. Dorothy, = 1688. Owen  
1732. b. 1653 Wynne, LL.D.

Francis, b. 1682, Narcissus, b. & Abigail, b. 1661, d. 1669.  
d. 1749, s.p. d. 1727.

1655. Amy = Southcote = 1662. Ann, = 1686. Joan, Arthur, = ... John,  
Pincomb, of Saunton dau. of John dau. of ..... d. 1658.  
d. 1656. Court, b. Codrington Marcer, relict —  
1632, d. of Didmar- of Wm. Amory, Rachel.  
1721. ton, d. 1685. and of Hugh —  
Frances.

John, Southcote, Robert, Frances, Ann, Elizabeth, Rachael,  
b. 1666, (a lunatic), b. 1677, b. 1670, b. & d. b. 1680. b. 1684.  
o.s.p. b. 1672, d. 1679. d. 1671. 1679.

Edward, of Saunton = Mary, alive  
Court, d. 1737. in 1737.

Capt. Edward, = Ann, dau. of Sir George Charlotte,  
killed in London Hungerford, d. 1722. b. 1695.

Southcote Hungerford, alive 1750. = ...

Wilnot, John, = Hannah, dau. of Edward, = ... Elizabeth.  
o.s.p. Wm. Taylor.

St. John, d. Hungerford, = Mary, dau. of Mary, = Capt. Fleming.  
1809, s.p. Thomas Jervoice.

Harriet Maria Hungerford. Matilda Hungerford.

ON THE MEMORIAL SEPULCHRAL BRASS IN HAYES  
CHURCH, NEAR BROMLEY, KENT, OVER THE GRAVE  
OF THE REV. JOHN HOARE, RECTOR OF THAT  
PARISH.

By Captain EDWARD HOARE.

In Hayes Church, about two miles from the town of Bromley in Kent, there is a curious sepulchral memorial brass over the grave of a member of my own family, the Rev. John Hoare, who was Rector of Hayes in Orpington from 1565 to 1584; Hayes Church then forming a portion and appendage to the parish of Orpington, and being in the gift of the Rector of Orpington, though now separated and in the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The date of the brass is 1584. It is situated in the south-east corner of the chancel, a few feet outside the Communion rails. As the inscription on this brass has never been published, I have thought a little description of it and its curious and quaint terms in rhyme (rhymes being somewhat uncommon on brasses) might not be quite inappropriate to a meeting of our society and the pages of the *Archæological Journal*. Having heard of the existence of such a brass several years ago, I then desired to trace it out, but the person who told me of it informed me that it was in Hayes Church, Middlesex. For a long time I endeavoured to ascertain something regarding it there, but after much fruitless labour, useless journeys, and lost time, I only found out that nothing whatever was known of such a brass in the church of that place. There is, also, a church called Haes in Devonshire, not very far from Exeter. The name is spelt without the letter *y*, *Haes* being the ancient spelling of the name, and, as this John Hoare was descended from the Devonshire branch of the family, I thought the brass might exist in the church there, and a relative of mine was kind enough to make enquiries for me, but no brasses are to be found in the old church of Haes, in Devonshire; I, therefore, concluded that I had been misinformed, or that some mistake had occurred, and that no such brass existed.

However, some time afterwards, I met with the Rev. Herbert Haines's interesting work, "A Manual of all the Monumental Brassess, with a list now of those remaining in the British Isles," and there, at length, in that list, I found mentioned the brass I had been so long seeking after. Mr. Haines gives only a very brief notice of it as existing in Hayes Church, Kent. At page 101, part ii, he thus describes it:—"Number 5, John Hoare, rector 18 years, 1584, ætat 83, 8 Eng. v.v. C." (Eight English verses and in the Chancel.)

I, therefore, went shortly afterwards to Hayes Church, with Mr. Henry

S. Richardson, of Greenwich, who there took for me several excellent rubbings, one of them being in bronze, on stiff thick paper, an invention of his own, which produces a perfect fac-simile of the original brass. There is now only the inscription of the brass over the grave in Hayes Church, but the clergyman of the church—who received us most kindly and gave us every information—told me that from documents belonging to and relating to the church, he had ascertained that there was formerly the figure of a priest in canonicals over the inscription, but that during the latter part of the last century the figure of the priest, together with a small corner piece of the plate containing the inscription, was cut away, and stolen by some workmen, when the church was undergoing repair. The Rev. Daniel Lysons, in his “Environs of London,” vol. iv, p. 496, thus mentions this brass: “John Hoare, rector, a brass plate with a figure of the deceased, 1584,” as existing in the year 1796, the date of the publication of his work, so the mischief must have been done at a later period. There are five other brasses in this neat and retired country church, all of them except one, to priests or former rectors of the parish. Hasted, in his “History of Kent,” vol. i, pp. 105—7, in giving a description of Hayes Place, says of Hayes Church, (in ancient MSS. spelt Hese) that it is dedicated to Saint Mary, and consists of only one aisle and a chancel, and is a small building of flint and stone, with an embattled tower at the west end with a very low spire and containing three bells. He also gives the names of the different rectors, and the dates of their various appointments, but he does not in any way whatever allude to any of the brasses, nor does Boutell, in his excellent work on Monumental Brasses, make any mention of them.

I may here remark *en passant* that Hayes Place was the favourite residence of the great Earl of Chatham, and that his celebrated son the Right Honourable William Pitt was born there May 28th, and baptised in Hayes Church, July 3rd, 1759, as appears by the Baptisms in the Parish Register.

The inscription on the brass of John Hoare is in black letter, and shows its very curious old English spelling. It runs as follows:—

Who faine would lybe he must not feare to dye death is the waie  
 That leades to liel and glorious Joies that triumphs over Claie  
 Come poore bwaile this want, Come friende lament & saie with me  
 This man did dye to lybe, and lybes though dead his body be  
 Full xviii yeres a Rector here he was, and then John Hoare  
 Unwerdd, deceast, one thousand yeres stybe hundred eighty four  
 the xi daie of februarye  
 when he had lybed lx score & thre.

If we took this inscription literally we should conclude that this unwed old bachelor-rector had lived twelve hundred and three years, viz., sixty score and three, but it is evidently intended for sixty, a score, and three, which makes him to have been eighty-three years of age at his decease, the strange manner of expression being for the sake of the verse or rhyme. From other sources of information I have found this to have been his correct age. As I stated before, the rhyme with its black letter and unusual spelling is very quaint and curious, and the ideas and sentiment, together with the moral, in simple but expressive language, are touching, truthful, and teachful to us. It will therefore be admitted,



I think, that this hitherto almost unknown brass is well worthy of being more permanently preserved and recorded and rescued from oblivion in the pages of the *Journal*.

Through the kindness of Mr. Richardson I have become possessed of rubbings of all the brasses in Hayes Church, and, since this interesting series of memorials has never been published, its insertion may not be considered inappropriate on the present occasion :—

1. Under the demi-figure of a priest in canonicals :

Hic jacet dñs Johes Osteler<sup>1</sup> quōdam Rector isti<sup>s</sup> ecclē cuj<sup>s</sup> an<sup>i</sup>s ppiciet  
de<sup>s</sup>. Amen.

2. Under the full length figure of a priest in rich canonical robes :

E beseeche you all that passeth here by for the soule 'of Sir John  
Andrewes that here doth lye, say a pater noster and an ave.<sup>2</sup>

3. Under the figure, in full length, of a priest in canonicals :

Pray for y<sup>e</sup> Soule of S<sup>r</sup> John Heygge late pson of this church  
which decessid ye xix day of Decbr. Ao. xv<sup>th</sup> ciii. who<sup>s</sup> Soule dm per.

4. Hic robant in fossa sub p<sup>te</sup> Roberti Garreti p<sup>ti</sup> ossa Rectoris  
olim eccelsiarum de Heyes, et Cheshlyhurst, Qui obiit die  
An<sup>o</sup> dñi M<sup>o</sup> cccclx. ppicius sit de<sup>s</sup> an<sup>s</sup>. R. Ga. Notary publici.<sup>3</sup>

5. John Hoare, rector, as before given.

6. HERE LYETH BURIED JOHN HANDFORDE THE SONNE OF  
HUMFREY HANDFORDE, OF LONDON, MERCHAUNT, BEINGE  
EIGHT YEARES OLDE AND DIED THE XVII<sup>TH</sup> OF APRILL, 1610.

It would appear from the foregoing that priests formerly held the office of notary public, now only belonging to solicitors and attorneys; and that, in the pre-Reformation times, parish priests of the Roman Catholic Church were termed "*parsons*," such designations being given now only to the clergyman of the Reformed Church; clergymen also formerly held diplomas as Doctors of Medicine.

<sup>1</sup> Appointment, as Rector, 1460.

<sup>2</sup> Successor to John Osteler and appointed 1470.

<sup>3</sup> Successor to John Heygge, and ap-

pointed in 1523. This brass appears to have been prepared before the death of Robert Garret, as a blank space was left for the day of its occurrence,



## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 3, 1881.

J. HILTON, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL, in exhibiting a series of stone implements from Oldbury Hill, Ightham, Kent, made the following observations:—

“On examining the collections of Sir John Lubbock and Mr. B. Harrison of Ightham, and the collection presented by the latter to the museum at Maidstone, I detected certain implements of a form new to the eastern counties and belonging to the ‘cave’ type; flakes worked, and perfect implements, have been obtained in a situation which makes this very probable, from the existence of a ledge of overhanging rocks above them.

“Ightham Camp (which is not Roman) is situated on a high hill between Sevenoaks and Wrotham, and the nearest station is Borough Green on the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway. This hill constituted a part of the southern bank of a river running parallel with the chalk range of the Northdowns, but it is on the Greensand, and there is no chalk or flint found on it naturally. The hill is isolated and very steep on all sides except the north, on which side the gravels and sands of the river reach up to about the level of 400 feet, and in them have been found by Mr. Harrison implements of drift types, one is small, pointed, and stained a bright yellow: this was picked out of the gravel in the railway cutting near by Mr. Harrison, and he has found many others himself. Southward, from some little distance above this level of 400 feet up to that of 600 feet, a hard table of rock stretches over the hill top, projecting at the edges; and under its worn and beetling masses it leaves hollows and fissures. These appear to me, and have long done so, to be suitable for rock shelters, and in some places to have been the openings to caves. Not until I saw these implements, however, could I draw any attention to the place with any probability that it would be interesting from any other point of view than a mere guess.

“The flint implements found under this table of rock, on the side of the hill, are to me undoubtedly of ‘cave’ age.

“They are well made. One (though white) is an almost exact counterpart of a black implement from Le Moustier in the British Museum, others very closely resemble several of the implements from Wookey Hole, &c., &c.”

Implements were also shown from the top of the hill, some of which were very beautiful specimens of neolithic chipping in flint, while

perforated stones and hard chipped stone balls, &c., from the Ightham green stone, accompanied them.

A drawing of a bronze spear head was also shewn from the same place.

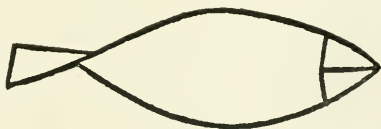
Mr. Spurrell concluded by saying, "I can only express a very strong wish (after thanking Sir J. Lubbock and Mr. Harrison for lending these beautiful implements) that the locality, unique in the home counties, should be visited, properly explored, and excavated. In the latter process there could be no difficulty, as the face is precipitous yet suitable for excavation. It appears to me to present an excellent opportunity of connecting the grades of the stone age between an early stage of the river drift, through the 'cave,' the neolithic, to the late Celtic or bronze age, and all this too within a mile of ground. The country is very beautiful, the hill tops around are covered with hut circles, and stone implements, while close by are the stone monuments of Coldrum, Addington, and a little further Kit's Coty."

A vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Spurrell, Mr. J. PARK HARRISON read the following paper, "On two incised outlines of fishes, and other early marks in the Crypt of Gloucester Cathedral."

"In August last, while searching for marks in the Crypt of Gloucester Cathedral, I was fortunate enough to find two fish-forms, which up to that time had either escaped notice, or, if observed previously, do not appear to have been described. The discovery was due mainly to the unusually favourable condition of sun-light which in each case fell directly on the stones bearing the symbols alluded to, through one of the small Norman windows on the south side of the ambulatory; but it is probable that, even then, the marks (which were much worn by atmospheric influence) would have escaped notice had not a careful search been instituted, and ample opportunity afforded, through the courtesy of Mr. Waller, the architect to the Dean and Chapter, who subsequently verified the discovery, and satisfied himself as to the antiquity of the incisions.

"The fish symbols occur, respectively, on the second and third arch stones, from the springing of two of the supplemental arches in the south ambulatory of the crypt, added in Norman times to support the superstructure of the Cathedral Choir. They appear to be of the same date as the stone work, though it is within the bounds of possibility that the marks may have been already cut on stones derived from an earlier building. That they are not of later date appeared to be clearly shewn on comparing them with mason's marks of admitted Norman workmanship on adjoining arches, even if the height of the arch-stones above the pavement had not rendered it unlikely that they were subsequent additions cut by devotees or others who visited the crypt in post-Norman times.

"Fig 1, which was first observed, was found to measure  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth at the widest part. The head is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long; and the gills and mouth are indicated conventionally, by straight, or nearly straight lines.



*Fig. 1.*

"Fig. 2 was at first overlooked, from being at the time that the other emblem was discovered out of the line of sunshine. On a second exami-

nation of the arch-stones in the ambulatory, the light fell directly on the symbol and the outlines became at once visible. Fig. 2 differs from Fig. 1, principally in the length of the head and tail of the fish, the former of which on measurement was found to be about one-third of the whole figure. A triangle indicates the eye, which was wanting in Fig. 1. The length of this second fish, to the tip of the tail, is eight inches.



Fig. 2.

"I am not aware that fish emblems, except in the form of the *vesica piscis* have been found in any other English Cathedral. At St. David's, however, there is a rude figure on one of the nave columns which may have been intended for one. They are the only naturalesque forms in Gloucester Cathedral, unless the bow and arrow on some of the arch-stones in the north ambulatory and also on one of the supplemental arches in the same part of the crypt may be considered as such.<sup>1</sup>

"It need scarcely be added that a fish was one of the earliest emblems used by Christians to symbolise the church.

"Careful search was next made for any marks on the original stonework of the crypt, which resulted in the discovery of two only—the paucity of marks being the more remarkable because several were found upon the supplemental Norman work in the ambulatory (besides the fish forms) and it has been supposed that this additional work was erected only a short time after the crypt.

"The two above alluded to are like some that were met with soon afterwards in the earliest work in the Cathedrals at St. David's and Llandaff, and also in the old church at Caerleon; and they differ essentially from the marks on the supplemental masonry of the ambulatory at Gloucester. They were found on the springing-stones of one of the original arches in the eastern-most bay of the ambulatory, on its western side. One of the marks resembles an early letter<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 3); the other might, by some exercise of the imagination, be considered a rude representation of a crucifix, or some duplex character (Fig. 4.) Both are of much smaller size than any other marks in the Cathedral.

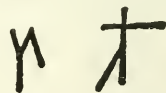


Fig. 3. Fig. 4.

"In the central crypt, after a prolonged search, undertaken with the aid of a wax taper, two deeply-cut marks were found on opposite sides of the arcades. They may be described as half-circles, or ovals attached to straight lines of different lengths, sloping to the left and right, and are probably survivors of early forms of the letters D and R. The one with the longest leg is on an arch stone in the north arcade (Fig. 5.) The other is on the second pillar from the west in the south arcade (Fig. 6.)



Fig. 5. Fig. 6.

"A fifth early mark, or rather set of three marks, occurs on a stone of one of the sustaining pier walls in the central crypt, considered by

<sup>1</sup> In Hereford Cathedral there are also several bow and arrow marks in the south transept, the oldest uncased part of the church,

<sup>2</sup> Mr. E. Freshfield has recently informed the Society of Antiquaries that all the masons' marks at Constantinople, on old buildings, are letters,



Mr. Waller to be Perpendicular work. If so, however, it would seem that some stones from an earlier building must have been utilised, for they bear marks in all respects similar to those on the Norman stonework in the ambulatory, and the nave and choir of the Cathedral of the same period. The centre sign is not unlike a forked stick, or the letter Y. The same form has also been found in the oldest part of Caerleon Church, and on a stone built into the wall on the right-hand side of the Norman entrance to Pembroke Castle, immediately over a mason's mark of contemporary date with the castle. The marks alluded to at Gloucester are certainly fainter than several others of Norman work on adjoining stones, and appear to have been worn, as in the case of the fish-forms, by atmospheric influences. (Fig. 7.)

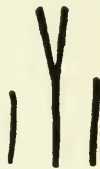


Fig 7.

"In addition to their rarity, some importance attaches to the marks in the crypt at Gloucester, for they raise a doubt regarding the correctness of the commonly received explanation given of such symbols on early stonework; and they appear to me (with other circumstances, some of which are alluded to by Lysons) to put back the probable date of the original crypt or church to a period antecedent to the Norman Cathedral." The small zincographs are one-fourth of the actual size.

In the course of some remarks which Mr. W. BURGESS made upon Mr. Harrison's paper he called attention to the fact of masons at all periods, including the present time, making use of distinctive marks to indicate the work for which they could claim payment; but it appeared that such workmen's marks are totally different from some of the figures to which Mr. Harrison called attention. The Rev. R. M. BLAKISTON, in entering into the discussion, asked some questions as to the language supposed to be represented by some of the symbols.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—A collection of stone implements forming the subject of his paper.

By Mr. J. PARK HARRISON.—Tracings of incised outlines of fish and other early marks in the crypt of Gloucester Cathedral.

By Mr. J. G. WALLER.—The actual sepulchral brasses of John de Northwode and Joan his wife, from the church of Minster, Isle of Sheppy. These well-known brasses having been sent to London, not for 'restoration,' but for the purpose of very necessary reparation, furnished the opportunity, so rarely offered, of a thorough examination of their highly interesting details. Mr. Waller was kind enough to make the following observations:—

"The brasses at Minster to the memory of Sir John de Northwode and his wife, in the Isle of Sheppy, are among the earliest and most interesting of this class of monument. From certain indications of costume in the figure of the lady, such as the fur-lined hood with its lappels and numerous buttons, it is most likely to be by a French hand, as this style of dress is not found in English monuments but is very frequent in those represented in the engravings of Montfaucon, '*Antiquités de la Monarchie Française.*' These brasses have an interest in another way, for they represent an early restoration due to circumstances which seem to be alluded to in a document, preserved in the Registry of Lambeth and dated October 1, 1511, wherein it appears that the figures of a knight and



his wife were much broken and the churchwardens desired to remove them but were admonished to seek help from Archbishop Warham. The style of execution of the crossed legs of the knight clearly point to this date, and it appears that portions of each brass must have been cut away at the same time in order to place them conveniently side by side. In addition to this mischief a piece in the centre of the knight's figure was taken away, thereby shortening it to that of the lady and abolishing a portion of the armorial bearings on the shield which were originally *Ermine* a cross engrailed *Gules*, for Northwode.

"The costume of the knight is one of interest from its various details, such as, low bascinet, banded mail, early form of plate defences at the shoulders and elbows, the modification of the cyclas, the pourpoint, and the scale defences of the fore arms. Considering all circumstances the figure has suffered but little injury, it is perhaps more remarkable that it has been preserved at all, but it is satisfactory to know that they will both now be put into order and relaid into new marble slabs."

By the Lord LECONFIELD (through Mr. W. Huyshe).—A tilting helm, from Petworth Church, Sussex, of the early part of the sixteenth century, probably an unfinished piece of armourer's work, bought on an emergency for the funeral pageant of Sir John Dawtry over whose tomb it hangs and who died in 1527.

Mr. HUYSHE also exhibited, through the kindness of the Rev. W. Fiennes Trotman, a fine tourneying helm with "bellows-vizor," from Wimborne Minster, of the extreme end of the fifteenth century.

The BARON DE COSSON made some observations and read some notes by Mr. Huyshe, upon these two helms, which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

By Mr. E. PEACOCK.—A bronze mortar, lately purchased at Colchester, with an obscure inscription (perhaps meaningless like lettered bells), and a pestle. The mortar is four and a-half inches high, five and a-half inches in diameter, and the pestle five and a-half inches long.

The following notes which Mr. PEACOCK has been kind enough to contribute upon mortars in general will be of interest:—

"As far as I know the Roman ones in this country were of stone. I do not think metal ones of that period have been found in England, nor do I know of any early mediæval examples in existence. The noblest specimen I have seen is in the York Museum. It belonged to St. Mary's Abbey. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1789, p. 877, has an engraving of one which must have been very fine, which belonged to the Apothecaries Company; it had got cracked and was melted down as of no further use. I apprehend that our old English mortars were made by bell founders, and my friend, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, tells me that some of the stamps of mortars are also found on bells. He has a mortar ornamented with fleur de lys, and I have another, different in size, but these decorations are certainly from the same stamps. In later times, but not until about 1600, many mortars were imported from Holland. I have two or three very pretty ones inscribed LOF GOD VAN AL, and I have seen what looked to be precise duplicates of them at Amsterdam AMOR VINCIT OMNIA, from Virgil,<sup>1</sup> the motto of Chaucer's 'Prioress' is on one of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century in my possession. I have heard of a similar one in the north of England. I think these inscriptions are like those on rings, not mere fancies

<sup>1</sup> Ecl. x. l. 69.

but salutary—intended to improve the effect of the drugs pounded therein. A lady friend of mine tells me that she knows of a small silver mortar about two and a half inches high, which she thinks was for pounding scents. Lord William Howard, of Naworth Castle, had a silver mortar (see *Household Book*, Surtees Society's publications, v. 68, p. 266). The smallest mortar I ever saw is in my possession, it is two inches high and inscribed 'Anna Mulle,' no doubt the lady for whose use it was made. I bought it from a dealer in old metal at Rotterdam. I cannot give more than a guess as to the meaning of the letters on the mortar now exhibited, but I do guess that they are magical or mystical—to do good to the things 'brayed' in it. Mortars were sometimes used as vessels in which to burn a light. An instance of this occurs in the account of the baggage provided in 1513 for Henry Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, preparatory to his joining the English army in France. See *Archæologia*, v. xxvi, p. 403."

By Mrs. LOVELL.—A globe of crystal from Japan, without flaw or blemish, three and one-eighth inches in diameter. Formerly so highly esteemed when "wise men followed fools;" the 'divining crystal,' like the Bezoar Stone, appears to have lost its virtues in these present matter-of-fact days.

By Mr. H. R. H. GOSSELIN.—A pair of silver-mounted and inlaid pistols, early eighteenth century, inscribed 'John Chrystie Down,' a celebrated Scotch maker.

March 3, 1881.

J. HILTON, Esq., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, on opening the meeting, spoke of the great loss that the Institute had lately sustained by the death of Mr. W. J. Bernhard-Smith, an antiquary of the best type, and by whose death so much curious learning had passed away. Mr. Bernhard-Smith was no mere collector of 'profitless relics,' he not only thoroughly understood his own special subjects, swords and weapons of war and of the chase, but had long been known as a skilful interpreter of various objects of other and uncommon kinds. The members of the Institute would recall his long and friendly co-operation, the readiness with which he opened the stores of his knowledge for their gratification and instruction, and they would long cherish the memory of a most amiable and genial man.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed that the following resolution be sent to Mrs. Bernhard-Smith :—

"That the members of the Institute have heard with deep regret of the death of Mr. W. J. Bernhard-Smith, a cordial supporter of the Institute for thirty-one years, and a member of the Council; and they desire to express to Mrs. Bernhard-Smith and her family their sincere sympathy with them in their bereavement."

This was seconded by Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, Q.C., who took occasion to testify, from his own experience, with what courtesy and readiness Mr. Bernhard-Smith had extended information to him.

Captain E. HOARE read a paper "On the Memorial Sepulchral Brass in Hayes Church, near Bromley, Kent, over the grave of the Rev. John Hoare." This is printed at p 229.

Sir JOHN MACLEAN sent some notes, which were read by Mr. HARTSHORNE, respecting a small cavern in the rock which had lately been discovered opposite his house at Bicknor, Gloucestershire. From the nature

of the objects found within the cavern it would appear to be of the time of Charles I. and to have possibly served as the retreat of a recusant priest, perhaps for a member of the ancient family of Wyrall, some of whom were Roman Catholics and lived at Bicknor Court.

### *Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited*

By Captain E. HOARE.—Rubblings of the brasses from Hayes Church, Kent. Mr. J. G. Waller was kind enough to make some observations on these brasses.

By Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN.—A photograph of the upper part of a Roman tombstone, lately discovered at South Shields, of which the special interest consists in the sculptured lion's head with a ring in his mouth, a subject said to be unique in Britain, though occurring upon Roman sculptures on the continent.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SCOTLAND IN EARLY CHRISTIAN TIMES. By JOSEPH ANDERSON, Keeper of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1881.

The work at the head of this Notice contains the Series of Lectures delivered in 1879 from the Chair of Archæology founded, in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by the late Alexander Henry Rhind of Sibster. The great services rendered to the science of Archæology by Mr. Rhind are well known to most of the Members of the Institute. For several years he was an occasional contributor to our Journal, as he was also to the publications of several other learned Societies, and his communications shewed him to be an ardent explorer and a patient and careful observer, whilst his conclusions were marked by a cautious and enlightened judgment. But in no way did he more shew his appreciation of the value of the science to which he had so earnestly devoted his life than in the foundation, at his death, of an annual series of lectures to encourage and promote its study in all time.

The previous series of lectures was delivered by Dr. Arthur Mitchell, published in a volume entitled "The Past in the Present: What is Civilization?" a very remarkable work which should be studied by every archæologist. To this we need not further refer.

The subject selected by Mr. Anderson is of the highest interest, and he has treated it in a most comprehensive manner. After a preliminary lecture on the means of obtaining a scientific basis for the archæology of Scotland, he proceeds to the consideration of the ecclesiastical antiquities of that country under two divisions, viz.:—Structural Remains and Existing Relics, the last being sub-divided under three heads—Clocks, Bells, and Crosiers and Reliquaries.

With respect to the first division he inverts the ordinary course of proceeding. Instead of beginning at the beginning and endeavouring to trace down the history of the Ancient Christian Structures of Scotland from the earliest rude examples he adopts as his starting point the early part of the twelfth century when the characteristics of the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland were well-known as in plan, consisting of chancel with round arches with radiating joints over doors and windows, the jambs or sides of which were perpendicular.

Having thus obtained a fixed starting point in time and a known type of structure for comparison, he proceeds to deal with the unascertained types on the principle of archæological classification. Removing from view all ecclesiastical structures of twelfth century



character there remains a considerable number which possess no distinguishing architectural features of moulding or ornament, and in this residue some are obviously earlier than others, though certain of them may be later in time than the twelfth century, because the earlier type may have survived longer in some places than in others, and in certain places the earlier types may never have been superseded by the later at all. In these circumstances there is a difficulty in adopting a chronological classification, a difficulty which arises in attributing any prehistoric object to a given period of time, whilst it is easy to determine that within a given area certain types must have preceded certain other types, and therefore a classification by sequency of types is all that is truly practicable, and this principle Mr. Anderson has adopted.

The residue which remains after withdrawing all the churches of twelfth century character he divides into two distinct classes. (1) Those which possess Chancel and Nave, and (2) Those which have only a single Chamber; and of these two classes he naturally considers "the most complex and refined as certainly the later;" and though some of these chancelled churches approach very nearly in character to those of the twelfth century there are others very rudely constructed of unhewn stone without mortar; whilst the single-chambered structures may be traced backwards by a series of gradations of style and construction into a type which is truly primitive, corresponding in all respects with the types of the earlier churches of Ireland from whence the Christian institutions of Scotland were originally derived, and whither, as the Celtic Church, in almost every respect, differed widely from the rest of Western Christendom, we should naturally look for identity of type.

The chancelled churches of the mainland of Scotland Mr. Anderson says are mostly of the Norman style of architecture, and he passes them by, referring only to the beautiful ruin of the church of St. Regulus at St. Andrews, and for his first example of a Celtic

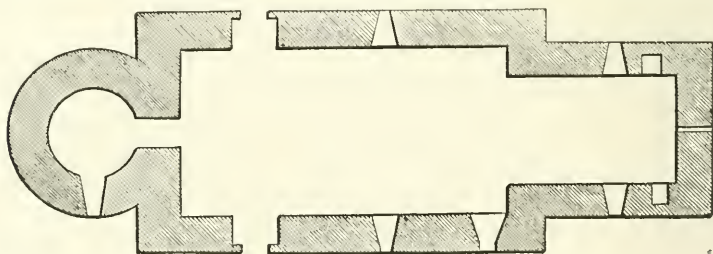


Fig. 1.—Plan of Egilsay Church.

chancelled church adopts the remarkable church of Egilsay in Orkney, which has a round tower at the west end, in which respect it differs from all other churches in Scotland. "The whole structure is of irregular coursed masonry. Some of the stones are as much as four feet long by eighteen inches deep, but generally speaking they are very irregular in size. The tower is built of smaller stones than the church; they are unhewn and fitted to the round by their length. The internal diameter of the tower is seven feet, and the thickness of the wall at the base three and-a-half feet. Its present height is forty-





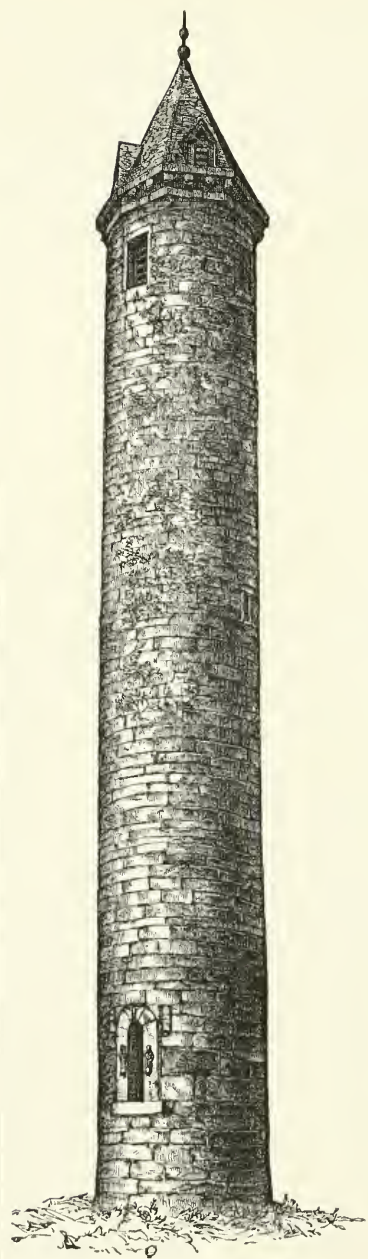


Fig. 3. Round Tower of Brechin.

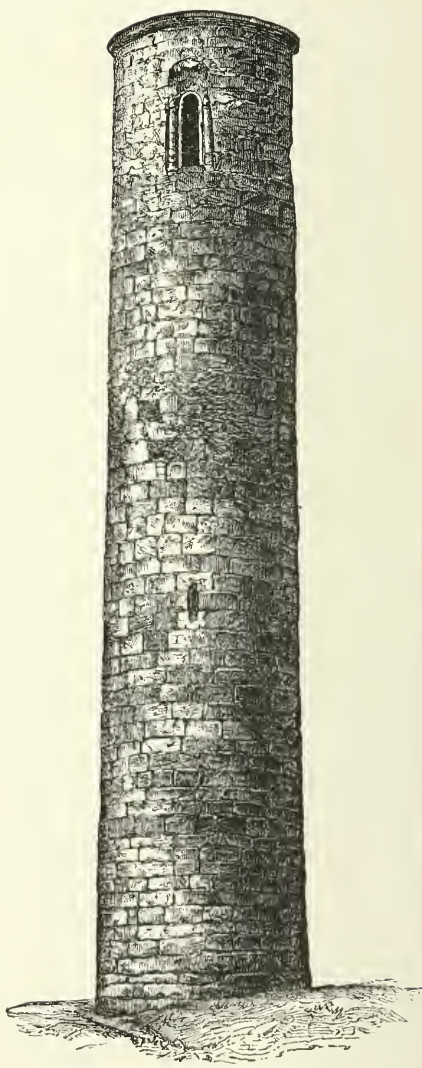


Fig. 4. Round Tower at Abernethy.

eight feet, but it was formerly sixty feet high. The engraving Fig. 2, represents both church and tower as covered by stone roofs,

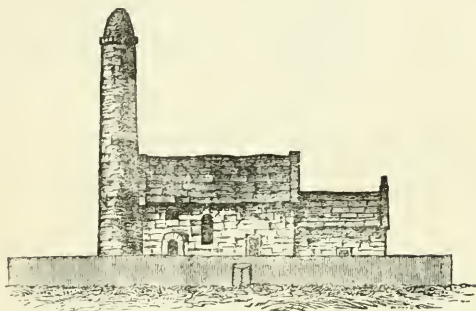


Fig. 2.—Egilsay Church.

that of the tower being a conical cap like those of the round towers in Ireland. The church has now lost its roof and the tower its cap." "The upper story of the tower had four windows facing the cardinal points. Below these is a narrow square topped window in the east side, and straight below it a semi-circular-headed window of wide dimensions. Access is obtained to the tower by a round-headed doorway opening through the west gable of the nave. The nave itself is twenty-nine feet nine inches long by fifteen feet six inches wide, and the walls are about three feet thick. It has two doors opposite to each other, on the north and south sides near the west end." "The chancel is fifteen feet by nine feet six inches, and the wall about two feet nine inches thick. It is roofed with a plain barrel vault, and has no proper chancel arch, the end of the vault opening directly from the nave. Over the vault of the chancel is a chamber, to which access is given from the nave by a round-headed doorway. This chamber is lighted by a flat-headed window in the east gable eighteen inches high. Such a group of peculiar features does not occur in any other ecclesiastical building in this country; but it is the round tower which gives Egilsay its special character." The singular character of this little church has led us to give a somewhat full abstract of Mr. Anderson's description.

Besides the round tower of this church only two other round towers exist in Scotland. One is at Brechin in Forfarshire, and the other is at Abernethy in Perthshire, but neither of them seems ever to have been connected with a church.

Mr. Anderson gives a very careful and detailed account of each of these towers but their general character is sufficiently shewn for our purpose in the annexed engravings (Figs. 3 & 4). Though they differ from each other in dimensions and in some special features, in general character they are strikingly alike, and Mr. Anderson considers them as outlyers of the specific type of round towers of which seventy six examples are known to exist in Ireland (and there were twenty-two others which are now gone) with which they are identical in type. The Irish towers he classifies as of four styles of which he considers the Scottish towers to be of the third or fourth. Mr. Anderson gives many other examples of round-towered chancelled churches in Orkney

and Shetland, but we must proceed to the next class of churches, or primitive type of single chambered buildings.

One of the best examples of the first variety is found, Mr. Anderson says, in the Island of Inchcolm, on the east coast of Scotland, beside the ruins of a monastery founded there by Alexander I, though of much earlier date. It has been minutely described by Sir James Simpson.<sup>1</sup> It is irregular in form (see ground plan, Fig. 5) approxi-

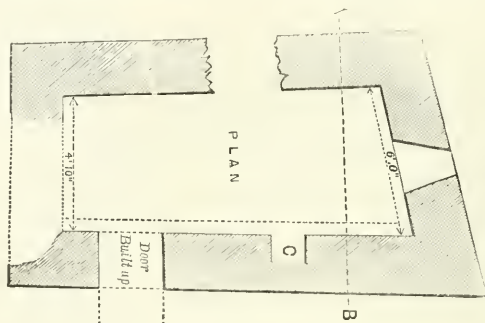


Fig. 5 - Plan of Cell at Inchcolm.

mately rectangular internally and measuring sixteen feet in length along the centre of the floor and six feet three inches across the east end, and four feet nine inches at the west end. The roof of the building is vaulted with stones placed in the form of a radiating arch (Fig. 6) somewhat pointed at the apex and the centring stones are roughly wedge-shaped. The space between the vaulting and the stone roof is filled in with small stones and a quantity of lime. In this are embedded the oblong-squared stones which form the roof. The original door-way is in the south wall near the west end, a somewhat unusual position in the early stone roofed churches or oratories. It is five feet high and four feet wide with slightly inclined jambs. In this rude edifice, Mr Anderson observes, we have reached the primitive type but not the primitive form in which that earliest type appears. Rude as it is, the Hermit's Chapel or Oratory at Inchcolm possesses features in the radiating vault of the roof, its grouted and squared stone covering, the arching of its doorway, its position and even the approximately quadrangular form of its ground plan, features not



Fig. 9. - Interior head of Doorway at Inchcolm.

found in the earliest forms of structure consecrated to the service of religion when the church was first permanently planted in Scotland. (See Figs. 5-9.)

As Christianity with all its usages, styles of construction, forms of structure, and ornament, was originally derived from Ireland to that Island, the ancient Scotia, Mr. Anderson directs us to look, if we

<sup>1</sup> "Proceedings of Soc. of Ant. of Scotland," Vol. ii, p. 489.



CELL AT INCHCOLM

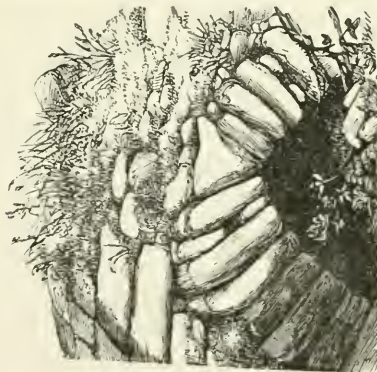


Fig. 6. Section of the Arch of the Roof.

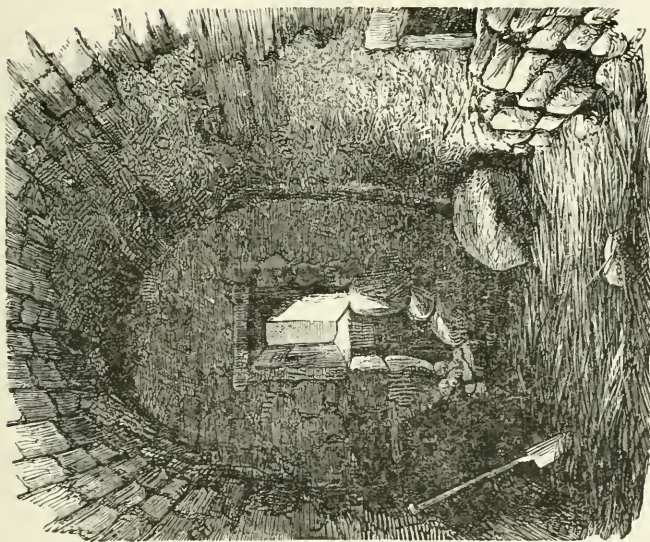


Fig. 7. Interior of the Cell.

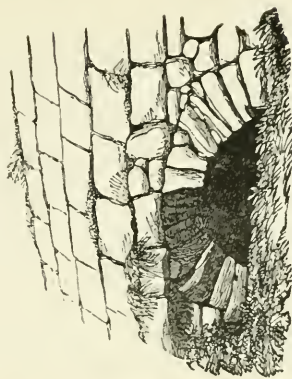


Fig. 8. Exterior head of Doorway.





would ascertain the features of the earliest style of construction of Christian buildings. "The study of early Christian structures in Scotland," he says, "should be prosecuted as the study of a derived group, and the typical characteristics of a group can be most readily ascertained from the more numerous examples which will be found in the original group than in the derived group." Consequently he takes us to Ireland for the purpose of investigating the character of the earlier Christian structures in that country.

This is perfectly natural and just. Ireland was the mother of the Celtic Christian Church in Scotland, as she was also of the Celtic Christian Church in Cornwall, the sister church therefore of Scotland and founded at about the same time. As might be expected we find in Cornwall examples perfectly analogous to those of which we have been treating in Scotland. In the little oratory of St. Piran, or St. Kieran as he was called in Ireland, so singularly discovered in 1835, after having been buried perhaps 1000 years in the sands, we have a single-chambered building of precisely the same character as the Oratory at Inchcolm. The masonry of the east window is almost identical with the vaulting at the latter place. In St. Gwythian we have a chancelled church very similar in plan, save the tower, to that of Egilsay. See "Ancient Oratories of Cornwall" by Rev. W. Haslam with illustrations.<sup>1</sup>

The early Celtic Church in Ireland in its policy, customs, and usages differed very widely from those of other portions of western Christendom. The whole country was divided among numerous septs, each independent of, and often hostile to, its neighbours, and when the chieftain of a sept became a convert to the Christian faith he took the founder under his protection, and the churches were built within the fortified enclosure of the chieftain. Hence, contrary to ecclesiastical usage elsewhere, the bishops did not possess geographical Sees. In like manner the monasteries had bishops of their own who lived according to the Rule of the Order in the religious house, rendering due obedience to the abbot, and it is found that from the first introduction of Christianity into Ireland until the twelfth century it was the special character of ecclesiastical settlements that the rath or cashel surrounded the church and included also within its circuit the domestic buildings. And though the rath might not have differed in character from what it was in Pagan times, Mr. Anderson says "there is no Pagan structure in Ireland or in Scotland that at all resembles, either in form or character, a Christian Church however early or however rude."

The constitution of the early Celtic Church was monastic, and the rath which surrounded the church enclosed all the cells or dwellings of the fraternity. These dwellings, like the rath, were not necessarily affected either in style or form by the change of faith of their occupants, and they continued to be constructed after the ancient native manner; and Mr. Anderson assumes that if we find in Scotland a church, or churches, associated with a group of dwellings constructed in this manner, we may conclude that a group of Christian remains of an earlier type is not likely to be discovered.

Mr. Anderson states that there are in Ireland four different groups of early ecclesiastical structures of this typical character. An example

<sup>1</sup> "Archæological Journal," ii, 228, *et seq.*

of the first group is found in Skellig Mhichel, or St. Michael's Rock, a small but lofty island, lying about twelve miles off the coast of Kerry. The rock is divided into two peaks, and the monastic settlement occupies an oblong platform about 180 feet in length by about 80 or 100 feet in width, which is situated on the summit of the lower peak, close to the edge of the cliff, about 700 or 800 feet above the sea. The group of buildings is enclosed on the seaward side by a cashel wall of dry-built masonry of beautiful workmanship, which runs along the edge of the precipice. On the landward side they are enclosed by the rock which rises behind them; no wilder or more inaccessible situation can well be conceived. The landing place is a narrow cove, where the vertical cliffs rise to the full height of the island. The path of access leads first by a series of zigzags to a point in the cliff, about 120 feet above the level of the sea, from which a succession of 670 steps leads up to the settlement. As it now exists (Fig. 10) it consists of five circular bee-hive cells of dry-built masonry.

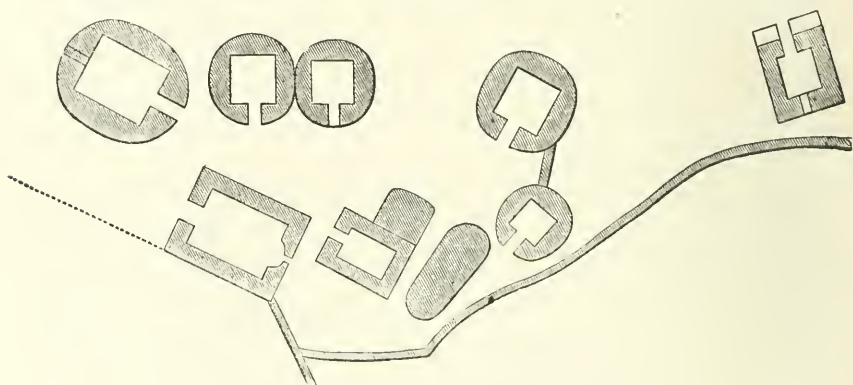


Fig. 10.—Ground Plan of the group of structures on Skellig Mhichel. Scale 40 ft. to 1 in., nearly.

associated with two rectangular structures built in the same manner, and one rectangular building of larger size, part of which is dry-built and part constructed with lime cement. This is almost circular in form externally, but contains a rectangular chamber fifteen feet by twelve feet on the ground plan; its walls are six feet six inches thick. They rise vertically for seven or eight feet, after which they converge in the usual bee-hive form, until at the height of sixteen feet six inches the rudely domical or bee-hived-shaped roof, is finished by a small circular aperture, which might be covered by a single stone. The doorway is three feet ten inches high with inclining sides, and the passage which leads straight through the thickness of the wall is about two and-a-half feet wide. Over the doorway is a small aperture like a window, and above it is a cross formed by the insertion in the wall of six quartz boulders, whose whiteness is in strong contrast to the dark slaty stone of the building (Fig. 11.) Mr. Anderson gives further detailed description of this building, and says the general features of the other circular cells are so similar as not to need description. The other cells however differ from these cells in the following particulars: These also are built wholly of unhewn stones without cement; they are quadrangular in form both externally and internally; their doorways are always placed at the west end, and they have a small

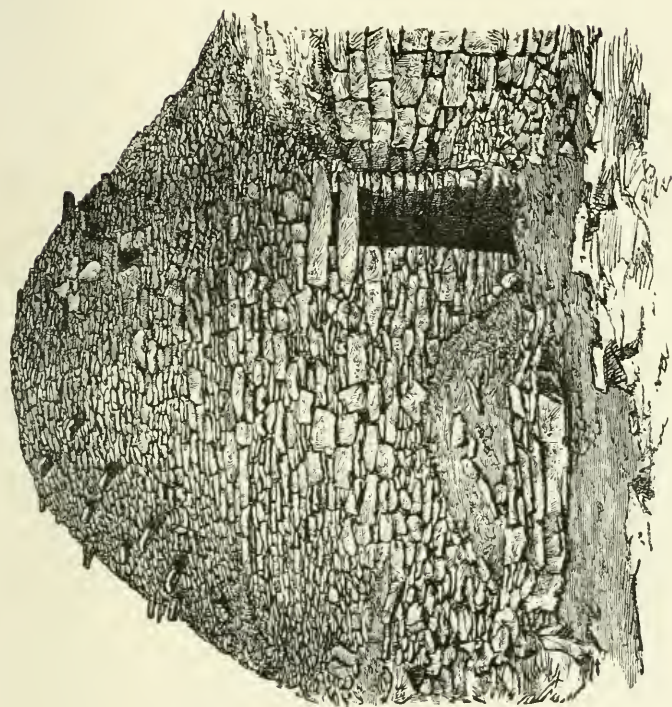


Fig. 11. Exterior View of the Cell at Skellig Michael.





window in the east end and the remains of an altar platform under the east window. Thus Mr. Anderson observes, there is no difficulty in concluding that, notwithstanding their small size and the rudeness of their construction, they were built for worship and not for ordinary habitation.

Mr. Anderson then proceeds to the description of examples of the other groups of Irish buildings in which we are unable to follow him, and sums up his remarks by saying that the characteristic features of the earliest type of Christian remains in Ireland are: 1. "That they exist in composite groups comprising one or more churches placed in association with monastic dwellings, which consist of dry-built cells of bee-hive shape, the the whole settlement being enclosed within a cashel or rampart of uncemented stones. 2. That the churches found in this association are invariably of small size and rude construction. 3. That whether they are lime-built with perpendicular walls, or dry-built and roofed like the dwellings, by bringing the walls gradually together, they are always rectangular on the ground plan and single chambered. 4. They have usually a west doorway, and always an east window over the altar."

The special features of these primitive buildings, Mr. Anderson says, "are their extreme rudeness of construction, the simplicity of their forms, the insignificance of their dimensions, and the total absence of any attempt at ornament or refinement of detail." But it is very evident from other facts that this severe simplicity and uniformity of plan did not arise from any deficiency of inventive power of the people, as is shewn by their other works, and Dr. Petrie suggests that it rather originated "in the spirit of their faith, or a veneration for some model given them by their first teachers, for that the earliest churches on the Continent before the time of Constantine were like these, small and unadorned, there is no reason to doubt."

We have dwelt at some length upon this first division of Mr. Anderson's treatise, though not to the extent which, from its interest, we should have desired, because these ancient Celtic Christian structures are of very great historical value and are little known. So far as we are aware he is the first who has classified them and reduced them to a system.

We now proceed to the second division which treats of some of the ancient relics of the Celtic Church. These have from time to time been brought under notice in the various archæological publications and, consequently, we have become, to some extent, familiar with their special character and their great interest and artistic value. In treating of the subject of books Mr. Anderson describes various MSS. of the ancient Celtic Church which are very remarkable for their high antiquity, some of them being attributed to St. Columba himself, their historic value as illustrative of the manners and customs and spirit of the age in which they were written, the beauty of the caligraphy in the early Celtic characters, the extreme intricacy and richness of the ornamentation, and the variety and delicacy of the interlaced work so characteristic of the Celtic School of Art, form a remarkable contrast with the rude bee-hive huts, in which lived the cultured artists by whom these magnificent works were executed, shewing, as Mr. Anderson remarks, how greatly we should err if we relied on structural remains alone as indications of culture,

One of the special characteristics of the ancient Celtic church was the extreme veneration which the people manifested for the ministers and for all the ornaments and accessories associated with Divine Worship. Bells and Crosiers in a very high degree participated in this veneration, so much so that special hereditary officers were appointed for their safe custody, and endowed with lands and emoluments to support their offices. There are many bells in existence of extreme antiquity, and though rude in character, the high esteem in which they were held is shewn by the shrines or reliquaries prepared for their preservation. These are executed in gold and silver and adorned in the richest style of Celtic art. Illustrations are given by Mr. Anderson of many of the ancient bells and of their costly cases. As examples of the latter the reader is referred to the figures on pp. 200, 201, and 203. Of Crosiers the most remarkable in its character and its history is the Quigrich or Crosier of St. Fillan. For an account of this we must refer the reader to a communication from Lord Talbot de Malahide in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 41, and to Mr. Anderson's pages for a further account.

We are glad to hear that Mr. Anderson is appointed to give another series of lectures relating more especially to the Pagan Antiquities of Scotland, to which we shall look forward with much interest.<sup>1</sup>

PRIMITIVE FOLK-MOOTS; OR, OPEN-AIR ASSEMBLIES IN BRITAIN. By GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary to the Folk-Moot Society; Author of Index of Municipal Offices. London: Sampson, Low & Co., 1880.

Man in his primitive state lived under a patriarchal government in families or tribes, and we have abundant evidence that in this social condition all matters of a religious, legislative, political, or judicial character were dealt with by assemblies, held in the open air, of the whole of the free-men of the tribe or family. It is not meant that the entire male population was entitled to be present. All the unfree, and all in a dependent position, were represented by the heads of their families, who were responsible for their conduct. Those chiefs only were entitled to attend, and did attend such assemblies. It is obvious that as time advanced the numbers would so increase that no building which could be constructed at that early period would contain the persons entitled to be present; and besides this physical reason there were others equally strong. The heathen associated the administration of justice with the principle of their religion, and for holding courts of justice they required sacred places in which sacrifices could be offered and the oracles consulted; and though upon the introduction of Christianity the heathen sacrifices ceased, the feeling of reverence for the sacred place remained, and it still continued to be used as the seat of justice, and the place of general meetings for the purposes of the tribe. The sites selected for these meetings were in some way remarkable or conspicuous, and in character they varied very widely, in a forest, under special trees, in meadows, on mountains and hills, by the sides of rivers, and many other situations have been enumerated by the German author Grimm

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find a very exhaustive treatise on Ancient Bells, under the head "Tintinnabula," in the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe's "Church Bells of Devon," p. 297.

as meeting places of the Courts of Justice. These early institutions formed the cradle of the liberties of England, and the investigation and study of them has been too much neglected. Historical authors, generally, have been content to take up history where recent evidence begins. But Mr. Gomme says, "No branch of English history has been re-modelled so entirely upon a new basis as this early period, before the existence of English records. Comparative Philology, Comparative Politics, and Comparative Jurisprudence have united in producing a philosophy of history, which enables us to understand the political life and institutions of this early period, almost as satisfactorily as if our knowledge had been derived from the evidence of written records." Kemble, and Stubbs, and Freeman have taken a wider and more comprehensive view of the subject than any of their predecessors, by appealing to the comparative method, and by "calling in the evidence of early foreign history as evidence of early English history, and by taking English history back to a foreign home for its origin." Mr. Gomme is, however, of opinion that these eminent writers have taken too narrow a view of the subject by limiting the comparison of English institutions to those of the Germans or other Teutonic races, whereas it appears to him "not only that traces of primitive institutions are by no means lost to the student of our island antiquities, but that it is worth while spending some time and labour in working out the proposition as to how much of the primitive history of Britain may be restored to knowledge."

Mr. Gomme places the primitive assembly in a very foremost position among the institutions of our forefathers. "It represents," he says, "all that primitive man had to fall back upon in his struggles for right and justice in his connection with men of his own tribe or village, and perhaps with those of foreign tribes or villages. It figures out the solidity of the foundation upon which it was based, namely, the patriarchal community; and it adds one more to those common features in the sociology of the human race which modern science has succeeded in establishing."

Having arrived at this conclusion, Mr. Gomme proceeds to shew what is now the practice of uncivilised or half-civilised peoples in regard to the transaction of the public affairs of the tribe. He appeals to the usage of the North American Indians, to the Hottentot tribes of South Africa, to the Scandinavian nations, and especially to the Things of Iceland, which is the most perfect example known in history. All these afford evidence of the soundness of his theory. And though we have not English written records extending back to the period when popular open air assemblies were in full use, there is a large amount of evidence of the right of all freemen to attend and take part in public affairs. This is shewn by the expression that certain things were done in the presence of "all the men of the shire," or "all the men of the hundred." But the strongest evidence exists in the survival, more or less distinct of special principles and special forms and ceremonies, which in certain courts prevail to our own time. As might have been expected, these ancient practices obtain more fully in the most remote districts. The most perfect example in Britain is, it is presumed, the Tynwald Court of the Isle of Man. Of this a very full and interesting description is given by Mr. Gomme, and he quotes important examples in the Tings of Orkney and Shetland.

The practice also of some of our Hundredal, Forest, and Manor Courts in England, as regards the sites and the periods at which they are ascertained to be held, as well as the customs and franchises which pertain to them, are of the highest interest from their singularity, and from remarkable examples of the survival among us, even at this time, of important features of the ancient folk-moots. The examples cited by Mr. Gomme from all parts of the country are very numerous and varied, but the space required for the selection of even a few of them is more than we have at our disposal. We must, therefore, refer to the work itself for further information and details. It affords evidence of very extensive reading, great industry and perseverance in the collection of materials, and very close reasoning in their use. Few persons will read it without interest and instruction upon a very abstruse subject.

HISTORIC MEMORIALS OF THE STEWARTS OF FORTHERGILL, PERTH-SHIRE, AND THEIR MALE DESCENDANTS, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING TITLE DEEDS AND VARIOUS DOCUMENTS OF INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY. Edited by CHARLES POYNTZ STEWART, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, F.S.A., Scotland, etc., etc. Printed for private circulation by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London.

Mr. Stewart's is one of those Family Memorials which are now frequently privately printed, chiefly for those who are personally interested in the family which they commemorate. Many of them relate to families of no interest except to their own members, and too often the genealogies set out are as untrustworthy as they are uninteresting. In neither respect is this the case in the work at the head of this notice. The Stewarts of Forthergill here chronicled are the descendants of the Royal House of Stewart, a family than which, notwithstanding the weaknesses and frailties of many of its members, no family in the history of Scotland or England has kindled a warmer enthusiasm and more faithful devotion. The author has been neither credulous nor negligent in his work. There is evidence on every page of conscientious and diligent investigation and an honest endeavour, justified in the result, to prove every step in the descent.

The Stewarts of Forthergill are descended from Alexander, fourth son of Robert II, King of Scotland and brother of Robert III. He was officially known among his contemporaries as Alexander "Senescalli" on account of the hereditary office held by his family as High Stewards of Scotland, but colloquially, on account of his hot and fierce temperament and his many sanguinary actions, for his sword was in his hand on every provocation, he was called "The Wolf of Badenoch," the barony of which had been granted to him by his father, by whom he was also created Earl of Buchan (1374), and having married Euphemia, Countess of Ross, in her right he became also Earl of Ross. He was the builder of Gurth Castle near Dunkeld, of which a good description, with view and plan, is given. The Earl of Buchan's fourth son James married (A.D. 1379) Janet daughter and heir of Alexander Menzies of Forthergill, and his issue inherited her possessions. Forthergill became the seat of the chief of his descendants for many generations. This James had a son John Stewart the First of Forthergill who had two sons Niel of Forthergill,



and Alexander who had sesine of the lands of Bonskeid and died in 1501. Alexander the Fifth of Bonskeid had two sons, John sixth of Bonskeid whose issue male became extinct on the death of Alexander Stewart the tenth of Bonskeid, and James who had a grant (1625) from his father of lands in Wester-Cluny where he seated himself. His grandson Captain Charles Stewart of the Fifth Dragoons married Rose daughter of Roger Hall of Narrow-water Castle, co. Down, by Christian daughter and co-heir of Sir Toby Poyntz of Acton and Brenock, co. Armagh, believed to have been the grandson of Sir John Poyntz of Iron Acton, co. Glouc., under which name of Acton his father, Sir Charles Poyntz, constituted the lands granted to him in Armagh, a manor. This Captain Charles Stewart was the great-great-grandfather of our author. Mr. Stewart has very carefully brought down the pedigree with the result that the only existing descendants in the male line of "the fierce Wolf of Badenock" are—his uncle Charles Stewart and his son Charles Edward Stewart; his kinsman James Stewart-Robertson and his son of the same name; and himself. All other male descendants he has shewn to have become extinct.

About one half of the volume consists of an Appendix containing charters, deeds, and other legal instruments, affording evidence of the facts set forth in the genealogies, which are, of themselves, of considerable interest. Several of the charters are printed in *fac simile*, which, as well as the many other illustrations, are very well executed. The whole work is a monument of careful, patient, and industrious research, and its production reflects very great credit both upon the author and printer.



## Archaeological Intelligence.

ROMAN LANCASHIRE.—Mr. W. Thompson Watkin announces this work as now ready for the press, and we have much pleasure in calling attention to one of the results of the labours of an enthusiastic and industrious Roman antiquary. The readers of the *Archæological Journal* have already become aware of the amount of intelligent and fearless criticism that Mr. Watkin has brought to bear upon Roman inscriptions and antiquities generally throughout the country, and they will no doubt recognise and encourage his labours on his own special ground of Lancashire.

The work is undertaken with the view of bringing together the many scattered records which exist of discoveries of Roman Antiquities in the County of Lancashire; and it is proposed to engrave every article of interest now extant, including altars, tablets, miscellaneous inscriptions, rings, fibulae, and other minor articles. The roads will be particularly dealt with, as it is important that as much light as possible should be thrown upon the Roman Itineraries. The fact of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus passing through the county, renders it necessary to enter at length into the question of the sites of the stations upon it. A map of the county, shewing the course of the roads and their nature, marked with the site of all discoveries large or small, and the position of the various stations, will accompany the work.

The destruction of the remaining vestiges of the Roman era, which proceeds almost daily, forms a convincing argument as to the necessity for a work of this nature. The total obliteration of Roman Manchester is an instance of this destruction, and a plan of the station, drawn from old maps, is the only means of preserving to posterity the identification of the site.

The numerous hoards of coins found in the county will also form a subject of enquiry. Much new information has been gathered from MSS.; and of several of the inscriptions photographs have been specially taken, with the view of obtaining absolute correctness upon epigraphic points.

The woodcuts of the articles engraved will be introduced amongst the text, in the same manner as in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

It will thus be seen how much may be done even for a single county, and probably no intelligent man in Lancashire will doubt that the time had come for a work of this nature. The systematic and scientific manner—nowhere more conspicuous than in the northern counties—in which the present generation of Roman antiquaries pursue their researches, and the facilities of inter-communication, might indeed make it possible that

the whole of England would be eventually thus dealt with county by county ; but, failing such a general scheme, a new edition of Horsley's *Britannia Romana* may surely be not unreasonably hoped for, and we have some reason to believe that such a new edition is not altogether beyond the bounds of probability. The price of Mr. Watkin's volume, demy 4to. cloth, is to subscribers £1 5s. Names may be sent to the author, 39, Plumpton Street, Everton, Liverpool.

MAP OF A HUNDRED SQUARE MILES ROUND AVEBURY.—The Rev. A. C. Smith, whose name is alone a guarantee of accuracy, has permitted the publication by the Marlborough College Natural History Society of this valuable record of a district measuring thirteen miles from east to west and eight miles from north to south. Barrows, camps, roads, dykes, enclosures, cromlechs, circles, &c., will here appear properly coloured and lettered, the map being accompanied by a key forming a general Guide to the British and Roman Antiquities of North Wilts. The letterpress will give an account of each antiquity, together with figures, plans, &c., the whole comprising a complete Index to the archaeology of this interesting part of England. Subscriptions, £1 1s., should be sent at once to the Rev. T. A. Preston, The Green, Marlborough.

MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN BEDFORDSHIRE.—The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Bedford, on July 26th, under the presidency of Mr. Charles Magniac, M.P., are now completed. The following are the names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections: *Antiquities*, President, M. H. Bloxam, Esq.; Vice-Presidents, R. S. Ferguson, Esq., E. Peacock, Esq. *History*, President, The Very Rev. the Dean of Ely; Vice-Presidents, Sir John Maclean, Knt., the Rev. Precentor Venables. *Architecture*, President, not settled; Vice-Presidents, The Rev. H. Addington; J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq. The following places will be visited amongst others during the week:—Dunstable, Totternhoe Castle, Eaton Bray, Sandy, Luton, St. Albans, Old Verulam, Felmersham, Stevington, Elstow, Houghton Conquest, Ampt-hill, Cainhoe Castle, Woburn Abbey, &c.

All persons who contemplate reading papers during the meeting should communicate without delay with the Secretary.



# The Archaeological Journal.

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SEPTEMBER, 1881.

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## NOTES ON OTHER SIGNACULA OF ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELLA.

By C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

Since the publication of our Thirty-sixth Volume, in which, at page 33, will be found a short notice of a *signaculum* of St. James of Compostella formed of jet, I have had an opportunity of examining other examples preserved in museums and by private collectors, and have myself had the good fortune to secure two of unusual size, and also a figure of St. Andrew formed of the same material. The closing of numerous monastic institutions in Italy has brought to light many objects of interest and rarity, which had been carefully preserved in their secluded treasuries and churches—votive gifts, in many instances, to the chapels of those saints to whom they more immediately had reference, or were the patrons of the donor. As might be expected, the monasteries and nunneries of the Neapolitan territory and of Sicily have yielded objects of Spanish origin, and the three fine examples which I was fortunate enough to obtain were brought from that island.

A short description of these, and some notice of other examples, may not be without interest, and will be rendered more so by the addition of some memoranda on the subject of Jet and its use as an ornamental material, the more important of which have been obligingly furnished to me by my friend the Baron Charles Davillier, whose investigations among numerous archives, and energetic researches on various subjects of artistic handicraft and archæological reference (particularly in respect to Spanish art), have been so fertile of valuable results.

To commence with the examples before me: the first is that figure of St. James the Greater, which has been figured and described in my former notice.

The second is the largest and finest figure of that saint cut from a single piece of jet which has fallen under my

observation. It is 8 inches high by  $3\frac{7}{8}$  inches wide, and is pierced laterally for suspension by a cord; the dress and attributes are varied only in arrangement from those of the smaller figure; the gourd is on his right side; the arms are crossed, the right hand holding a rosary, the left his staff, from which unfortunately the small pennon has been broken; he does not carry the book, nor is the wallet attached to the staff, but is fastened to his left side; the feet are bare. On his left is the kneeling figure of a male pilgrim, bearded but bare headed, his hat hanging behind upon the back; from his hands, uplifted together in the attitude of prayer, a rosary hangs, his *bourdon* being supported by the arm on his right shoulder. I find no trace of gilding upon this carefully executed and unusually fine figure of St. Giacobe.

The third is carved from a thinner slab of jet, but is even in more perfect preservation; it is  $7\frac{1}{4}$  in. high and 3 in. wide. The open book is in the left hand, the staff with *gibecière* and rosary is held by the right, the gourd at the left side, the feet in boots. On his right a kneeling male figure clings to the saint's staff, he is bearded and hooded, but the hat hangs behind. On the left a hooded female also kneels with hands in prayerful attitude; her hat also hangs backwards. This *simulacrum* is attached to a surbase evidently made for it, but from another piece of jet, and which bears the incised inscription in two lines

ORA PRO NOBIS  
BEATE GACOBÈ.

This group, not quite so highly finished as the last, though perhaps by the same hand, has been enriched with gilding, remains of which are seen in various parts, the inscription and its bordering lines among the rest.

The fourth figure I secured, though probably carved at Compostella, is not a *signaculum* of the saint of that great sanctuary, but probably represents St. Andrew clad in flowing robes, standing and holding to his right side the saltire formed cross, emblem of his martyrdom. His head is bare, the long hair falling behind; the left hand, gathering up the folds of his outer mantle, supports at the same time, some insufficiently defined object. This figure stands upon an ornamental square base in three stages, the upper lobed to represent an eight petalled and flat-



tened flower; the middle corded, the bottom incised with scroll foliage. It is probably of somewhat later date than those described of St. James. Including the base it is  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in. high.<sup>1</sup>

Among other examples of Spanish sculpture in jet, second only in size and excellence to the larger one I have described, is a fine pilgrim's effigy of St. James preserved among other objects of the Farnese collection in the National Museum at Naples. Including a surbase, ornamented with an escallop shell, it is nearly 9 inches high.

In the Kircherian Museum at Rome are two small jet figures of St. James and some fragments, two small figures of men, one of a woman, also a coarsely executed figure, probably of St. Francis, of larger size.

Signor Alessandro Castellani has a St. Giacomo which differs in having the head turned towards one side. It is large and is accompanied by a male and female pilgrim.

In the Museum at Perugia is a jet St. James with male and female pilgrim; it is of medium size.

The Baron Davillier in Paris has a small St. Giacobe, and a small cleverly sculptured group, a *pieta*, in the same material; also a female figure of somewhat later date.

Mr. Nesbitt has recorded one which has been introduced as an ornament in a book cover.<sup>2</sup>

In my former notice I referred to that at Edinburgh, to one in the British Museum, and to the two smaller ones found and preserved at Zurich.

I have also noted another figure of a saint ornamented with silver filligrane which was in the hands of a dealer, and another of a female—a Magdalen (?)—of later date which I saw at Rome.

Jet and amber, cousins of one family but of different complexion, has been more or less known in various places from prehistoric times; its closeness of grain, brilliant surface, and intense blackness would soon attract attention, and although easily splintered and broken it yields to the knife and is a ready material for carving into ornaments, as beads, rings, whorls, &c. We find such among prehistoric remains in this and in other countries; again

<sup>1</sup> The above examples of carvings in jet were exhibited at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 4, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> Vide "Arch. Journal," vol. xxxvi, p. 285.

in Saxon graves and occasionally with Roman remains, when, it has been observed, it has generally been found accompanied by objects connected with the worship of Isis. A finger ring of this material, with key-like projecting bezel, of Roman origin, is preserved in the Museum at York, in which neighbourhood it was found. Abundant in certain localities of England it seems to have been more rare upon the Continent, except in Spain, where from an early period it was adopted for the fabrication of beads and amulets, of small figures of saints and various ornaments, and later of coffrets and inkstands.

The name by which it is known in Spain is identical with that used by the Moors—*Azarache*—Azabache.

M. de Laborde ("Notice des émaux du Louvre," II<sup>e</sup> partie, p. 349, sub voce "Jayet") writes:—

"La France (Ande e Arrége), la Saxe, et l'Espagne fournissent tous le jais qu'on porte. (He omits England). Les anciens l'ont connu; au moyen âge on lui a attribué une grande puissance curative, surtout à cause de sa vertu attractive. On en faisoit un grand usage en crucifix, en amulettes contre le mauvais sort, en petits tableaux portatifs, en petites statuettes, en vases, en patenôtres, et en ornements de broderies pour les vêtements."

He refers to various objects in inventories, &c., of dates varying from 1328 to 1599, such as crosses, a mirror, candlesticks, paternosters, and "*un petit Sainct Jacques taillé de geitz noir, assis sur un pillier de mesme, à trois coquilles en chiefs*, 1524," &c.

The Moors in Spain used jet, or "*azarache*," for amulets potent against the influence of the evil eye, "*il mal de ojo*," mounted in gold, silver, and copper. This usage was so general that his most Christian Majesty Charles V., in 1525, issued a "*pragmatica*" prohibiting the custom.

One of these, of early date, formed as a hand closed with phallic significance and mounted in gold is in the possession of my friend the Baron Charles Davillier, who kindly furnished me with a copy of the following curious extract from the "*Tesoro de la lengua Castellana*," by Covarrubias, 4to, Madrid, 1611:—

"AZAVACHE, es una piedra negra lustrosa, y no muy dura; y en España hay algunos minerales della, de la qual en Santiago de Galicia hazen algunas efigies del

Apostol, cuentas de rosarios, higas para colgar de los pechos de los niños, sortijas con sus sellos, y otras muchas cosas. . . . El nombre azavache es Arabigo, y dize el Padre Guadiz que viene de *cebecha*, que significa piedra negra. Diego de Urrea la pone en su terminacion arabiga *ezzebejn*, del verbo *zebege*, que significa negro. La cosa muy negra comparamos á él, y dezimos ser negra como un azavache. . . ."

Which, being translated, reads: "Azavache (Jet) is a lustrous black stone and not very hard; in Spain there are some mines of it, from which, at Santiago of Galicia, they make certain effigies of the Apostle (Saint James), beads for rosaries, amulets for hanging on the breasts of children,<sup>1</sup> rings with seals, and many other things. The name *azavache* is Arabian, and the Padre Guadiz says it comes from *cebecha*, which means a black stone.<sup>2</sup> Diego de Urrea puts it in the *terminacion Arabiga*, *ezzebejn*, from the verb *zebege*, which means black. The blackest things are compared to it, and we say Black as *azavache*."

The veneration for the shrine of St. Giacobbo of Compostella is well known, and in the neighbourhood of the cathedral of that city is still to be found the *Azabacheria*, or place of jet, where "*rosarios de azabache*," jet rosaries, are sold. In some of the inventories of Queen "*Isabel la Católica*" we find mention of such beads of jet of which the rosaries were composed. These inventories date from 1475 to 1500, but no entry occurs of figures of St. James. They are now in the possession of the Baron Davillier.

Other objects of more recent date, 17th century and later, made of this material and occasionally to be met with in Spain, are caskets of open work, inkstands, and some figures. To these I have already referred, but the earlier and more interesting *signacula* of St. James the Greater, which date, as we have seen, from at least as early as 1524, are more interesting to us from an archæological point of view.

<sup>1</sup> Could this be a modified form, derived from or indicative of the phallic emblem, or *fiens*, in use among the Romans as a charm against the influence of the evil eye and other fascination? It is true that *higa*, an amulet, differs in its terminal from *higo*, a fig, but are they not both derived rather from the Latin *fiens*, than

from the Arabic *hamalet*, suspended? Such suggestion is confirmed by the example belonging to Baron Davillier.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the hard jet-black stone used by the Arabs for making small charms of the form of arrow heads, of which I have some examples.

## THE CASTLES OF ENGLAND AND WALES AT THE LATTER PART OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

By GEO. T. CLARK.

However numerous may have been the castles destroyed under the Convention of Wallingford, or during the subsequent reign of Henry II, they seem to have been almost entirely fortresses of recent date, in private hands, and of little importance as regarded the general defence or the orderly administration of the kingdom. Among those that played at all an important part in the internal wars of the sons or grandson of Henry, there are missing but very few known to have been built or restored by his predecessors or himself, and the names that occur in the chronicles of the period, or are entered from time to time in the records of the realm, shew that the country continued to be amply provided with castles, and that almost all of the first class were occasionally repaired at the cost of the Crown, and were governed by castellans holding office during the king's pleasure, whom moreover it was the custom frequently to change. It is here proposed, at some length, to enumerate the fortresses of England and in the Marches of Wales, as they stood at the close of the reign of Henry II, so far at least as their names and positions or any account of them can be recovered.

Taking London as the centre, military and political, of the kingdom, we have, upon the Thames, the Tower, the first and chief fortress founded by the Conqueror, and which he considered sufficient to protect and overawe the city. In the city itself, also upon the banks of the Thames, near the outlet of the Flete, was Baynard's Castle, the stronghold of the Barons Fitz-Walter, standard bearers to the City of London, and an important branch



of the House of Clare. At various distances from this centre, according to the disposition of the ground, were posted within the northern and southern passes of the chalk ridge, Berkhamstead, an appanage of the Earldom of Cornwall, and Guildford, the early keep of which stands in part upon an artificial mound. Also, to the immediate south of London, were the episcopal Castle, still inhabited, of Farnham, and Earl Warren's castle at Ryegate, of which some traces remain. Higher up the Thames were Windsor, Reading, Wallingford, and Oxford, all fortresses of high antiquity and of the first rank. Between the Thames and the seacoast the country was well guarded, and the communications with Dover, Portsmouth, and Southampton, so important to sovereigns with possessions on the continent, rendered secure. Dover, called by William the Conqueror, according to Matthew Paris, "*Clavis et repagulum*," the key and barrier of the kingdom, was one of its oldest, largest, and strongest fortresses, and covered a nearly impregnable area of thirty-five acres. It crowned the crest of a chalk rock which seemed to rise out of the sea, and steep by nature, was rendered still more so by art, and bore traces of Norman, English, Roman, and probably British occupation. Its well of water is particularly specified, according to M. Paris, in Harold's celebrated covenant with Duke William. Indeed, there seem to have been two wells in the keep, besides another, no doubt that of Harold, in the outer ward, probably a Roman work. The town also was walled. In the rear of Dover lay the city of Canterbury, mentioned in Domesday as fortified. It was strong to the landward, with a formidable bank and ditch, revetted by a Norman wall, and towards the water was covered by the marshes of the Stour, at one time navigable up to the quays of the ancient city. At one angle, and just within the area, was a strong rectangular keep, a Norman addition, and near it was the Danejohn, a far older moated mound, older even than the bank and ditch of the city, which were laid out at an angle to include it. Near to Canterbury was Chilham, a Norman tower of peculiar form, on the site of a work burned by the Danes in 838-51; and at no great distance was Saltwood, given to the see of Canterbury in 1036, and



said to owe the formidable banks and ditches which still surround it, to a son of Hengist. West of Dover William d'Abrincis had built the castle of Folkestone, now, with the cliff it stood upon, swallowed up by the sea. It was preceded by an earlier work in earth a little further inland: Sandwich, one of the cinque ports, was also embanked and walled. Between Dover and London, upon the marshy windings of the upper Medway, stood the mound of Tonbridge with its Norman walls and shell keep, a place of immense strength, and the subject of a long contest between the Archbishops, and the Earls of the race of de Clare. Again in the rear, and upon the same road, was the castle of Rochester, sharing its defensive strength with the oldest tower of the contiguous cathedral and the walled city standing within or on the lines of a Roman enclosure, and commanding the lowest bridge upon the deep and rapid Medway. Many of the castles of Kent, especially those in private hands, were founded in the thirteenth century, or later, but Horton, Eynsford, and Lullingston, on the Darent, and that of Sheppy, on the Swale, are far more ancient. Besides these Otford, an archiepiscopal castle, was the "caput" of an Honour. Cowling is mentioned in Mercian charters in 808. The manor belonged to Leofwin, son of Harold, and was held by Bishop Odo. Allington Castle was demolished by the Danes, and afterwards held by Earl Godwin, and later on by Odo. The Norman additions were probably the work of Earl Warren. Near to Maidstone is Malling, thought to be as early a Norman keep as any in England, and tolerably perfect, though small; Thurnam, or Godard's Castle, also has a square Norman keep and some early earthworks, and near to it were the very perfect moated mounds of Binbury and Stockbury. Ledes Castle, still inhabited, has a detached and water girdled keep, and a very complete barbican. The keep of Sutton, afterwards Sutton-Valence, seems to be Norman. Tong Castle, in Bapchild manor on the Swale, attributed to Hengist, was built as a castle by the St. John's. Bayford Castle occurs in Sittingbourne, and Queenborough in Sheppey, though called from the queen of Edward III, is probably of much older date. At Alfrington Alfred is said to have had a strong place,

called afterwards Burlow. At Verdley, and Castlefield in Hartfield, are vestiges said to represent castles.

In Sussex each rape had its castle, founded probably by the Jutish settlers. Of these under the Norman rule Hastings, almost equal to Dover in its natural strength, though of smaller size, was the head of the Barony of the Earls of Eu. It is first mentioned in the Bayeux tapestry, where in one of the compartments is written, "Iste [comes Moretaine] jussit ut foderentur castellum ad Hasteng." This probably relates to the double line of ditches by which the castle is cut off from the body of the hill. The town also was walled. Pevensey, strong in its Roman wall and added English earthworks, was the castle of de Aquila, the seat of the Honour called by the English of "The Eagle." Here, in 1188, the Custos of Windsor expended £118 4s. in repairing the palisades ["palicii"] of the castle. Lewes, with its mounds crowning either end of an isolated hill, was the favourite strength of the Warrens, Earls of Surrey. The natural mounds, added ditches, and square keep of Bramber, on the Adur, rendered almost impregnable this seat of the turbulent and powerful Barons Braose of Gower, who also owned Knepp Castle, nearer the head of the river, where a mound and some Norman masonry may still be seen. Knepp was afterwards held by King John on the attainder of William de Braose, and in 1216 was ordered to be destroyed. Arundel, the only castle named in Domesday as existing in the reign of the Confessor, and the seat successively of Earl Roger of Montgomery, of d'Albini, and the race of Fitz-Alan, still overlooks the dell of the Arun, and wears many of its older features; and finally Chichester, also a Montgomery castle, long since destroyed, or reduced to its primal mound, stood within the fortified area of the Roman Regnum. Besides these there seem to have been Norman castles at Eastbourne and Firle, all traces of which have, however, disappeared. Mention is also made of Sedgewick Castle, near Horsham.

More to the west, in Hampshire, upon the Havant water, was Boseham, a very famous castle long since swept away; and upon the inlet of Portsmouth, Portchester, a noble combination of Roman and Norman

masonry. Within its area is contained a parish church and churchyard, and here was the favourite muster place for troops destined for Havre. On the opposite side of the Solent, in the centre of the Isle of Wight is Carisbroke, celebrated for its keep and mound, and its wells of unusual depth, and on the opposite mainland, at the marshy junction of the Stour and the Wiltshire Avon, stands the ancient keep of Christchurch, placed exceptionally upon the mound of the earlier Twynham. Here also is preserved the Castle Hall, a late Norman building, almost a duplicate of a corresponding structure in Fitzgerald's castle at Adare, near Limerick. Upon the verge of Southampton Water, between the Anton and the sea, occupying a strong peninsula, is the town of that name, still preserving the remains of its Norman walls, and of the keep of a very formidable castle once included within its area.

Inland of this line of castles from the sea northwards to the Thames, the counties of Wilts and Berks shewed with Hampshire an abundance of strong places. There, though actually in Hampshire, was Winchester, the British *Caerwent*, and the Roman *Venta Belgarum*, which in its English days contested with London the supremacy of the South. Strongly fortified with broad and high earthworks and deep ditches, it contained, attached to one angle, the royal castle, and within another, its diagonal, the episcopal keep of Wolvesey, of which the one is now represented by its noble hall, and the other by its rectangular Norman keep. The Hall at Winchester, though of very early English date, is after the Norman type, having three aisles. The Castle was the prison of Archbishop Stigand in 1066. Before its gates in 1075 Earl Waltheof was beheaded. Here in 1102 was tried the memorable dispute for precedence between York and Canterbury. In 1141 it was defended by the Empress Maud, and here Henry II held several Parliaments, and Cœur de Lion paused when in the adjacent Cathedral he was a second time crowned on his return from captivity in 1189.

Scarcely second to Winchester in strength, and its equal in undefined antiquity, is Old Sarum, a hold of mixed but uncertain origin, where the concentric lines of

masonry, girdling and crowning the central mound, included the cathedral of the diocese, and to which, according to the historians of Wiltshire, King Alfred caused an exterior bank and palisade to be added. In Wilts was also the Devizes, reputed the finest castle on this side the Alps. "*Divisæ quod erat Salesberiensis Episcopi castellum, mirando artificio, sed et munimine inexpugnabili firmatum,*" but of which there now remains little besides the gigantic mound and profound ditches. Of Marlborough the Burh alone remains, while of Malmesbury, an encroachment of the secular upon the lands of the regular clergy, all traces are removed. Over the Hampshire border is Old Basing, where the Saxons were worsted by the Danes in a pitched battle in 871, which became the "caput" of the fifty-five lordships held by Hugh de Port in Domesday, and afterwards of the St. John's oldest barony. Even in the time of Henry II it was called the old castle, and in a rather later reign Robert, Lord St. John, had a license to fix a pale along the base of his mote at Basing, and to maintain it so fortified during the king's pleasure. The original circle of earthwork is nearly all that now remains. At no great distance is Odiham, once a possession of the See of Winchester, where is an early tower, stripped of its ashlar, and surrounded by marshy ground once famous for its forest sport. Castle Combe was a famous and very early Wiltshire castle, now reduced nearly to an earthwork, and Warblington, a stronghold of the Montacutes, and the Castle of Cirencester, are both gone, the latter destroyed by Henry III.

Still further to the west are the castles of Dorset and Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. Wareham, the ancient Frome-mouth, placed between the Frome and the Piddle, once marked the limits of Poole harbour, and was a place of great strength and fame. As early as 876 its west side, the root of the twixt-waters peninsula, was criticised as weak. In one corner of its rectangular and pseudo-Roman area a moated mound has been thrown up, as at Tamworth, by the river side, and its earthworks and position justify its reputation as the key of Purbeck, of which Corfe was the citadel. Corfe, perched upon the summit and slope of a chalk hill between two clefts whence it derives its name, is now a magnificent ruin.



Half its noble rectangular keep still stands, and incorporated into the wall of its middle ward is a fragment of the palace of the old West Saxon kings, probably the only material evidence extant that they ever employed masonry in their military works. Of Sherborne, an ancient episcopal seat, the spacious earthwork still contains much of a late Norman keep, and is still entered through a Norman gatehouse. Ilchester and Shaftesbury Castles are gone, and only a part of the earthworks of that of Dorchester remain. West of Purbeck, in Portland, is Bow-and-Arrow Castle, upon the sea-cliff, a curious and somewhat peculiar structure of early date, built or occupied by the de Clares. From Portland to the mouth of the Exe there do not appear to have been any strong places of importance.

Just within the mouth of the Exe is Powderham, the work of an Earl of Eu and of de Redvers, and their Courtenay successors, and higher up and opposite, Rougemont, the citadel of Exeter, which still exhibits the high banks, deep ditches, and ancient gatehouse, fragments of the defences behind which the citizens braved the fury of the Conqueror. Inland from the Exe is Okehampton, the earliest of the English possessions of the great family of Courtenay, and the work of Baldwin of Exeter, of the lineage but not bearing the name, of de Clare, and the builder also of Tiverton castle, now destroyed, as also is Bridgewater. Among the early castles of the district was Stoke Courcy, now a ruin, Stowey, "*pulchre et inexpugnabile in pelagi littore locatum*," and Dunster, the strongest place in the West, the Domesday castle of the Mohuns, and after them, as now, of the Luttrells. In the west of Devon there remains the mound of Plympton, a Redvers castle, and the shell keep of Totnes, the work of Joel of that place, and afterwards inherited by the Barons Braose. Barnstaple town was probably walled, and certainly had four gates. At Taunton a Norman keep and part of a Norman hall still stand on the banks of the Tone, and rise out of earthworks attributed to King Ine. At Montacute, the high ground marked by an immense Romano-British camp, ends in the sharp-pointed hill which William Earl of Moretaine selected for his castle,



of which the name, appropriately transported from his Norman castle, alone remains, and but little more of Castle-Carey, the Lovell seat, besieged and taken by Stephen, or of the Norman keep of Harptree, in a pass in the Mendip range.

Of importance beyond all these more or less local castles was that of Bristol, founded by Robert Earl of Gloucester, but found too valuable to be entrusted to his successors in the Earldom. Its square Norman keep stood between the Frome and the Avon, and was strong both in works and in position. After centuries of contest for its possession, between the Earls of Gloucester and the crown, it ceased to be of military value, and was taken down. Upon and beyond the Tamar, as at Montacute, Wallingford, and Berkhamstead, may be traced the footsteps of the powerful nobles who held the great Earldom of Cornwall. Their principal Cornish castles—Trematon, Launceston, where the town also was walled, and Restormel, were the work originally of Robert, half brother of the Conqueror. Their remains are considerable, and their strength and position were such as to give them immense influence in that wild and almost impenetrable district. St. Michael's Mount remains strongly fortified: Carnbrea, the work of Ralph de Pomeroy, still marks the rocky ridge whence it derives its name, and there are traces of Boscastle, the hold of the Barons Botreaux, and of the Arthurian castle of Tintagel. There are besides in Cornwall a few fortified houses, and a multitude of strong places, camps rather than castles, very peculiar in character, and probably the work of the native Cornish before the arrival of the stranger.

It appears then that south of, and upon the Thames and Bristol Avon, there stood, at the close of the twelfth century, at least eighty-nine more or less considerable castles, a very large number of which were kept in repair by the sheriffs of the counties, and governed by castellans appointed by the king, and holding office during pleasure. Of these at least thirty contained shell keeps placed on moated mounds, and were in some form or other far older than the Conquest; and about seventeen were characterised by rectangular keeps, of which two only, Guildford and Christchurch, were associated with mounds, and of

these very few indeed were of pure Norman foundation. Of the remaining forty-two the particulars are doubtful, so they cannot be counted with one class or the other, but most of them are also older than the Conquest.

Passing into the middle belt of country extending from the Thames and Avon to the Tees and the Lune, and from the German Ocean to the Severn, the provision for defence is found to be fully equal to that in the south. In the East Anglian province, in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridge, the chief strongholds were Colchester, Hedingham, Bungay, Framlingham, Norwich and Cambridge. Colchester, the work of Hubert de Rye or his son, acting in some measure for the Crown, is built of Roman, or quasi-Roman, material upon a Roman site, and within the area of a town mentioned in Domesday as fortified. It commanded the inlet of Harwich and the Blackwater, and in its rear, higher up the Coln, was the de Vere keep of Hedingham, still a very perfect structure, and unusually though severely ornate. This keep stands upon a natural mound, protected by a formidable ditch, and appended to it is an outer enclosure, older evidently than the keep. In the same county is Rayleigh, celebrated for the extent of its earthworks, and, with Clavering, attributed to Swegen or Suenus, sheriff of Essex under the Confessor, and ancestor of Henry de Essex, Henry the First's disgraced standard bearer. The earthworks of both places are however probably much earlier than the masonry. There also is Plessy, a Mandeville restoration in masonry, with the parish church within its enclosure; Ongar, for a time the castle of Richard de Lucy; and Stansted Montfichet, the remaining earthworks of which indicate its site. Bishops Stortford, or Weytemore, was an early manor of the Bishop of London, who there had a castle. These four last named castles all had moated mounds. At Bures also was a moated mound 80ft high, hence its name of Mount Bures, also at Birch Castle, near Colchester, and at Benyngton were castles. Canewdon was either a castle or a very old fortified house, dating from the time of Henry de Essex, and at Canfield, called from its castle, "Canefield ad Castrum," the de Veres had a fortress of which the mound is still seen.

Framlingham is the chief castle of Suffolk. It is attributed originally to Redwald, king of East Anglia, at the close of the sixth century. Here there is at present no keep, but the Norman walls, of unusual height, 40 to 50 feet, and 8 feet thick, still enclose the court, and are protected by enormous earthworks, deep and high and of great extent. This was the chief of the Bigod castles, said to have been built by Hugh Bigod in 1176, and to the same powerful family belonged Bungay, "hard by the river Waveney," of early Norman date, with a deep well in the centre of its square keep. Walton, another Bigod castle, was destroyed by Henry II. Clare, the manor whence the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford derived their family name, retains its mound with part of a polygonal keep, and outworks in earth and masonry on a scale commensurate with the power of their lords. Unfortunately the area is occupied in part by a railway station. Eye, the mound of which remains, was a castle at Domesday, the seat of Robert Malet, and afterwards was given by Henry II to Ranulph, Earl of Chester. Dunwich, though not a walled town, was protected by a deep ditch and high bank, upon which, as late as the reign of Henry III, was a palisade.

The chief castle of Norfolk was Norwich, a place of immense strength and high antiquity. Its rectangular keep of great size and more ornate than usual, though much injured by injudicious repairs, and closed against the antiquary by its conversion to the base uses of a prison, still predominates grandly over the fine old city, of which it was long the glory and the dread. Its concentric ditches, far older than its works in masonry, are now for the most part filled up and built over. The city also was strongly walled. Haganet, a Norfolk castle taken by the Earl of Leicester and his invading Flemings, is utterly destroyed. Mileham, a large castle, of which the moated mound and other earthworks attest the strength, was the work of Alan, son of Flaald, who held the manor from the Conqueror. To him also is attributed the adjacent castle of Burghwood, of which large earthworks remain. Orford, an almost solitary example of a Norman polygonal keep, remains tolerably perfect. The keep of Castle Rising, though smaller in dimensions than

Norwich, resembles it in type. It is the most highly ornamented keep in England, and though a ruin is well preserved and cared for. Here also is that great rarity, a tolerably perfect and unaltered fore-building and entrance. This keep stands within a lofty bank, beyond which, on one side, is a spacious outwork, also heavily embanked. Castle Acre, best known for its Norman priory, contains also the mound and other earthworks of a large castle, and near to these is the town of Lynn, once strongly fortified, and still possessing an early gatehouse. At Thetford, girt by a double ditch, is the great mound thrown up by the Danes in 865-6 to command the then adjacent city, but this post, so important before the Conquest, does not seem to have been occupied afterwards. Other Norfolk castles were Buckenham and Tateshall, of which the date is doubtful, and Marnham, of which it was reported in the reign of Edward I—"Quod erectio castri de Marnham est in præjudicium domini Regis." Wirmegay, a Warren castle, strong in its marshy approaches, was certainly earlier. At Weting, near the church, was a castle with a mound, on which a few years ago was a fragment of the keep. It was the seat of de Plaiz, who represented Mont Fitchet, and whose heiress married the ancestor of the House of Howard. There was also a castle at Kenningdale, near Diss.

Cambridgeshire contained but a few castles, the fens presenting little to attract the spoiler and being in themselves a secure defence. At Cambridge, upon the banks of the sluggish and winding Cam, a prison has taken the place of the castle ordered by the Conqueror, but a part of the mound and a fragment of its subsidiary banks remain, and are not to be confounded with the still earlier Roman enclosure. At Ely, upon a large mound, the bishops had an early and strong castle, now destroyed, as is the castle at Wisbeach. The camp at Castle Camps, the seat of the Saxon Wolfwin, once held a Norman castle, the work of the de Veres. Of Chevely, an episcopal castle, a fragment remains. Burwell, the masonry of which belonged to one of Stephen's improvised castles, is remembered as that before which Geoffrey de Mandeville received his fatal wound. A fragment of its wall and



the mound remain. Swavesey and Bassingbourne were early castles.

Hertford, Bedford and Buckingham, the inland positions of which were insufficient to secure them from invasions from a foe beyond the sea, were not unprovided with castles. Hertford, visited by the Danes in 894, was fortified by Edward the Elder in 914, who there threw up a burh between the rivers Lea, Minneran, and Bean, and in the year following a second burh on the opposite bank of the Lea. Hertford, says Smith in 1588, has two castles, one on each bank of the Lea. Upon the earlier mound Peter de Valoines placed the keep ordered by the Conqueror. The Magnavilles next held it, and Henry of Huntingdon calls it, "*castrum non immensum sed pulcherrimum.*" Berkhamstead, as old, and a far more considerable fortress, and the head of a great Honour, has been mentioned as one of the northern defences of the metropolis. Its mound, wholly artificial, still supports the foundations of a Norman shell keep, and appended to it is a large oval platform, the walls and entrances to which remain. The whole is partially encircled by several concentric lines of bank and ditch, the character of which shews that they were protected by stockades instead of walls of masonry. Here the Black Prince spent his latter days, and here he died.

The chief castle of Bedfordshire, the head of the Beauchamp Barony, was at Bedford, where the Ouse, menaced by the Danish galleys, was protected early in the tenth century by a mound upon each bank, one of which is now removed and the other was crowned by the keep of the Norman castle. Bedford Castle is famous for two memorable sieges. Of its works, once extensive, the masonry has been removed, the foss has also been filled up, and the mound somewhat reduced in size. Risinghoe, on the Ouse below Bedford, seems to have had a shell keep, and at Tempsford is to be seen a curious but small earthwork thrown up by the Danes in 921, and taken by Edward the Elder late in the year. Whether this was the site of the subsequent Norman Castle is very doubtful. There was also a castle at Odell or Wahull the seat of the Barons of that name. It is uncertain when was founded Bletsoe, a castle and the head of a Beauchamp



Barony. Below Bedford, on the Ouse, are the earthworks of Eaton-Socon, also a Beauchamp Castle, but dismantled at an early period.

The remains of the castle of Huntingdon, though reduced to banks, ditches, and a mound, nevertheless show how spacious and how strong must have been this chief seat of the broad Earldom of countess Judith and her descendants the kings of Scotland, Earls also of Huntingdon. The Danes were encamped here in 921, and the burh which had been ruined was restored by Eadward in the same year. The ditches were fed from the Ouse which expanded before the castle as a broad marsh, now a fertile meadow. Of the early military history of the castles of Connington, Kimbolton and Bruck, but little is recorded.

The castle of the Giffards Earls of Buckingham, included one of the two burhs which were thrown up on opposite sides of the Ouse in 915, to command the river and protect the town. The castle was probably destroyed in the reign of Stephen and the further mound levelled. The Paganel had a castle at Newport, the Hanslapes at Castlethorpe; The Barons Bolbec at Bolbec, now Bullbanks in Medmenham; and there seem to have been castles at Winslow, Lavendon, and Whitchurch.

West of this district came Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. Windsor, Wallingford and Reading have been mentioned. The keep of Windsor has a late Norman base, and the foundation of a gateway is of that date, as is the entrance to a very curious gallery in the chalk, which ran from the interior of the place beneath the buildings and the wall, and opened as a postern upon the scarp of the main ditch. The mound upon which the round tower is placed is artificial, and was surrounded by banks and ditches much on the plan of Arundel. Reading was an early castle and strongly posted between the Thames and the Kennet, upon an earthwork long before contested between the Danes and the Saxons. The castle is supposed to have been demolished by Henry III. in pursuance of the treaty of Wallingford. No trace of it remains. Wallingford has had better fortune. Its mound and enclosure, the seat of the English Wigod, occupy one corner of the rectangular earthworks of the town, and rest

upon the river. It was attached to the Earldom of Cornwall, and was a place of great strength and splendour. A few fragments of masonry still remain, and some traces of Stephen's camp on the opposite bank at Crowmarsh. There were also castles, though of small consequence and doubtful age, at Newbury, Brightwell, Farringdon and Aldworth, the latter the seat of the Barons de la Beche.

Oxford Castle was a place of great antiquity and very strong, and formed a part of the defences of the city. The mound remains and a crypt within it, but the keep is gone. There is seen however above the river bank a rude and early square tower of Norman work, now a prison. At Banbury, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, built a castle in 1125, which was held by the crown under Edward II. At Middleton was a strong castle, held by Richard de Camville in the reign of John, and there were others, smaller buildings, at Bampton, Bedington, Dedington, and Watlington, possibly demolished by Henry II. Broughton, the castle of the Lords Say, is in this county. Woodstock, though a royal manor, does not seem to have been fortified. The castles at Ardley and Chipping-Norton were destroyed by Stephen. The latter had a moated mound.

In Gloucestershire, besides Bristol, which was more connected with Somerset, is Berkeley Castle, mentioned in the survey, but in its present form built for its lord by Henry II in acknowledgment of services rendered to the Duke of Anjou, and which remains marvellously little altered, to the present day. Gloucester, a royal castle, stood on the Severn bank at one angle of the Roman city. It had a mound and a shell keep, now utterly levelled, and the site partially built over. It was the muster place and starting point for expeditions against South Wales, and the not infrequent residence of the Norman sovereigns. Sudeley and Winchcombe were early castles; the latter stood near St. Peter's church, and was the seat of Kenulph, a Mercian king. There were also castles at Dursley and at Brimpsfield, built by Osbert Giffard. The only Gloucestershire castle of any consequence beyond the Severn was St. Briavels, built by Milo, Earl of Hereford, probably about 1130, upon or near the site of an earlier work, represented by an artificial mound. In the

reign of Henry I it was in the hands of the crown. It is the special head of Dene Forest, of which the constable of the Castle was warden. Here were held the miners' courts, the usages of which were very peculiar. St. Briavels formed the connecting link between Gloucester and such of the Monmouthshire castles as were in the hands of the crown. Of smaller castles in this district may be mentioned one at Aylesmore near Dymock, one near Huntley, and others at Ruardean and Penyard.

North of Gloucestershire came the castles of the more purely Midland shires of Worcester, Warwick, Stafford, Northampton, Leicester, and towards the eastern seaboard, Lincoln. The castle of Worcester stood on the bank of the Severn hard by the cathedral. The mound, now removed, was occupied with masonry by Urso d'Abitot, who however did not always get the best of it in his conflicts with the Bishop. Also on the Severn was Hanley, long since destroyed, and Emly, also a Beauchamp seat. Hartlebury, the episcopal castle, is further inland, as is Dudley, the seat of the Barons Somery, a place of high antiquity and great natural strength.

Warwick was one of the greatest, and by far the most famous of the Midland castles, famous, not merely for its early strength and later magnificence, but for the long line of powerful earls, culminating in the king maker, who possessed it and bore its name. It was founded as a burh early in the tenth century, and the keep, said to have resembled Clifford's Tower at York, stood upon the mound; both are now removed. The castle as usual formed a part of the enceinte of the town, and the wall from the westgate to the castle stood upon an early earth-bank. Near to Warwick is Kenilworth, the chief fortress of the Midland, including a large area, and strongly though artificially fortified. Of the English Kenelm nothing is recorded, but the founder of its Norman work was the first of the House of Clinton, one of Henry I's new earls, probably the only extant family descended in a direct male line from the builder of a Norman keep of the first class. The square keep and much of the existing wall are original, but the broad lake which added so much to its strength, and is now drained and converted into meadow, was probably a rather later addition, of the age

of the gatehouse on the dam, and of the curious earthwork covering its head. The central earthworks are probably very early. Of Maxtoke, also a Clinton castle, there are remains. Of the two castles at Fillongley, one of which was the chief seat of the Lords Hastings till they married the heiress of Cantelupe, and removed to Abergavenny, only the earthworks remain. Ralph Gernon had a castle at Coventry. Brownsover, Sekington, and Fullbrook Castles were probably adulterine, and are known only by vague tradition, and it is doubtful whether the castle of the de Castellors included the burh at Castle Bromwich or was on the site of the later manor house. The Limesis had a castle at Solihull of which the moat long remained, as had the Coleshills at that place. The Birmingham had a castle in that manor, near the church; there were early castles at Erdington, at Studley on the Arrow, and at Oversley, long the seat of the Butlers, whose ancestor was 'Pincerna' to the Earls of Leicester. Beldesert built by Thurstan de Montfort soon after the conquest received a market from the Empress Maud, and Dugdale mentions Simili Castle, probably the seat of a family of that name. Ragley was a later castle. Coventry was strongly walled.

The line of the Trent on its passage through Staffordshire was amply fortified. Stafford, otherwise Chebsey castle, constructed by the Conqueror, probably upon the burh thrown up by Eathelflaeda in 913, was destroyed before the date of the Survey, and was therefore probably not a work in masonry. The town was fortified. The castle of the Barons Stafford was near the town, but outside it. Its foundations are original. Of the Ferrers castles Chartley is only indicated by a mound. Beaudesert and Burton are destroyed. Tamworth, their chief seat, and that of the Marmions after them, still retains its shell keep and part of the curtain wall, remarkable for its herringbone masonry. It was a royal Saxon residence in the eighth century, and the mound on which stands the keep was thrown up in 931. As at Wareham and Walingford it is placed near the river in one corner of a rectangular earthwork open on that side. Tutbury, also a Ferrers castle, occupied a natural knoll above the Trent, raised on one side by an artificial burh, and covered on



the other by extensive works in earth of early date, probably original. The present masonry is chiefly the work of John of Gaunt, but the fine old Priory church, founded by the early lords, still stands just outside the ditch. Lichfield is reputed to have had a castle at the south end of the town. At the north end is the cathedral, "Lichfield's moated pile," defended by a broad and deep ditch, and on one side by a lake or pool. It is not improbable that these works, which are rectangular in plan, were erected by the Romanized Britons, and that their existence caused the selection of this spot as the seat of the bishopric. The Bishop's castle of Eccleshall has lately been alienated. There was a castle at Heley, and at Alton, now Alton Towers, and at Stourton. Of the castle of Newcastle-under-Lyne, held by the Earl of Chester for John, all trace is lost.

The Northamptonshire castles stood mostly upon the lines of the Nen and the Welland. Northampton, built by Simon de St. Liz, certainly upon an earlier site, was a strongly walled and celebrated place, the scene of important events in English history. Its castle has long been reduced to a few earthworks and a fragment of masonry, and very recently these also have been destroyed. Of Fotheringay, a very ancient fortress, the scene of a siege by Henry III, there remains little in masonry, although the bank and mound are perfect. It was dismantled by James as the scene of his mother's execution. Barnwell castle is probably late, as is the fine fortified gatehouse of the Sapcote's at Elton. At Castle Ashby all trace of the castle is lost in the grand old house which has succeeded to it. Of Selbourne a moderate mound and a rectangular earthwork are the sole remains of the castle. Near Towcester, at Moor End, in Potterspury, and at Alderton were castles, probably built and destroyed in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. Towcester itself does not appear to have been fortified by the Normans, nor the curious burh at Earls Barton, the moot hill for the earldom of Countess Judith. But of all the Northamptonshire castles, the most interesting, both from its history and its remains, is undoubtedly Rockingham, founded by the Conqueror upon an old site, standing in its old shire and forest, and which has been always inhabited and



cared for. Near to Rockingham, but in Rutland, is Oakham, built by Walkelin de Ferrars in 1180, where the keep is gone, but the original Late Norman hall is quite perfect and still in use. Of the defences of this remarkable fortress there remain ditches and banks, with a part of the curtain wall and a large outwork of earth. Belvoir, well deserving of the name, the other Rutland castle, was the seat of the Todenis, ancestors of the D'Albini and Ros families, and of its present lords. Like Windsor, its circular keep, rebuilt nearly from its foundations, crowns a detached hill, and from its terrace is one of the richest views in England.

In Leicestershire, Leicester castle, the seat of its powerful and turbulent Norman earls, stood between the Soar and the Roman Ratae, the walls of which are said to have been destroyed in 1173. Of Hinckley, the seat of the Grantmaisons, and the "caput" of their Honour, the mound alone remains by the side of the Roman way. The castle was probably dismantled by Henry II. Groby, a Ferrers castle, has long been reduced to a small mound, and Mount Sorrel, once so strong, is utterly destroyed. By a convention at Mount Sorrel in the reign of Stephen, between Robert, Earl of Leicester, and Ralph, Earl of Chester, it was agreed that Ralph Gernon's castle of Raunston should be destroyed and Whitwick strengthened, but that no new castle should be built between Hinckley and Hacarehull, nor between Coventry and Donnington, nor between Donnington and Leicester, nor between Knowlton and Belvoir, nor between Belvoir and Okeham, nor between Okeham and Rockingham. Should any so be built the two earls agreed to demolish the works. Sauvey Castle was an early work. Of Castle Donnington, the house of the Zouches of Ashby, the early history is obscure.

The main castles of Lincolnshire were Lincoln and Axholme. Axholme, built in the fens of that name, was a place of immense strength, and the head of a barony of the Mowbrays, a race always on the side of disorder. The castle has long been destroyed, and the fen, to which it owed much of its strength, is drained. Lincoln Castle has been more fortunate. The hill of Lincoln has been thought to retain traces of British and unquestionably of

Roman and English occupation. Soon after the Conquest 166 houses were destroyed to make room for the castle itself, and 74 more to give space around it. Its enormous banks occupy an angle of the Roman station, and contain parts of the ruined wall and gate, both Roman. The great mound, the larger of the two, is occupied by the original shell keep, which, placed at the foot of the cathedral, towers high above the city, and overlooks the broad plain beyond. Often visited by the Norman kings, Lincoln Castle is specially famous for the great battle fought beneath its walls in 1141, in which Stephen was taken prisoner by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and his men from Glamorgan.

There was a Mowbray castle at Epworth, now destroyed, and one at Kenefar, laid level by Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry II. Bourne or Brun was in 870 the seat of a Saxon Thane, whose mound, after the Conquest, was occupied by the Lords Wake. It was at one time an important place, and the remaining earth-works show its area to have been considerable. Bolingbroke Castle, once the "caput" of an Honour, is now destroyed. Stamford-on-the-Welland was guarded by two mounds, thrown up in 922, of which one has disappeared, but the other, as at Bedford and Buckingham, was saved by its incorporation into a Norman castle, to be seen no longer. Sleaford, an episcopal castle, occasionally mentioned in the twelfth century, is now gone, as is the castle of Horncastle, restored to Adelais de Condé in 1151, but at the same time ordered to be demolished, and which probably stood within the walls of the Roman station, of which large fragments remain. Bitham also is gone, taken by siege and levelled by Henry III in 1218. Folkingham, the "Mansio capitalis" of Ulf the constable, was held by Gilbert de Garod, and long afterwards fell to the Lords Beaumont. Boothby was a fortified house of the Paynells or Paganels, and is of late Norman date. Topclyve Castle was built by Geoffrey, elect of Lincoln in 1174.

*(To be continued.)*

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN  
IN 1880.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

The past year (1880) has been fully an average one, as regards discoveries of the Roman period, and consequently the number of inscriptions which I have now the pleasure of laying, in a condensed form, before the Institute, will be found to embrace several of a very interesting nature, though it is quite possible that others have been found during the same period, which as yet remain unpublished, or unknown, in the possession of the discoverers.

Commencing, as I generally do, with the Wall of Hadrian, the first discovery took place early in March, about half a mile east of the station at Chesters (*Cilurnum*.) Here, whilst laying bare one of the turrets of the Wall (and also a portion of the Wall itself) Mr. Clayton, the owner, discovered a centurial stone *in situ*, bearing the inscription :

COH. IX. >  
PAV. APRI.

*i.e.*, *Cohortis nonae Centuria Pauli Apri*, "The century of Paulus Aper of the ninth cohort." Whether the cohort belonged to the second, sixth, or twentieth legions, it is impossible now to say—no doubt it was part of one of them, as it is not named as an auxiliary cohort. The stone is preserved by Mr. Clayton.

During the summer, Captain Coulson, the owner of Blenkinsopp Castle in Northumberland, which closely adjoins the Wall, resolved upon having the walls of the Castle (which were six feet four inches thick, and of Norman architecture) thinned. During the progress of this work, it was found that the Castle was chiefly built of stones taken from the Wall, and numerous sculptured

fragments were extracted. Amongst them were two fragments of inscriptions as follows :—

(1.)	
D. M.	
LIFANA. B	
CI. FILIA. V.	
IT. ANN	
L. SENO	(2.)
LVS. AV	T PO
CVLVS	SVISL. 1
CIT *	

I am indebted to Captain Coulson, Mr. Clayton, and Dr. Bruce for copies of the inscriptions, which agree, even to the extent of making the letter L the first in the sixth line of the first inscription : this is rather puzzling as (FE)CIT seems plainly the word at the end of the seventh and commencement of the eighth lines. I should suggest that instead of LVS, the reading should be IVS, and the whole inscription would then read something like this :—

*D(iis) M(anibus) Lifana B \* \* \* ci filia vixit annos \* \*,  
L. Seno(n)ius Au(run)culus fecit.*

After the T in FECIT there is a peculiar form on the stone, which looks like TG ligulate. As it could not be expressed in ordinary type, I have marked its position with an asterisk.

The second of these inscriptions is so fragmentary that I am doubtful whether it is sepulchral or the portion of the base of an altar. *Pro suis L(ibens) M(erito)* seems a feasible reading but I merely suggest it. Captain Coulson has preserved these stones.

At the great station at Maryport, during excavations conducted by Mr. Robinson, the following inscriptions (most of which I have referred to in the *Journal*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 320-322) have been found.

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)
I. O. M.	. . . . ET	I. O. M.
G. CABA	. . . . .	N . . . . .
LLIVS. P	. . . . .	. . . . . AM
RISCVS.	. . . . .	. . . IANA. Q. F.
TRIBVN.	. . . . .	HERMIONE.
(4.)	(5.)	(6.)
LEG. XX.	SIG.	KARVS.

The first of these is on an altar, in its present state one foot eleven inches in height, but the base is broken off. The inscription reads *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) G(aius) Caballius Priscus Tribun(us)*. From three other in-

scriptions which have been found at Maryport (dedicated also to Jupiter) by this officer we learn that he was Tribune of the first cohort of the Spaniards which for a long period was in garrison at this station.

The second inscription was on a fine altar which had been purposely damaged, and the whole inscription removed with the exception of the letters ET at the end of the first line ; but from this we can gather that more than one deity had been named in it, and that it probably commenced like other inscriptions found at the same station, I. O. M. ET. NVM. AVG.

No. 3 occurs upon a fine altar, three feet five inches high, but excessively weathered; at first hardly a letter of the inscription was visible, but as the stone became drier other letters came into view. From another altar found at Maryport many years ago, we get some clue as to the dedicator. This latter is dedicated "*Virtuti Augustæ*" by a daughter of Quintus (*Quinti Filia*) whose *nomen* ends in . . *iana* (as in the new discovered inscription) with apparently *Hermione* as the *cognomen*.

No 4 is simply a walling stone and reads *Legio Vicesima*. It is unusual to find the remainder of the *formula*, v. v. (*Valeria Victrix*) omitted. Some antiquaries would infer from this, that the stone was inscribed at an early period, but such could hardly be the case at this station which we have every reason to believe was erected in the reign of Hadrian.

No. 5 is the inscription upon a small sea-worn fragment of freestone, broken. It bears upon its face a nude figure apparently holding a spear in the left hand. On the left hand side of the stone, near the knees of the figure, are the letters sig. As there is room on the opposite side for at least as many letters, I conjectured that NIF might have been there, thus forming an abbreviation of the word *Signifer*, but Mr. Robinson informs me that there are no traces of any letters there.

No. 6 is cut upon a fragment of pottery, and is probably the name of the owner of the vessel.

The whole of these inscriptions have been added to the Nether Hall collection of Mrs. Senhouse.

The *castrum* at South Shields has produced the following inscriptions :



(1.) VTERE FELIX	(2.) SANCTE ET NVMIN DOMITIVS EPICTETV COMMILITONIBVSTEMPL	(3.) HVĠĀĻ			
(4.) .. STV ..	(5.) DIA .	(6.) PAV .	(7.) EMLIV .	(8.) RVFI .	(9.) /ESTR

The first of these occurs upon a bronze handle of a vessel (probably a *patella*.) The letters are incised and appear to have been filled with enamel, of which fragments are still remaining. It is the fifth instance in Britain of this peculiar phrase,—one being on a large *lanx* found at Welney in Norfolk, another on an intaglio found in Scotland and published by Gordon in his “*Itinerarium Septentrionale*,” a third occurs in an inscription on a large walling stone at Malton, and the fourth in an inscription on a bone *tessera* found at Chesterton (Hunts.) A sixth will be noticed in this paper.

No. 2 is an interesting inscription, but is unfortunately broken at each end, by which means we lose the commencement and termination of each line. With the exception, however, of the name of the goddess to whom it is in the first place dedicated, we can restore with perfect safety the remainder. When favoured with the copy of the inscription by Mr. Robert Blair, I at once read it as (*Minervae*) *Sancte et Numin(ibus) Aug(us-torum) Domitius Epictetu(s cum) Commilitonibus Templ(um Rest)ituit*). Several of the letters in the word *Commilitonibus* are ligulate. Mr. Blair is of opinion that there would not be room before *Sancte* for the word *Minervae*. Should this be the case, I would suggest, as I informed him, *Dianae* instead of *Minervae*, though I think it improbable. Mr. Blair thinks *Deae* only could have been originally before *Sancte*. Though, perhaps, not unique, such a dedication would be rare. Dr. Hübner (I believe) also suggests *Minervae* as the missing word at the commencement of the inscription, which is on a slab, in its present state two feet four inches long by thirteen and a-half inches high.

No. 3 is on a portion of a large altar, and is undoubtedly part of the name of the cohort stationed at the *castrum* (CO)II. V. GAL(LORVM). Traces of letters (or rather the lower parts of them) are visible above this line.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This altar confirms the reading which, in April, 1875, I was the first to give, of

the tiles found at this station inscribed COH.V.G.

No. 4 is merely a fragment of an inscription on a portion of a green glass vessel ; the letter T only is complete, the lower parts of the S and V remain.

No. 5 is also the portion of the bottom of a glass vessel, the letters, having a vacant space in front of them, seem to be the commencement of a word, probably DIA(NAE.) They are in fine characters.

No. 6 is on a leaden seal (similar to those previously turned up at this place) and the letters are probably the abbreviation of PAV(LI.)

No. 7 is on a walling stone found in August, the letters are of a rude and rustic character, and there is room for several other letters before the E at the commencement, though they do not appear to have ever been there. Whether (A)EMILIV(S) has been the correct reading is uncertain. It approaches nearest. Perhaps it was a centurial stone.

Nos. 8 and 9 are both scratched as *graffiti* upon pieces of pottery, the first on a fragment of Samian, the second upon a fragment of brown ware. I am indebted to Mr. Robert Blair for the whole of these.

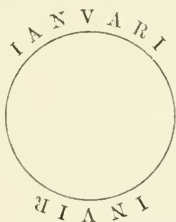
Several *graffiti* inscriptions have lately come under my notice. Amongst them are—

No. 1

E O S S V

which occurs on a fragment of Samian ware at *Cilurnum* on the Wall of Hadrian.

No. 2



is round the bottom of a vessel of Samian ware found at Chester le Street.

No. 3 which is on the under rim of a Samian bowl found at Binchester (*Vinovium*) is simply

VIXILATI.

To Mr. Blair I am indebted for copies of Nos. 1 and 2, and to the Rev. Dr. Hooppell for No. 3.

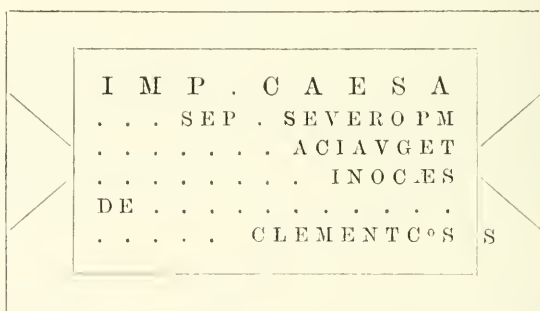
Amongst a collection of fragments of Samian ware, preserved in the Museum of the Mechanics' Institute at Lancaster, I recently found the following *graffiti* :—

(1.)  
— IFERI

(2.)  
LIB —

The next inscription is one of great interest and was discovered in 1879 in the foundations of the south porch of the ancient church of Brough-under-Stanemore, when that building was undergoing "restoration." It has led to considerable discussion, which probably will still continue.

The stone is of the class usually placed over the gateways of Roman *castra*, and has been much ill-used after the departure of the Romans, and before it was built up into the church. My reading of the letters now extant is this—



From the first two lines it is plain that the inscription is of the time of the Emperor Septimius Severus; from the end of the fourth line it is also plain that it must be dated between A.D. 193 and A.D. 198 there being no Cæsar whose name in the dative would end in *INO* after that year. But from the end of the sixth line we find that the consuls for the year in which it was erected, were named, and, though the fact has been disputed, I think there is little doubt but that CLEMENT precedes COSS. This would at once point to the year A.D. 195, when Tertullus and Clemens were consuls, and consequently that the last line of the inscription when entire would read TERTVLL ET CLEMENT COSS.

This fact raises several difficult questions. In A.D. 195 Clodius Albinus was Cæsar, recognised as such by Severus from policy. The latter, with Albinus and

Pescennius Niger, was a competitor for the empire in A.D. 193 on the death of Didius Julianus. Albinus had been appointed imperial legate in Britain by Commodus, and as we gather from Xiphiline, held the same post through the reigns of Pertinax and Didius. According to Aurelius Victor, on the death of Didius, he *proclaimed himself* Cæsar in Gaul, but Dio, Herodian, and Capitolinus merely state that Severus declared him Cæsar. It is most probable that Severus made a virtue of a necessity in this case. Until he had overcome Niger who had proclaimed himself Emperor in the East, he could not attack Albinus; but in A.D. 194 Niger, after being defeated at Nicæa and Issus, was slain at Antioch.

If Aurelius Victor is correct, Albinus must at this time have been in Gaul; if so, and he was *acknowledged Cæsar*, why should there not be an imperial legate in Britain at the same time. Again, the evidence seems to shew that the Roman legions in Britain did not form part of the army which Albinus took over to the Continent, but that they remained in the island. Consequently they would be under the command of this legate.

It was not until A.D. 196 that Severus openly proceeded to hostilities against Albinus, whose fate was decided after a sanguinary battle, fought on the 19th February, A.D. 197, on the plains of *Tinurtium* near *Lugdunum* (the modern Lyons.) It is obvious, therefore, that if Albinus had been recognised as Cæsar until his downfall, that the *INO* in the fourth line of this inscription would be part of the word *ALBINO*. This was the reading I gave at first, considering it unique, but Dr. Hübner points out that if such had been the case, the name of Albinus would have been erased after his death. Dr. Hübner himself reads *NINO CAES* in this line, as part of the names (*M. AVREL. ANTO*)*NINO*, and referring to Bassianus, better known as Caracalla, the son of Severus. But this will not agree with the year A.D. 195. How can we reconcile the two readings?

Caracalla was proclaimed Cæsar in the first half of A.D. 196 (in the lifetime of Albinus) and we have a law bearing his name as such, dated June 30 of that year. But (and here I think lies the clue) an inscription found

at Ilkley some three centuries ago is dedicated to Severus and also to Antoninus as CAES DESTINATVS. This must have been erected prior to June, A.D. 196, and yet the name of Virius Lupus as imperial legate occurs in it. Dr. Hübner, "C.I.L.," vol vii, No. 210, gives the date, with a query, as A.D. 197, and inserts the abbreviation IMP. between CAES and DESTINATVS, in order to make it agree with four continental inscriptions of that year. But I see no reason why this should be done. What was the first intimation that Albinus had of the hostile intentions of Severus? Was it the withdrawal of the title of Cæsar from him, in official records? Up to A.D. 194 Albinus only claims the title of Cæsar upon his coins, but subsequently (*i.e.* after Niger's defeat) he claims upon coins, minted either in Britain or Gaul, the title of Augustus. If the British legions remained loyal to Severus, they would of course during this period not only imitate any example set at Rome, but probably give the son of Severus, then quite a child, the title of *Caesar Destinatus*. A further confirmation of this seems to appear in two inscriptions, one found at Old Carlisle, dedicated to Severus *alone* by the *Ala Augusta*, and the other at Bowes, in which *Virius Lupus* is styled *Legatus Augusti* (not *Augustorum*) the said Augustus being Severus, and no mention of a Cæsar is made in either of them, nor has there been any erasure.

The subsequent appearance of Virius Lupus at the battle of Tinurtium fighting against Albinus does not necessarily militate against this theory. Even Dr. Hübner gives the date of the Bowes inscription as prior to A.D. 197. May it not have been a year or two previously? As far as I can make out, the letters DE, the commencement of DESTINATO, seem to be traceable at the commencement of the fifth line of this Brough inscription. There certainly appear to be traces of another inscription having been on the stone, which has been obliterated purposely; the present lines are very irregular with appearances of letters between them.

Dr. Hübner, in the *Academy* (Dec. 4th, 1880) asserted that he could not make out *cos* or *coss* in the last line, but singularly enough recognises part of the name Clemens in



a ligulate form as ENTE DEC. The letter c, which we are both agreed upon, he makes the last in the line, whilst I see it followed by oss. Dr. McCaul supports me as to this reading of coss. For a tablet of this nature to have been superintended by a *decurio* (corporal), as Dr. Hübner asserts would be foreign to previous experience. They are always stated to have been superintended by the commanding officer of the *corps*, generally a *Praefectus* or *Tribunus*.

Two other remarks of Dr. Hübner seem also very strange. The first is that coss for cos "would have been a blunder." Yet in Nos. 351 and 871 of his volume of "British Inscriptions," where this formula occurs he adopts it.

The second remark is that the stone probably came from the Roman station at Old Penrith, twenty-six miles distant, and was erected by the garrison of that place, the 2nd Cohort of the Gauls. We may at once dismiss such an unlikely hypothesis.

Brough was garrisoned at the time the *Notitia* was compiled by the *Numerus Directorum* (a sort of guides). Its Roman name was *Verterae*. This is the first inscription on stone which it has yielded, though a large number of small leaden seals stamped with the names of various cohorts, &c., have been found there.

I should also state that the end of the second line has been read by Dr. Hübner as PI, by Dr. McCaul as PERT (in a ligulate form), and by myself as PM. The exact order would be PIO PERTINACI, &c., and PM (for *Pontifici Maximo*) should come in afterwards, but there are breaches of this order occasionally, and I think PM is inserted at the end of the line, though I admit not in its normal position.

At York some most interesting discoveries have to be recorded. On 16th October in excavating for the foundations of a new building attached to St. Mary's Convent, just without Micklegate Bar, there were found at a depth of from five to six feet below the surface, "huddled together," to use the Rev. Canon Raine's expression, three small inscribed altars, and the greatest portion of a large statue. The former were thus inscribed:—

(1.)  
C.IVLIVS  
CRESCENS  
MATRI  
BVS DO  
MESTICIS  
V. S. M. L.

(2.)  
DEO. VE  
TERI  
PRIMVL  
VS. VOL  
M.

(3.)  
DEO. MARTI. C  
AGRIVS  
ARVSPEX  
V. S. L. M.

The first of these, which is on an altar seventeen inches high, and eight inches wide (except the head, which is nine inches wide), of hard polished stone, with fluted sides retaining traces of colour, is to be read *C(aius) Julius Crescens, Matribus Domesticis V(otum) S(olvit) M(erito) L(ibens)*. It is the third altar to the *Matres Domesticae* which has been found in Britain, the other two having been found at Stanwix and Burgh-upon-Sands, on the line of the Wall of Hadrian. There is a peculiarity in the form of the dedication on this altar, the name of the dedicator preceding instead of following the names of the deities, and in the last line the position of the letters ML is reversed, the usual formula being as in No. 3, *VSML*.

No. 2 is on an altar ten-and-a-half inches high by five inches wide. Though inscriptions to the *Deus Vetus* are of frequent occurrence upon the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland, this is the first time that one has been found so far south. Previously Lanchester, in Durham, was the southernmost limit of this class of inscriptions.

There is a difficulty as to the names of the dedicator. Canon Raine reads the inscription, *Deo Veteri Primulus Vol(usius) M(erito)*. I am by no means satisfied with this, as *Primulus* for a *praenomen* seems exceptionally strange; but in default of a better reading being obtainable, accept it.

No. 3 seems to be the body of an altar, of which the head and base are wanting. It is exceedingly worn, and when first discovered was almost totally illegible, but as the stone has dried the letters have come out clearer. From an inspection of it, in various lights, I can confirm the above reading (which is that of the Rev. Canon Raine), the only doubtful point being whether *AVSPEX* (as a *cognomen*) or *ARVSPEX* (a soothsayer) is the correct reading of the third line. Canon Raine thinks he can detect the letter R ligulate with the A. I could not see it certainly, but freely admit that it may be





Roman Statue found at York.

there. Assuming such to be the case, the expansion would be *Deo Marti C(aius) Agrius, Aruspex, V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*. No other inscription naming an *Aruspex* (or *Haruspex*) has been found in Britain.

Digressing for a moment from inscriptions, I must say a few words as to the statue, which, in my opinion, is one of the finest (if not the finest) of large size, which our island has produced.<sup>1</sup> Though the feet are broken off, it is still five feet six inches in height, and is composed of sandstone grit. Although the attire is that of a male the features have a decidedly feminine appearance, and it has been variously supposed to be either a statue of Mars or some other deity, or that of an Emperor, or of a Roman soldier. The figure stands erect, in military dress, having a helmet and greaves. The left hand is resting upon a large oval shield (over two feet high), and at the left side hangs a sword suspended from a belt crossing the breast from the right shoulder. The right arm is broken off a little below the elbow, but from the position of the remainder, the right hand evidently held a spear. Though entire when found (with the above-named exception of the feet and right arm), the head of the statue was unfortunately broken off in raising it, but the fracture being a clean one, it has been neatly cemented.

I venture on a suggestion as to the statue. Both it and the altars were certainly not found *in situ*, and to all appearance some distance from their original position, as if they had been concealed, for the ground where they were discovered seemed to be a portion of one of the roadside cemeteries of Roman York, a number of skeletons being found at a greater depth than the altars and statue. In all probability they came from within the city walls, somewhere in this neighbourhood. With regard to this, I will give the following quotation from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740, p. 189, written by an anonymous correspondent, and dated from York, April 22nd of that year.

“A very antique monumental stone was lately found near *Micklegate* in this city; it is of the *grit* kind, two feet ten inches broad, and appears to have been the *base*

<sup>1</sup> A drawing of it has been exhibited to the Institute by Mr. Walford, and a photograph by myself which accompanied

this paper, and from which the engraving here given is taken.



*pedestal* of a statue by the lead *where the feet* were fixed into it.<sup>1</sup> The inscription upon it runs thus," &c., &c. The correspondent does not divide the inscription into lines, and makes some expansions, but Gough in his 1789 edition of "*Camden's Britannia*," vol. iii, p. 62, supplies the correct version, which is—

BRITANNIÆ  
SANCTÆ  
P. NIKOMEDES  
AVGG. NN  
LIBERTVS.

He also states that it was found *within* Micklegate Bar. Combining these facts with the strong feminine features of the statue, with the remarkably (for a male) large breasts, is there not a possibility that we have here a representation of Britannia herself? The absence of the feet is accounted for if they were fastened with lead to the pedestal when the statue was broken from it. The only militating circumstance is the short corselet. In the case of the statue of the goddess *Brigantia* found at Middleby, she, whilst bearing helmet, spear, and shield, has feminine attire. But on many of the coins of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Commodus, with the reverse "*Britannia*," this same feature of a short dress occurs. (*Vide* "*Mon. Hist. Brit.*," Pl. ii. and iii., the same type of helmet appearing in Pl. ii., Fig. 11.) It is evident that the statue has not been meant to stand in a niche, as in the case of tombstones, for the sculpture extends equally round the back as well as the front. In any event, the circumstance of the base of a statue of Britannia being found within a few yards is singular.<sup>2</sup>

At Escombe (co. Durham) Dr. Hooppell informs me that two fragmentary inscriptions have lately been found built up *within* the church (one in the *outer* wall I described in my last list). They are

(1.)	(2.)
VIM>>>.	LINI

The first is much worn and is 18 feet above the pavement,

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.—W. T. W.

<sup>2</sup> Apollo is probably the only *male* deity, whose appearance would be so youthfully represented; but in this case the spear, shield, and sword, are con-

clusive against the statue representing him. On the silver lunx found at Corbridge we have Diana in a short dress. The helmet is of a Greek type, so is the name *Nicomedes* on the base.

in the north wall of the nave "and between 1 ft. 5 in. and 4 ft. 6 in. from the chancel wall." Only faint vestiges remain of the first line, and little more of the second.

The second inscription is in the same wall 11 ft. 6 in. above the pavement, and extends 1 ft. 2 in. eastwards from the west wall of the nave. It may be part of the word *APOLLINI*.

During the progress of the sewerage works at Cirencester, an altar was found 30 inches high and 15 inches broad, bearing upon its front, in a niche between two columns, the figure of a Genius holding a cornucopia in the left hand and with the right sacrificing upon an altar. Above are the letters

G . S . HV . I \* SLOC \*

reading, when entire, G. S. HVIVS LOCI, *i.e.*, *Genio Sancto hujus loci*. Dr Hübner reads the S as *S(acrum)* which is very improbable as, if it meant that word, it would, as in other examples, have followed *loci*, whereas *Sancto* is in its normal position. The altar was broken into forty-five pieces but has been joined together by Mr. Bowly, the Curator of the Museum. The asterisks mark letters missing owing to fractures, the stop after the v is peculiar but similar instances occur in other inscriptions.

In October 1879, there was found on the site of a Roman cemetery at Guilden Morden in Cambridgeshire, with a quantity of plain pottery, a terra cotta vase, "ornamented with wreaths of laurel, enclosing the inscription—

VTERE FELIX

painted around, in white letters  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. long." The letters are finely executed. The vase is now in the possession of Mr. William Andrews of Litlington, the next parish. I am indebted for this information to Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields, and Rev. S. S. Lewis of Cambridge.

Whilst excavating in Houndsditch and Duke Street (London) for new premises, a bastion of the ancient Roman city wall was come upon, and found to be in a great measure composed of sculptured fragments from some still earlier Roman buildings. Amongst them was a fragment of a much worn inscription which I recently inspected with Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., and Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., at the Guildhall Museum. Just enough

can be made out of it to show that it is sepulchral. The letters appear to be

A  
 EIV  
 VS  
 VIX ANN  
 AVS \* RI  
 NT N FAC

The commencement of the inscription is lost; also each end of the lines of the remainder. The second existing line seems to be part of the word *EIV(s)*; in the fourth we have plainly *vixit annos*, in the fifth the asterisk marks a letter which may be *T*, and thus the line may read *AVSTRI* or instead of *I* the last letter may be part of *A*; it should be noticed that the *av* at the commencement of the line is ligulate. In the last line *FAC* has no doubt been followed by *CVR* as usual, making the abbreviation of *Fac(iendum) Cur(avit)*, but the letters before *FAC* are indistinct. They either, I think, represent the words *Parentes* or *Alumnus*, in some abbreviated form.

On the 31st March, whilst excavating in the large Roman bath in the city of Bath, about fifteen feet beneath the former level of the water in the King's Bath, the workmen found two leaden tablets, amongst a number of coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Gallicenus, Constantine, &c. One, which was  $2\frac{11}{16}$  inches square, "with a notch cut on the left side  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches long from the bottom, and  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch deep," and 1-20th of an inch thick, bore an inscription in eight lines, which has been a source of much controversy amongst archæologists. I have not seen the original, nor yet a photograph, so will at present only give the views of others on the subject, hoping in my next annual list to return to it.

The first account of it was published by Mr. C. E. Davis, the city architect of Bath, who gave in the *Athenæum* of May 15, 1880, a reduced fac-simile of it, with a reading and translation, which he and Prof. Sayce had jointly agreed upon. Another reading followed in the *Academy* of Nov. 13 by Professor Rhys; a third, forwarded to the Rev. H. M. Searth, and the writer, by Dr. McCaul of Toronto, was published by Mr. Searth in the *Academy* of March 12th, 1881; whilst an enlarged fac-

simile and another reading has been published by Prof. Zangemeister in the *Hermes*, the result of his own and Dr. Hübner's consideration of the inscription.

It will be best to print the various readings which have been given in order to fully understand their differences. The peculiar feature of the tablet is that the inscription is reversed and reads from right to left.

Mr. Davis's reading :—

COLAVITVILBIAMMIHIQ  
AQVACOMCLIQV—TSEC [or R]IV  
AVITEAMLV TAEL  
EXPERIVSVELVINNA I LV  
GVERINVSÆRIANXSSEX  
ITIANVSAVGVS TALISSE  
CATVSMINIANVSCOM  
IOVINA GERMANILL.

Professor Rhys's reading :—

[COL]LAVIT VILBIAM MIHI Q  
AQVA COM CLIQVAT. : SEGIN-  
AVIT EAM QVINNVTALE :  
EXPE. REIVS, VELVINNA, . . . ~ LV̄ :  
C. VERINVS AERIANVS EXS-  
ITIANVS AGVSTALIS : SEP.  
CATVS MINIANVS COM  
IOVINA GERMANILL[A].

Dr. McCaul's reading :—

COLAVIT VILBIAM MIHI Q  
AQVA COM C LIQV AT PRIV (or SAGIN)  
AVIT EAM LVE MORTALI IN (?)  
EXPERTVS VELVI NOMINARVM  
CAIVS VERINVS AERIANVS EXS  
ITIANVS AVGVSTALIS SE  
CATVS MINIANVS COM  
IVNIA GERMANILL (?)

As Professor Zangemeister, to make his reading clear, transposes some of the letters, I give his reading in ordinary type with his expansions :—

Q(ui) mihi ma(n)telii (m) in (v)olavit  
Sic liquat (c) com aqua ella . . . ta  
Ni q(ui) eam (sa)lvavit . . . vinna vel (?)  
Ex supereus (V)erianus, Severianus,  
Agustalis, Comitianus, Catus-minianus  
Germanill(a) Iovina.

Mr. Davis and Professor Sayce gave the following translation :—

Quintus has bathed [or washed] Vilbia for me  
 with the water; along with Cliquatis he has  
 saved her by means of QVIM . . . TAEI [OR TALE]  
 [His] pay [is] 500,000 pounds of copper coins or quinarii  
 [Signed] by G. Verinus Arianus [Ælianus] Ex  
 itianus the Augustal Priest, [and] Sextius  
 Catus Minianus along with  
 Jovina Germanilla.

Professor Rhys says that he "will not attempt to explain the meaning of the inscription."

Dr. McCaul considers VILBIA in the first line to be a corruption of the Roman name FVLVIA; Q (somewhat indistinct in the second line) to stand for *Quotidie*; and would read it by making *Aqua* the nominative to the verb *Colavit*, C standing for *cum*, and LIQV for *liquore*.

"Water, with hot liquor daily, has drenched my Fulvia, but has cured (or freed) her from a mortal malady. Inexperienced I have desired (Velui for Volui) five names."

Then follow the names, viz., Caius Verinus, Arianus, Exsitianus, Augustal Priest, Secatus Minianus, with Junia Germanilla.

Professor Zangemeister's reading is so different to the others that until I fully understand the tenor of his remarks (which are written in German) I will not give any translation; but in the meantime I may say that I think his reading very likely to be correct. The stealing of a cloak or mantle was just what would be recorded on a leaden plate: we have a similar example in the case of a ring being stolen, on a leaden plate found at Lydney, in Gloucestershire.

Of the second plate found at Bath at the same time, I can as yet say nothing. I believe that both the plate and the negative of the photograph of it are at Oxford, in the possession of Professor Westwood, and until he publishes a copy of it, it is excluded from the archæological world (though both plates, I believe, were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries). In the *Academy* of Nov. 13th, 1880, Professor Westwood was said to be "progressing with the reading of it." I hope that his reading will soon be published. The Rev. H. Scarth informs me that "it appears almost hopeless to attempt an explanation, as letters and symbols, or figures, are jumbled



up together and perhaps were not intended to make sense." The tablet is said to be inscribed on both sides.

Early in the year Mr. Hartshorne informs me that Dr. Knaggs discovered in a garden at New Hampton, Surrey, a white marble tombstone,  $46\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 15 inches broad, and 4 inches thick. The upper portion is pedimented, and decorated with a rosette ornament, heads of oxen, and festoons, underneath which in a sunken panel  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 10 inches, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep, is a bas-relief representing a female seated at the foot of a couch, upon which a male figure lies semi-recumbent; the latter holds a two-handled drinking vessel in his hand, and provisions and vessels are placed near on two tripod goat-legged tables or stools; behind the male figure reading apparently from a scroll, and behind the female figure is a girl in apparently a listening posture. The drapery and furniture are Grecian. Beneath the panel is this inscription:—

ΒΟΥΒΑΣ ΜΟΚΑΠΟΡΙ  
ΓΙΑΙΓΗΚΟΣ ΔΙΝΔΙΠΟΡΙ  
ΧΑΙΠΕΤΕ

The first two lines are evidently four proper names. From a rubbing and photograph, with which I was favored by Mr. Hartshorne, I at once pronounced the inscription to be of Eastern origin, probably from the Levant. Since then Mr. A. W. Franks has informed me that he is of the same opinion. The stone has probably been brought over to England by some curiosity hunter.<sup>1</sup>

Though not found in Britain, but referring altogether to it, I have ventured to insert here the copy of the fragment of a new *Tabula Honestae Meissionis* found at the close of 1880, in the bed of the Meuse at Flémalle, close to Liège, and published by Mr. C. Roach-Smith, F.S.A., from a rubbing he had received from M. Schuermans of Liège, in vol. xxxvii, pp. 94-5 of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. It is dated in COS. II. of Trajan. As this Emperor was Consul for the second time in A.D. 98, and for the third time in A.D. 100, the date is either A.D. 98 or 99. Of the two *alae* which are named in it, the names are lost; of the six cohorts, only the name of one is lost, and the names of the five which remain are already well known to students of

<sup>1</sup> This tombstone was exhibited at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute April 7, 1881. See p. 317.

Britanno-Roman history. The chief interest consists in the name of the Imperial Legate, Titus Avidius Nepos, which is new—nothing else being recorded of this Governor of Britain. Liège is in the country formerly inhabited by the Tungri, a cohort of which people is named in the *Tabula*, and, as Mr. Roach-Smith remarks, the latter probably belonged to a soldier of the cohort, who returned to his birth-place with this certificate of discharge.

I give the exact copy of Mr. Smith's communication. There seems to be an error in giving the inscription on the reverse side, the fourth and fifth lines being transposed, but whether this error occurs in the original or is merely typographical I have been unable to ascertain, though I have made enquiries. Mr. Smith says :—

“The following is my reading of the rubbing sent me by by M. Schuermans, with restorations in brackets. The obverse :—

[Imperator Caesar divi Ner]væ [Filius] NERVA TRAIANVS  
[German]icvs] PONTIFEX MAXIMVS  
[tribunicia p]otestat[e] co[n]sul II  
[equitibus et peditib]us XVI MILITANT IN ALIS  
[duabus et cohortib]us SEX QUÆ APPELLANTVR  
[I.....]A [civium Romanorum] ET I TVNGRORVM  
[et I.....]RVN ET I HISPANORVM  
[et I.....]RUM ET I] FIDA VARDVLLORVM [C.I.]  
[et II li]NGONVM ET II NERVIO  
[rum et sunt in Brit]ANNIA SVB T AVIDIO  
[Nepote dimissis] HONESTÆ MISSIONE A  
[...qui] QVINA ET VICENA PLVRA  
[ve stipendia merne]RVNT QVORVM NOMI  
[na subscripta sunt] IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS  
[que eorum civitate] M DEDIT ET CONVBIVM  
[cum uxoribus quas] TVNC HABVSSENT CVM  
[civitas est eis data duntaxat singula singulas, etc.]

“The reverse :

FIDA.....  
II LINGONVM ET II NE...  
IN BRITANNIA SAB T AV...  
DIMISSIS HONESTA M...  
NEPOTE QVI QVINA ET...  
PENDIA MERVERVNT...  
SVBSCRIPTA SVNT...  
RISQVE EORVM C...  
CONVBIVM CVM VX...  
HABVSSENT CVM...  
.....

“The inscription is written, or rather engraved, in rustic Roman capitals of very fine shape and character ; the letters of the obverse being smaller, closer, more carefully made, and more conventional, than those of the reverse, which are larger and more displayed, and exhibit

a greater freedom on the part of the writer." Mr. Smith adds that the *Tabula* is now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Art and History of the Diocese of Liege.

There are one or two inscriptions found some years since which Dr. Hübner has overlooked. At Lydney (Gloucestershire) among the remains found and preserved there are two roofing tiles, stamped in very fine letters

L. L. Q.

I am indebted to Mr. A. D. Berrington for this information. The letters read *Libertis Libertabusque*.

In vol. xxi, of the *Archæological Journal* there is an account of a *fibula* found at Wroxeter, inscribed

FECIT.

In the same vol., p. 88, an account is given of a glass vessel found with an interment at Carlisle, on the under side of which occurred



In the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, vol. iii, No. 2, Part i, *Reliquae Galeanae*, there is engraved in Plate iii, Fig. 12, a Roman tombstone found at Lincoln, said, at p. 70, in a letter from Maurice Johnson to Roger Gale, dated May 2nd, 1737, to have been "found in the ruins of the old town house by workmen digging for sand eight feet deep." The stone had an ornamented pediment, underneath which was an inscribed panel, the only letters remaining being

ANIAV F  
INB XII RI  
CIN XXXV  
.....

The account says "no other letters are visible upon it at present, but there have been five lines formerly inscribed." Under the panel there had been some ornamentation described as resembling a vase with flowers. In a note it is said that perhaps the stone is the same as that described by Dr. Stukeley, on which he could only read D.M. and VIX.ANN.XXX. (Dr. Hübner's, No. 195.)

In a letter (at present in my possession) from the Rev. John Whitaker (Author of the *History of Manchester*) to the Rev. J. West (Author of the *Antiquities of Furness*),

dated Manchester, July 4th, 1776, the writer speaks thus of some communication to him in a former letter of Mr. West's, now lost—

“Your mutilated figure, and your imperfect inscription I can make nothing of. The former appears to me to exhibit a couple of human hands with the backs of them to the eye and the thumbs under them, and if they had been feet all the toes must have appeared. The inscription seems, from the drawing, to be upon the base of a pillar, and to have these words—

SERVIVS. VALERIVS  
CENTVRIO . . . . .

but I can make no sense of the rest.”

This inscription probably came from Lancaster or its neighbourhood, Mr. West living at that time at Hornby, only a few miles distant.

On going through the York Museum systematically, recently, with the Rev. Canon Raine, I noticed several other inedited inscriptions, which are these:—

(1.) MARTI ..... ..... ..... .....	(2.) MERC . .	(3.) D.A.M.I.	(4.) PATRIC
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No. 1 is on an altar found some years ago in York, about twenty inches in height, and which had hitherto been considered as uninscribed. Upon close examination, however, I detected an inscription, almost entirely obliterated upon it, but could only distinguish the first line as above.

No. 2 is in very fine letters on a fragment of the side of a vessel of light brown ware, and when complete may have read MERCVRIO.

No. 3 is round the body of a vessel of Castor ware about three and a-half inches in height, the letters are in white “slip” and have ornamental stops between them.

No. 4 is on the inside of the bottom of a glass vessel, the letters being raised.

On two fragments of Samian ware in the same Museum and found in the city are the *graffiti* inscriptions:—

(1.) VIVVM	(2.) IANVAR
---------------	----------------

In the first, the second v is ligulate with the m.

Round the body of a food vessel, discovered with a skeleton in York and now in the Museum, have been the following letters in "slip" which has disappeared leaving merely its *umbra*:—

.S.L.A.X.S.A..

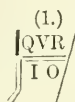
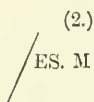
The vessel in form and ornamentation strongly resembles Castor ware, though of a dark brown colour and glazed. The last letter I am not sure of, it may have been M.

On a broken vessel of similar ware in the same museum are the following letters in white "slip" round the body:—

M.I.\*.G.E.M.I.


The asterisk marks a letter which has been on the missing portion of the vessel.

Two other inscriptions on fragments of pottery in the same collection are:—

(1.) 	(2.) 
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The first is on the side of a portion of a vessel of light brown ware, and the second in white slip on a fragment of Castor ware. There are also several other fragments of the same ware bearing letters in white slip, but only one letter remains on each.

In my list of "Inscriptions found in 1878," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 165, I referred to "a few unintelligible pieces of an inscription which has been shattered into fragments," found at York. I have narrowly inspected them and find that they are these:—

AVG — I — IE — NI — IV 

The letters are well cut and the inscription must have been a very fine one. I have thought it possible that the portion of the upper right hand corner may have been part of the words (SEPTIM)I SEV(ERI) but the genitive case is unusual and the letter after the s *seems* to be I. As to AVG, I have so put it, but the distinctive mark of the letter G is broken off, reading now as if it was AVC. Another portion of the outer moulding of the tablet remains, which is grasped or supported by the right hand



of a human figure. The fragments were found in the garden of the Station Hotel.

A few inscriptions are given in the 7th vol. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, by Dr. Hübner, regarding which it is necessary to make some further remarks.

At p. 62 there are given copies of inscriptions on two tablets found at York, at that time imperfectly read owing to the oxidised state in which they remained; one adhering to the back of the other. They have now, owing to the care of the Rev. Canon Raine, been cleaned and the whole of the inscriptions are visible, which read thus:—

(1.)  
ΘΕΟΙC  
ΤΟΙCΤΟΥΤΗC  
ΜΟΝΙΚΟΥΠΡΑΙ  
ΤΩΠΙΟΥCΚΡΙΒ  
ΔΗ \* ΗΤΡΙΟC

(2.)  
ΩΚΕΑΝΩΙ  
ΚΑΙΘΘΥΙ  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ

No. 1 is dedicated “to the gods of the chief (or governmental) palace by Scribonius Demetrius.” The only difficulty is at the end of the fourth line where *CKPIB* occurs. I have rendered it as the first portion of the name Scribonius.<sup>1</sup> Others have rendered it as the Latin word “*Scriba*,” and thus translated it as “Demetrius the scribe.” The third letter in the last line we gather from No. 2. No. 2 is simple. It is a dedication to “Ocean and Tethys” by the same person, Demetrius.

I have recently examined Dr. Hübner’s No. 256, preserved at the York Museum, which I find reads:

NI. SECVN  
E VOCO

and I take it to be a portion of a tombstone of a person whose *cognomen* was *Secundus* or *Secundinus*, whilst from the second line (as I some years ago asserted) we have evidence that the deceased belonged to the *Ala Vocontiorum*. Dr. Hübner’s *L* before *voco* is certainly not correct, though it would make no difference to the reading; instead of *AL voco* the reading has been (*ALA*)*E. voco*. The only letters about which there can be any dispute are the *NI* in the first line, though I am very sure of them, but they do not affect the sense of the remainder.

Dr. Hübner’s No. 267 (found at Hazlehead) has now

<sup>1</sup> I find that Dr. Hübner in the “*Ephemeris Epigraphica*,” vol. iii, p. 312, gives the same reading.

been removed to the York Museum. It is on a large boulder, one face of which has been cut level for the reception of the inscription.

The boss of the shield of the soldier of the Eighth Legion found at Tynemouth Bar (Dr. Hübner's No. 495,) has also now found a resting place in the York Museum.

Dr. Hübner's No. 1161, seems either to be hidden, or to have perished, at Dynevor Park, into the wall of which it remained built up as late as 1824 (Westwood, "*Lapidarium Walliae*," p. 75.)

A few notes have to be added upon some of the inscriptions I have given in previous lists. In vol. xxxi, of the *Journal*, p. 345, I have given the lettering on a tombstone found at Ilkley, making the fourth line commence IESSEI. In the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iii, p. 121, Dr. Hübner suggested that the first letter of this might be T and not I. On looking narrowly at Dr. Whitaker's sketch this seems to be the case. In the same volume of the *Journal*, p. 158, I gave from the *Gentleman's Magazine* an inscription found at Wroxeter as CAAM, which I have since noticed that the Rev. H. M. Scarth reads as GMM in vol. xxi, of the *Journal*, p. 131.

In vol. xxxiv, p. 135, I discussed the inscriptions on two vases found in the well of the goddess "Coventina," at Carrawburgh, on the Wall of Hadrian, chiefly referring to the name of the potter, read by Dr. Hübner as Saturninus Gabinius. During the discussion I had in the Newcastle press, 1877-8, with Mr. Clayton, I argued from the position of these names that they were either those of two persons, or should be transposed so as to read "Gabinius Saturninus." Dr. McCaul, in recently writing to me on the subject, says, "I am certain that the names of the person are Gabinius Saturninus, and that the inscriptions are Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic verse, although sadly disfigured by false quantities."

In vol. xxxvii of the *Journal*, p. 137, I gave an inscription found at Gold Cliff (Monmouthshire). Mr. Octavius Morgan, as will be remembered, recently communicated a valuable paper to the Institute on the subject, showing that the sea embankment at the spot was formed by the Romans, and agreeing in Mr. C. W. King's view that the last line marked two miles of the

length of the embankment executed by the century of Statorius. This certainly seems very probable. Mr. Morgan thinks that the mark between the two M's is merely an accidental scratch.

At p. 141 of the same vol. I stated, in dealing with the inscription to Aesculapius found at Binchester, "The only inscription" (previously) "found in Britain which names a *medicus* was discovered at Housesteads," &c. I should have added that the Greek form of the same term ΙΑΤΡΟΣ occurs upon an altar found at Chester.

Upon the same page I gave the inscription M P P which occurs upon a tile at Binchester. Dr. McCaul, in writing to me since I published this, says that he is inclined to expand it, as *manu primi-pili*.

At p. 145 of the same vol. I noticed an inscription found in 1776 at Bath. The Rev. H. M. Scarth has since informed me that he has found a copy of this identical with mine, appearing in the *Bath Chronicle*, 13th June, 1776, and he thinks it possible it may be part of a dedication *Deae Soli*.

At p. 150 of the same vol., when describing a tombstone found at Tomen-y-Mur, I remarked that no letterpress description of it appeared to be given in Professor Westwood's "Lapidarium Walliae." I find that this is an error, for though the stone is engraved in Plate lxxviii, Fig. 4, it is described at p. 156 under the head of Plate lxxix, Fig. 5. Professor Westwood reads the second and third lines as BARRECT || CARANTI, but there is no doubt of the T and E being ligulate in the third, whilst as to the last letter in the second, it might *possibly* be as he suggests, though it does not appear to me to be so. The dimensions of the stone are eighteen inches long by twelve wide, and the letters are two and a-half inches high. Professor Westwood thinks the inscription post-Roman, but I see no reason for this opinion. He says "the formula of the inscription is quite different from that of the Roman stones above described" (*i.e.*, centurial stones) "and indicates a period rather later, than the departure of the Romans from the Principality."

Another reading has since been given by the British Archaeological Association of the inscription which I named at p. 151 of vol. xxxvii of the *Journal*, as found at

Herringfleet and said to be on the *handle* of a *patella*. It is :—

## QV. ATTENVVS. F

One or two more inscriptions found, and lost again before being published, have to be put on record. In Hodgson's "History of Northumberland," vol. iii, Pt. ii, p. 173, it is said, in an account of great Roman discoveries ("a chaos of ruins") which were made near the north-east angle of the Court House at Newcastle-on-Tyne, during the building of that edifice in 1812, that amongst the articles discovered were part of a fine Corinthian pillar fluted, and of splendid workmanship, many mill-stones "and two altars, one bearing an illegible inscription, the other quite plain." Neither Dr. Bruce in the "Lapidarium," nor Professor Hübner appear to notice this altar, which, doubtless to experts, might have yielded some information from the inscription.

In Allies' *Antiquities of Worcestershire* (1852), p. 107, it is stated with regard to a Roman camp on Hadley Heath, in the parish of Ombersley, that "the workmen who were employed at the enclosure" (apparently of the common, in 1815) "dug up, at the south-east side of the camp, a leaden chest upon which was an inscription, but the finders broke it to pieces and sold it as old material."

In vol. i of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, p. 340, it is stated that Mr. Inskip, of Shefford, Beds, sent through Mr. Roach Smith, the drawing of a *patera* found with other Roman vessels, in June, 1845, at Penlowe Park, Herts, on the bottom of which an inscription was scratched with a sharp pointed instrument, said to be "formed of Greek, Roman, and (perhaps) Gaulish characters." Mr. Roach Smith thought it might be the maker's name, but no representation of it has been given.

This, so far as my memory serves me, is the complete list for the year. Other inscriptions have since been found, amongst them, an interesting one at Colchester, but they must remain until my list for 1881 appears. The corrections as to previously found inscriptions, I have thought necessary in order to ensure accuracy as far as it is possible to obtain it.

## NOTES ON THE DEATH OF KING JOHN.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. F. SPURRELL, M.A.

The question which I propose to consider is this—What was a certain part of the direct cause of the death of King John? I propose, after reading the description of his death as given ordinarily by later writers of the history of England—and which is the commonly received account—to quote extracts from older English historians, some of whom vary as to the particulars of the incidents of his last fatal illness. It will be seen from these, that the real cause of King John's death is assigned to one of these two agencies—poison, or to a fatal draught of some intoxicating drink; and, as several historians differ as to what that drink was, the question shall be pursued by a comparison of the use of a particular Latin word, variously translated, apparently, in those mediæval times.

The ordinary account of the death of King John, as given in modern histories of England, is substantially quoted from the "History of England" by T. Smollett, M.D., 11 vols., 8vo., 1758, which states, "That unfortunate monarch (King John), after having ravaged the lands of the revolted barons in Norfolk, retired to Lynne, which was the rendezvous of all his forces; and, assembling a numerous army, resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom, and hazard a decisive battle, hoping to be joined in his march by those who were discontented with Lewis" (this was Louis son of Philip king of France, to whom the rebellious nobles had offered the kingdom of England). "Thus determined, he (King John) departed from Lynne, which for its fidelity he had distinguished with many marks of his favour: his route lying over the washes between Lincolnshire and Norfolk, which are overflowed at high water, he judged his time so imprudently that the tide rushed in upon him, and he lost the greatest part of his forces, together with all his treasure, baggage and regalia. He himself hardly escaped with life, and arrived at the Abbey of Swinestead, where he was so deeply affected with his irreparable loss, that his grief produced a violent fever. Next day, being unable to ride on horseback, he was carried in a litter to the castle of Sleaford, and from thence removed to Newark, where, after having made his will, he died on the 19th day of October (1216), in the 51st year of his age, and the 18th of his reign. His bowels were buried in the Abbey of Croxton, and his body in the Cathedral of Worcester."

It will be inevitable that some of these facts as to King John's death must be again and again mentioned in the subsequent extracts from other historians, but care will be taken not to repeat more than possible, the

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting at Lincoln, July 31, 1880.



especial point being, as will be shewn presently, to trace the different use made by the different writers of the incidental circumstances which led to his death.

My subject incorporates a digression, which I must now make, in order to introduce the word upon which the point of the question turns, its bearing upon English history will be seen as we proceed. My digression from King John is this :—

At the meeting of the Institute at Hereford in 1877, my attention was drawn to the copy of the Bible, preserved in the cathedral, of Wickliffe's translation, in which, at St. Luke, i, 15, where our authorised version in giving the words of the angel speaking to Zacharias respecting the birth of his son John the Baptist, says, "He shall drink neither wine nor strong drink," Wickliffe uses the word "sider" (eider) for the expression "strong drink." I heard an opinion expressed that possibly the letter "d" might be mistaken for "ch" in the MS., and that "sider" might more probably be "sicher," owing to Wickliffe's unwillingness to translate, and wishing simply to Anglicize the Greek word, in the original *σικερα*, and make it *sicher* or *sicer*. It is true, that word means, as Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon explains, "any inebriating liquor," whether made of corn, the juice of apples, honey, dates, or any other fruit. And it is clear from Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, that the Greek *σικερα* is derived from the Hebrew שִׁכָּר (shākar) to inebriate, and denotes generally any intoxicating drink, but it was chiefly applied to what we call *made* wines, from dates, figs, or palms (says Bloomfield, Gr. Test.), or to fermented drink generally.

On a careful examination, however, of the Hereford MS., the notion of "sicher" must be discarded, for nothing can be clearer than that the written word is "sider," and the expression of Wickliffe is, "he (John the Baptist) shall not drinke wyn ne sider."

I need not here repeat what I wrote at full length in the *Guardian* of August 29th, 1877; how I visited subsequently the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Caxton Exhibition then open at South Kensington, and the British Museum Library, and after examination of numberless MSS. and printed books, ascertained that Wickliffe always translated *σικερα* by "sider," and the later writers by its equivalent, "strong drink." I, however, raised the archaeological question why Wickliffe should have translated *sicera* by "sider," since eider is so peculiarly the produce of apple-bearing counties in the West and South-west of England. John Wickliffe was born at Richmond in Yorkshire, about 1324, and died at Lutterworth in Leicestershire in 1384, neither of which counties are famous for eyder. I asked for further information, and I received in reply a considerable quantity of letters and references.

It would be, of course, however, out of place here to enter any further into the very minute etymological history of the word Latinized into "sicera," which the accumulation of my notes would enable me to give, the present object being only to throw as much light upon the meaning of the word as will enable us to afford some introduction of it in the object before us, which is to find out if this explains in any way a reported circumstance in the death of King John, because, as eventually will be seen, the question as to the cause of his death turns very much upon the word used by the oldest historian who employs the Latin *cicer*, probably as derived from its equivalent Greek, *σικερα*.

After thus intimating the digressive connection which I intend to trace, I resume the point before us, from histories.

In Baker's "Chronicle of the Kings of England," p. 109,<sup>1</sup> we find this passage, "When Prince Lewis of France was come into England, and was received by the Lords and by the Londoners, King John with an army went into the North parts, and coming to Walpool, where he was to pass over the Washes, he sent one to search where the water was passable, and then himself with some few passeth over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treasure, passing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which dysaster, and perhaps distempered in his body before, he fell into a Fever, and was let blood; but keeping an ill diet (as indeed he never kept good), eating green Peaches, and drinking sweet Ale, he fell into a loosenesse and grew presently so weak, that there was much adoe to get him to *Newark*, where soon after he dyed. Though indeed it be diversely related: Caxton saith he was poisoned at Swineshead Abbey by a Monk of that Convent, the manner and cause this: the King being there, and hearing it spoken how cheap corn was, should say, he would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be sold for a shilling. At this speech the Monk took such indignation, that he went and put the poison of a Toad into a cup of wine and brought it unto the king, telling him there was such a cup of wine as he had never drunk in all his life, and therewithal took the assay of it himself, which made the king to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himself presently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him that he was faln down dead; then (saith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others say the poison was given in a dish of pears. But the Physitian that dis-bowelled his body, found no sign of poison in it, and therefore not likely to be true; but, howsoever, the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he dyed, on the 19th day of October, in the year 1216, when he had reigned 17 years and 6 months, lived 1 and fifty. He was buryed, his bowels at Croxton Abbey, his body at Worcester under the high altar, wrapped in a monk's cowl, which the superstition of that time accounted sacred, and a defensative against all evil spirits." Thus much Baker.

It is no part of my object to discuss the *place* of King John's death, whether at Newark or Swinsted, so I quote another historian as to the cause. M. Rapin describes the death of King John thus, see "The History of England," by Mr. Rapin de Thoyras, folio, London, 1732, vol. i, p. 279. He quotes Matthew Paris, and says, "His (John's) vexation for his loss, which was irretrievable in his present circumstances, threw him into a violent fever, which was heighten'd by inconsiderately eating peaches;" and in his foot notes adds, "Caxton is the first that mentions it in English, from whom Speed and Baker have borrowed it. He says, that the King hearing it, said how cheap corn then was, answered, he would e're long make it so dear that a penny loaf should be sold for a shilling. At which a monk there present took such indignation that he went and put the poison of a toad into a cup of wine, &c.," and he states that the monk tasted first and died, as we have been already told. "But (continues the notes in Rapin) it is a very improbable story

<sup>1</sup> "Chronicle of the Kings of England," by Sir R. Baker, Knight, folio, London, 1658.

for a man to poison himself to be revenged of another. But Walter Hemingford tells it in a different way; he says the abbot persuaded the Monk to poison the King, because he would have lain with his Sister, and that he did it by a dish of pears, which he poisoned all but three, and then presenting them to the king, he bid him taste them himself, which he did, eating only the three that he had marked, and so escaped whilst the King was poisoned with the rest. From Hemingford, Higden and Knighton copied this story, which is not mentioned by any historian that lived within sixty years of that time." This reference to Caxton, I have not been able to verify. We know that amongst the books written by the celebrated William Caxton, who introduced printing into England, is the "Description of Britayne," 1480, but I have not seen it.

The passage referring to King John's death in Speed is this, and though very short, I know of no other. The work I quote from is a small long 8vo., entitled, "England, Wales and Scotland, and Ireland, described and abridged, &c., by John Speed, 1627," and in which, under the head of Lincolnshire, chap. xxxi, sec. 7, is stated, "This Shire triumpheth in the births of Beaulcark, King Henry I, whom Selby brought forth, and of King Henry IV, at Bullingbrooke borne; but may as justly lament for the death of King John, herein poysoned by Simon, a mouke of Swynsted Abby."

Thus it is to be noted, several historians plainly assert that King John was poisoned.

I quote now from Fox's Martyrs. The title of his book is "Acts and Monuments of Matters most special and memorable happening in the Church," &c., by Mr. John Fox, a large folio, tenth edition, London, 1684. In vol. i, p. 289 & 290, is said, "and in the self-same year, as King John was come to Swinstead Abbey, not far from Lincoln, he rested there two days; where (as most writers testifie) he was most Traiterously poisoned by a monk of that Abbey of the Sect of the Cistercians or St. Bernard's Brethren, called Simon of Swinstead." . . . "the monk then being absolved of his Abbot for doing this act (aforehand) went secretly into a Garden upon the backside, and finding there a most venomous Toad, he so pricked him and pressed him with his penknife, that he made him vomit all the poison that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of Wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance he said thus to the King, If it shall like your Princely Majesty, here is such a cup of wine as ye never drank better before in all your lifetime; I trust this wassail shall make all England glad; and with that he drank a great draught thereof, the king pledging him. The monk, after went to the Farmary and there died." . . . "The king within a short space (feeling great grief in his body) asked for Simon the Monk and answer was made that he had departed this life," and thus Fox, too, makes out the king was poisoned.

Opposite page 290 is a page of copper-plate engravings, giving six scenes, called "the description of ye poysoning of King John by a Monke of Swinsted Abby in Lincolnshire."

1. A monk kneeling before the abbot, and on a label is the inscription, "the monk absolved to poyson King John 'Ego absolvo te.'"

2. A monk pricking a toad in a dish, and on the label, "the Monk empereth his poyson into a cup to give ye king."

3. Shows two monks, one bringing a cup and taking off the cover,

gives it to the king, who is at the table with a courtier at his side, a label out of the monk's mouth, saying, "Wassell, my liege." At the bottom the inscription states, "the monk presenteth King John with his cup of poyson, beginning himself to ye king."

4. A courtier kissing the hand of the king, lying dead, and on the label, "King John lieth here dead of poyson."

5. Two monks are lamenting the dead monk, and on the label is "the monke lieth here dead of y<sup>e</sup> poyson that he drank to y<sup>e</sup> king."

6. A monk elevating the host at an Altar, on which two lights are burning, attended by four laity; and on the label, "a perpetual masse sung daily in Swinsted for y<sup>e</sup> monk that poysoned King John."

And perhaps here may be the place to stop and enquire, if this assertion of poisoning by means of the venom from a toad can be verified by facts. Notwithstanding this charge brought by these writers against the abbot and monks of Swinsted Abbey, and these interesting engravings of Fox, there is room for doubting the truth of the statement, not only as to the fact but as to the possibility. No doubt there would be a prejudice in the minds of post-Reformation writers against the Roman Catholic monks, and especially the mind of John Fox would be particularly biassed against them, and he would gladly make out that King John thus fell a martyr to the errors of popery as an anti-Christian system, which would not hesitate at the murder of a king by poison, if it would serve the monk's purpose. Possibly his plates and his story are not too veracious, and are altogether fabulous, and without any foundation in fact or history, and probably the older historians from whom he copied, had not ascertained the story as given by the earliest writers, and those nearest the days of King John, and so the notion of poison arose altogether from a mistake in the translation of the words which give the account of his death.

Let me however add a word with regard to the possibility of death by the poison of a toad. No doubt the common notion is, that the toad is a venomous creature and can exude or vomit poison, and generally popular notions have some foundation in fact. I cannot ascertain however from medical men and natural physiologists that the toad is venomous, or that it has ever been proved that the toad contains or secretes venom, either alive or dead; certainly it is not so in the sense of the viper. In this country toads are handled with impunity, and I am informed that no pricking or squeezing would extract poison from a toad. There seems therefore no ground for the possibility of the alleged story of poisoning King John by venom from a toad being true, so we may dismiss the probability of the fact and conclude that his fatal fever was increased by other causes. Nevertheless, though we dismiss the notion, from its improbability as well as from the impossibility of fact, it may be well to add that there is said to be an acrid fluid secreted from the glands of the skin of a toad, which, under circumstances, might produce irritation of the skin of a person handling one; but I am assured by an authority at the College of Surgeons that he knows of no evidence of such acrid fluid producing injury or death if swallowed.

In the "History of England" written by Mathew Paris, a folio, London, 1640, at page 287 at the end of the reign of King John, passing much that has been already quoted or referred to in translation, I find thus—"Rex tamen cum exercitu suo vix elapsus nocte sequente apud



Abbatiam quæ Sueneshead dicitur, pernoctavit. Ubi, ut putabatur de rebus a fluctibus devoratis tantam mentis incurrit tristitiam, quod acutis corceptus febribus, cepit graviter infirmari. Auxit autem ægritudinis molestiam pernicioſa ejus ingluvies qui nocte illa de fructu Persicorum et *novi ciceris potatione* nimis repletus, febrilem in se calorem acuit fortiter et incendit." Which may be translated into English thus—"Nevertheless the king having escaped with difficulty together with his army, on the following night travelled the whole night through to an abbey which is called Swineshead. There, as it is thought, he was seized with so much sorrow of mind at his baggage being destroyed by the waves, that being attacked by acute feverish symptoms he began to be very ill. But his very hurtful gluttony increased the troublesome nature of his illness, who, on that night, having indulged too much in eating peaches and by drinking new "cicer," strongly intensified and inflamed the fevered heat within him."

Matthew Paris, upon whose anvil, as good old Professor Blunt used to say of Wicliffe's translation of Scripture, all later translations have been evidently hammered, was a French monk, who lived at the Benedictine Monastery of St. Albans, and he wrote his "History of England" in Latin, and died A.D. 1259. Since King John died in 1216, only forty-three years before Matthew Paris, there seems every probability that the facts of Paris' history are true; and when therefore we find no mention made of John's death being caused by poison, but that his fever was intensified to a fatal issue by his imprudence and gluttony, I think we must thoroughly discard all notion of the king having been poisoned; and, on the contrary, take it as a fact that after the fever arose, which was caused by his alarm, danger and losses, the king imprudently ate too much fruit and drank too much new "cicer," and this gluttony was the direct cause of his death.

Now then, this is the interesting point. What was this drink called "cicer," of which King John drank so gluttonously as to increase the fever which killed him? Matthew Paris wrote in the thirteenth century, and the question is, what did he mean by cicer? Clearly "cicer" is the same word as "σίκερα," and I have thought that the use of the word by Wicliffe, as already referred to, might help us to form some opinion as to what was the drink which so materially contributed to the death of King John.

I am told that Swineshead is famous for its excellent pears, and possibly it was so 660 years ago, and doubtless the juice of pears was used at that time, and it is not impossible therefore that the king's fatal liquor was what we should now call *perry*, certainly one true translation of sicer, since whether cider be a French or English word, it is described, for instance, in Boyer's French Dictionary, 1751, as "a drink made of the juice of apples or of pears." It nowhere appears, however, that pears were used to any such extent as apples were to produce a drink, nor so commonly grown. Thus, though possible, it is not probable that perry was King John's fatal draught.

We have already had Baker's explanation, that the injurious drink was "sweet ale." It might have been, since ale was unquestionably an Englishman's general drink in the Middle Ages; but then, most probably the word in M. Paris' account would have been not sicer, but *cerevisia*; and, moreover, we can hardly imagine that a king who studied the



refinements of his table to the extent that John appears to have done could have made such an incongruous mixture for his palate, as to drink new ale at the same time as that he was eating delicate peaches. Peaches, moreover, would not be green, as Baker said, in October, and since he is clearly wrong on this head, his translation of "cicer" into ale is probably erroneous also.

We have also had the fatal drink described by Brady as "bracket." And here I must confess my entire ignorance, for I have not the slightest idea what bracket means, nor can I find any clue to its meaning anywhere, or trace its derivation. I will not, therefore, say another word about it.

There remains then the only inference by way of summing up, to consider the most probable word as the true translation of "sicer," and I think we shall find it to be something quite appropriate for King John to quaff whilst partaking of the ripe peaches in October; his mistake having been that he ate too much of the fruit and drank too much of the new made drink. Matthew Paris wrote as a learned man, and he probably used the word "sicer" in the sense that was common at that time amongst scholars. And though Wickliffe wrote many years after, his rendering of the word was, no doubt, generally recognized as giving in the word "cider" a correct form for the subsequent expression "strong drink." Wickliffe, though Yorkshire born and a Leicestershire sojourner, would doubtless be familiar with cider as an English drink. He was, therefore, not unlikely, was in fact accurately entitled to write "cider" as an equivalent for *σικερα*; and when we find in all dictionaries the English word "cider" with its similar French *cidre*, Italian *cidro*, Spanish *sidra*, Portuguese *cidra*, all derived from the Latin *sicera* or *sicer* and from the Greek *σικερα*, traceable from the Hebrew, all of which words mean the same thing, "a drink made from the juice of apples and specially appropriated as now to that fruit only." The result seems to be, that *cider* corresponds both in name and nature with the "cicer" of Mat. Paris, and that the word can mean cider and nothing else. That cider is a strong drink all who have ventured to take too much of it can testify, and there is an old name for a strong kind of cider, which is very suggestive of its intoxicating power. When King John indulged so gluttonously in that fatal October, not only were the peaches ripe, but it was just the season when the cider would have been newly made from the autumnal apples; and Mat. Paris wrote with perfect accuracy in mentioning that the "cicer," *i.e.*, the cider, was new, since undoubtedly it was but recently made, and was a suitable accompaniment to the peaches. I venture to think therefore that the fact may be considered to be established that it was the drinking of new cider and not the poison of a toad, which so materially accelerated the death of the ablest of the Angevins.

## CONTENTS OF THE MUNIMENT ROOM OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. PREBENDARY WICKENDEN.

The Dean and Chapter have desired me to give a short account of their muniments and of the room in which they are contained. This last is approached by a newel stair at the south-west corner of the great transept, and it covers the Galilee porch, which was built about the year 1230, against the transept completed some ten or fifteen years before. The room was probably built for the purpose of holding in it the Court-Christian of the Dean and Chapter which took the name of the Galilee Court<sup>2</sup> in consequence.

A window of the triforium and two of the abutments of the transept are included in the room, which expands to the west in the shape of the letter T. Its walls are covered with a lofty Early English arcading and perforated with 11 lancet windows of nearly 17 feet in height rising directly from the floor. The present roof was constructed in 1851, when the room was first appropriated as at present.<sup>3</sup>

The Chapter archives, before this, had been kept in "the common chamber,"<sup>4</sup> a room over the vestry, which is now used as a "song school," and before 1762, they were kept in an older common chamber, wherever that may have been.

Two excellent presses fitted with pigeon-holes were placed in the present room to prepare it for its new destination, and documents of title filled them; for antiquarian rubbish worm-eaten shelves were considered good enough, and two rotten boxes crammed with deeds were labelled "useless papers." Nevertheless, a good deal of labour was evidently expended upon some of the documents at this time. A large number of files of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many of them with their ancient dockets, were sorted and labelled according to the parishes to which they referred. The transcripts of registers of the Lincoln Peculiars were arranged in the same manner, and other important sets of papers were put together ready for arrangement. But there were no lists of any of these to show where the series was complete and where defective, and no provision at all for easy reference.

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Historical Section at the Lincoln Meeting July 28th, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> "Curia in Galilee," 14 . . .

"Visus francipl. tent' . . . apud ostiu' de Galylee," 1503.

"Curia Galilee," 1705.

<sup>3</sup> Chapt. Acts, Sept., 1851. It had been used before as a casting shop by the plumbers of the Cathedral.

<sup>4</sup> Chapt. Acts, Aug. 7, 1762.

In 1873 the Dean and Chapter consulted the late Mr. Joseph Burt of the Record Office. The words of his report may be fitly quoted to describe the condition of the collection then.<sup>1</sup> He said "the entire absence of any calendar or inventory of them is a very remarkable evidence of the neglect to which they have been subjected. . . . the muniments of the Chapter of Lincoln appear to have suffered from almost every evil that could afflict them. They have been extensively subjected to the action of damp, which has caused those of parchment to adhere together where folded, to become darkly stained so as almost to obliterate the writing, and the material itself (by becoming brittle and crumpled) to be easily susceptible of damage; while many of those upon paper have been almost reduced to powder.<sup>2</sup> Simple neglect would have produced these results, but much additional damage has ensued from the utter recklessness with which a large number of the documents have been crushed up together and packed into their places of deposit as though they had been loose shavings, or the sweepings of a workshop."

In consequence of Mr. Burt's report, and the hope which he held out of interesting discoveries that might be made among their archives, the Dean and Chapter resolved to have them regularly sorted, cleaned, and calendared. The recent instruments of title had been all carried off by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, so that their pigeon-holes now stood empty; the old cases on the other hand, crammed as they were with documents, were all of them ill-fitting, dirty, and inconvenient, and some of them perfectly honeycombed by a small boring beetle. Four presses, a set of shelves, and six boxes of various size have been emptied during the past six years, and two new presses take their place. The serial works have been arranged in order, many loose fragments put together and bound. Portions of the collection have been catalogued and preparations have been made for a calendar of the whole.

It may be well to mention, first, the general character of the documents, and secondly, to specify any that are of peculiar interest.

I. There are ancient grants, royal and other, to the cathedral, with exemplifications,<sup>3</sup> and registers<sup>4</sup> containing transcripts of the same:

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Dean and Chapter, Dec. 3, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> The Chapter Acts for 1609 mention as one of the articles objected against Geo. Huddleston, a priest vicar, that he kept pigeons in the muniment room, a charge which is supported by the recent finding of feathers and droppings among the documents which were being cleaned. It would seem that losses of some kind both in the library and among the muniments occasioned the entries in the Chapter Acts of Sept. 8 and 21, 1731: "No person is to be permitted to go to the Library from henceforward, but in the presence of one of the residentiaries or the librarian." "Chapter Clerk's Office. No person whatever to take any book or books . . . unless they first give . . . sufficient security for the return thereof."

<sup>3</sup> Of Edw. III., Hen. IV., and Edw. IV.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Antiquissimum*, parchment, bound in rough calf, 13in. x 9½in., paged consecutively in a recent hand from 1 to 250.

"The *Registrum Antiquissimum* must have been compiled at end of K. John's reign, when Hugh de Welles was Bishop and Roger de Rolveston Dean.

"Two quires of register matter of the time of Hugh de Welles and Henry de Lexington respectively (but in one handwriting) are inserted in different parts of the volume.

"Again the whole book, including these two quires, has been gone over very carefully, divided into *tituli*, and furnished with rubrics where necessary, all apparently for the purpose of transcription, early in Edward the First's reign. Several quires of documents omitted in the original Register are supplied in a neat handwriting of this period under

ancient copies of the statutes :<sup>1</sup> a series of Acts of Chapter in 35 vols., nearly complete, from the year 1305 to the present time : audit accounts in 54 vols. covering the same five centuries and a-half, together with accounts of bailiffs and collectors. Copies of leases and patents fill 46 volumes, but they extend only from 1559 to 1852 ; several hundred early grants and leases have been arranged.

Unhappily no ancient accounts of expenditure upon the Fabric of the Cathedral have been discovered, and many points of interest relating to the Church, which *they* might have cleared, remain in doubt. For instance, the precise date of different portions of the work and the designation of the various chapels and altars. There are materials for a history of the chantries<sup>2</sup> which might be fruitful of result. Few documents relating to the election of Bishops and Deans have been found of earlier date than 1660 : from that time they are continuous, as are the mandates for installing canons, and inducting to Chapter livings. The peculiar jurisdiction exercised in these last, is evidenced by probates of wills,<sup>3</sup> inventories (there are fourteen hundred of these, all of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) ; by transcripts of parish registers,<sup>4</sup> and by the records of various courts and visitations. Speaking roughly, the twelfth, fourteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries are best represented in the Muniment Room. The collection is invaluable for the county historian, but it contains less perhaps of general interest than might have been expected. The larger seals have all been torn off ; illuminated letters all cut out ; but there are a great number of private seals, some of them of early date and great beauty. There are title pages to different years of audit accounts, not coloured, but of excellent designs ;<sup>5</sup> and there are

the direction of the person who did this. This Director of the work put down what he himself witnessed of the enthronization of Bp. Oliver Sutton in 1280, and he afterwards adds an account of his funeral in 1299, also from eye witness.

"At the close of the volume are some later documents of the early part of Edward the Third's reign (about 1330) and a few still later entries ; but these form but an insignificant portion of the whole volume."—[Note by Mr. Bradshaw of Cambridge.]

A memorandum fastened into the book shews that it had been recovered by Abp. Wake (who calls it "*Remigii Chronicon*") and restored to the Church in 1712, after having by accident or fraud been taken away.

*Registrum*, parchment, bound in rough calf, 16½ in. × 10½ in. paged consecutively to 76. Second part begins p. 78. Charters belonging to Dean and Chapter in Lincoln and suburbs ; this again paged consecutively in Roman figures to 76. Third part, "*Inquisitio de ten. et terris talliabilibus*," paged from 1—113 and 113<sup>b</sup>—118. It is an enormous register of charters and privileges compiled and written uniformly about 1330.

<sup>1</sup> "The original Black Book compiled

about 1330 from an older Register now lost ; the books of John de Schalby (now known by the name of *Martilogium*) and Anthony de Beek (given to the Dean and Chapter in 1754), both of the same date as the Black Book, or possibly a few years earlier ; contemporary copies of Bishop Joh. de Daldery's *Laudum* of 1314, of Bishop Henry Beaufort's of 1404, of Bishop Fleming's of 1421, of Bishop Gray's of 1434, and of Bishop Alnwick's of 1439 ; the third, the most famous of all, being in the handwriting of the Bishop's own Notary ; besides a great many Transcripts of such documents made during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries."—[Note by Mr. Bradshaw.]

<sup>2</sup> *Liber de Ordinationibus Cantuariarum*, parchment, bound in rough calf, 13 in. × 8½ in., compiled about 1330. *Deeds relating to Welburn Chantry*, 1382, parchment, bound in same.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter Order for Visitation of Peculiars, Feb. 1732, directs that all original wills, inventories, administration bonds, &c., be given to the registrar of Dean and Chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Fifty parishes, 1575—1825.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* Meelye, p. 1 ; Tailboys, 10, 11 ; Lilylow, 3, 4, 7, 8 ; Bevercot, 5, 6, 7, &c.



multitudes of notarial documents with their "ne varietur" marks, which give a number of ingenious adaptations of the cross.

So much for the general character of the contents of the Muniment Room.

II. To specify some documents of peculiar interest. Chief among the curiosities of the collection must be mentioned the charter of William the Conqueror for transferring the see from Dorchester to Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> and the original copy of Magna Charta, both of which are now shown in the Chapter Library. They were originally kept among the muniments, as their endorsements prove. For, in common with many of the early charters, they are marked with Roman numerals upon the back, an indication (as Mr. Burt observed) that a list of them had once been made. The charters of each king were in ancient times numbered consecutively and kept in separate boxes, as appears from a memorandum referring to the "*cophinus cartarum Regum Edwardi et Edwardi*," which is found on a deed of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> So also in one of the old Registers we read "*originalia sunt in uno cofino sub prædicto signo*." But besides these numerals there is sometimes a note that the deed has been inspected at some early period. Thus the charter of William I just mentioned has an endorsement, "*decima septima carta visa*." One of Edward I, giving leave to build walls to the close, and to shut the gates of the same at night, the endorsement, "*decima sexta visa*," while Magna Charta has its original address to "Lincoln," its description as an "agreement between King John and the barons conceding the liberties of the church and realm of England," together with its number as the first of the King John series, and the "thirty-fifth inspected."<sup>3</sup>

Many of the early grants and leases are filed on a whisp of parchment and covered at the back with endorsements as to their contents and the properties to which they refer. One such file being marked "*iste carte superflue sunt*."

There are Leigers of the estates of the Dean and of the Knyveton family.<sup>4</sup> A very fine copy of Pope Nicholas the Fourth's taxation (1293), which was used in the reprint of the Master of the Rolls; and another taxation of 1526, giving the value of every dignity, living, and religious house in the Diocese at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign.

Perhaps the most curious of all the books is one concerning the biennial "Opening of the Head of S. Hugh," which consists of 133 folios, and gives the receipts and expenditure at the opening of the Shrine (at Pentecost and the Feast of S. Denis in each year) from 1334—1494. A paper MS. gives the receipts for seven years further. The Head of S. Chad at Lichfield was used in the same way to stimulate the offerings of the faithful. It seems here to have been a regular source of income

<sup>1</sup> This seems rather to be an early copy than an original.

<sup>2</sup> Deeds of "Eastbight, in the Bail."

<sup>3</sup> The Chapter Muniments at Norwich are many of them in these original "*coffins*."

<sup>4</sup> An act of chapter, dated December, 1364, gives order for a scrutiny of all the books kept in "the old Treasury," to be made between Michaelmas and All Saints in each year and for indentures of their titles of which one was to be kept in the

locker (*armariolo*) with the books, &c. One such indenture has been found in the Muniment Room; it contains a list of some 110 books.

<sup>5</sup> *Charta Decani* parchment, 15in. × 9½, paged, subsequent to present binding, as appears from misplacement of original numeration, pp. 67, 75. Note of exhibition in Exchequer, 1758.

*Knyveton Leiger* parchment, 12in. × 8 paged consecutively in Arabic, 1-112.



and was treated in a very business-like manner; the amounts vary greatly in different years, and a foot-note generally says whether the money is paid into the treasury of S. Hugh, or for the new "banners" of the church, or the repairs of vestments, or replaced in the "little red chest" at S. Hugh's head, which in modern language, I suppose, would be, "Balance carried to next half year."

Then a large collection of documents relates to the rights of the Dean and Chapter in the Close,<sup>1</sup> early litigation with the mayor and corporation on the subject, and the award given in 1390 by John of Gaunt, to whom by common consent the difference was referred. No doubt a great deal of interesting matter might be extracted if this vein were properly worked. The vigorous action of Dean Mackworth on June 28, 1435, led the mayor to claim jurisdiction,<sup>2</sup> but whether he was allowed to exercise it does not appear, the point contested being, whether the Cathedral Close was in the *county* or the *county of the city* of Lincoln. The Dean, with ten armed servants, attacked Peter Patrick the Chancellor, during vespers, in the choir. To the great terror of all present, they violently dragged the Chancellor from his stall into the middle of the choir, rent and tore up his garments, and treated him in a manner that endangered his life. Whatever the result as regards "the civil incorporation of this ancient city," we may conjecture that this summary process of the Dean helped to the ecclesiastical result of the issue of a new *Laudum* or award, by Bishop Alnwick in 1439. This again was followed by a proposal on the Bishop's part for a completely new *Registrum* of Statutes for the Cathedral body.<sup>3</sup>

There are documents again relating to the claim of Archbishop Boniface to administer the See during a vacancy, which was an infringement of the rights of the Chapter; an agreement was made in the reign of Henry III, which is still in force and is still quoted, when such a vacancy occurs. So, previous to the election of Bishop Kaye for example, we find the Archbishop (Sumner) nominating as "official" one of two persons selected by the Chapter "pursuant and agreeable to the composition long since made between Bishop Boniface of pious memory, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury our predecessor of the one part, and the then Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln of the other part."

There are other deeds again relating to the intrusion of foreigners, at one time coveting the honour of belonging to so glorious a company even by the slenderest title of unendowed canon—at another claiming the emoluments of the higher offices, though non-resident, in virtue of a papal or a royal grant. For instances: Gilbert de Middleton writes to the Bishop (who was the saintly John de Dalderby) that he had received "very distressing news"<sup>4</sup> about the prebend of Croperdy, which the bishop had given to him. Some one else claimed it. He speaks of being

<sup>1</sup> Cf. both *Registrars*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* "Civitas Lincolnia," p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> "The proposal was accepted in June 1440, and a carefully prepared, though incomplete draft was submitted later on in the same year. This was discussed apparently during the next two years, but without leading to any result: and the only early copies which have come

down to us abound with incomplete sentences and bear no evidence of having been ratified, while they preserve to us some of the amendments brought forward during the discussion."—[Note by Mr. Bradshaw.]

<sup>4</sup> Vit. Hug., quoted by the Bishop of Truro, "Cathedral," p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> "Nova satis desolatoria."

"vehemently disturbed," of having no hope except from the bishop, and swears that the trouble and perplexity which the said prebend was causing him had greatly shortened his days; that it was not for the value of the preferment "God knew" (though it certainly *was* "pinguis et bona," rich and good), but simply for the position, since in truth he had sooner *die* than forfeit the position he held in the church. The letter is dated the Wednesday in Passion Week, without the year. We may make ourselves easy however about the poor old gentleman, since in 1314 he exchanged the Prebend of Croperdy for that of Leighton Buzzard, and held that until he became Archdeacon of Northampton. Let us hope that his just appreciation of the dignity of belonging to the Cathedral body lost none of its disinterested relish for this little taste of the "pinguis et bona." Just at the same time Josceline de Kirmington, the dean, was arbitrarily superseded by the direct action of the Pope (Clement V), who invested a relative, Reymund de la Goth, with the deanery, by giving him a ring: making him a cardinal a very short time after. Josceline de Kirmington was informed of this by the Precentor of Avignon. He sent a proctor to represent his case to the Pope; his proctor was threatened with imprisonment; he was himself in fear of bodily torture,<sup>1</sup> and therefore made cession of the deanery under protest until opportunity of redress should arise. He made appeal to the Chapter and the Bishop for help in the expenses he had incurred in defending their liberties. A pension was assigned to him, but not very regularly paid, for some twelve years later he was presented to the living of Bottesford, (apparently given by the Bishop to the Chapter for the purpose,) was for a short time treasurer, and then executed an instrument, excusing the arrears of the pension which the Chapter had assigned to him. At this period many of the stalls in the cathedral were filled by foreigners, mostly Italian cardinals. There are documents illustrating the attempts made to procure the canonization of Grostete (additional to the one printed in Wharton), and again some twenty-five years later, that of Bishop John de Dalderby. There are attestations of miracles wrought at Dalderby's tomb; indulgences given by a Bishop of Glasgow to persons who should pray there; a transcript of the petitions to Pope and Cardinals in his favour, with their reply, and what seems to be a "Schema" of the Office prepared for use at his festival.<sup>2</sup>

There are scattered documents relating to the Crusades, and to the wars with France and Scotland, and considerable collections of the time of the Civil War and Restoration.

A copy of a convention for the surrender of Rennes the capital of Brittany in 1357, was found by Mr. Burt in one of the boxes (labelled "useless papers") and was printed in the *Archæological Journal* in 1874. Lists of relics and plate are interesting for comparison with Dugdale, and also because the costly furniture of the private chapel of John of Gaunt was bequeathed by him to the Cathedral; portions of this can be traced from century to century, until all were swept into the Royal coffers. The principal items were a golden "table" bought at

<sup>1</sup> Graven cruciatum corporis mei.

<sup>2</sup> "The MS. is of great interest. It gives First Vespers, Compline, Matins (lessons wanting), Lauds, a Rubric as to the little

hours, Second Vespers and Compline. The entire "proper" for the Mass is wanting." - [Note by Mr. Everard Green, F.S.A.]

Amiens, meaning the retable of the Altar, set with precious stones and representing the last Judgment, and two large gold "chandelers," weighing 37lb. 10oz. These candlesticks are mentioned in an inventory of 1536 made by Master Henry Lytherland, the treasurer. In 1549 Lytherland had to see them carried off, and it is said that as he watched the last package depart he said "Ceasing the treasure, so ceaseth the office of the treasurer," and he flung down his keys on the choir floor and never sate in his stall again.<sup>1</sup>

I might speak of a pedigree of Henry VI carried back to Adam, and of other things ; but this paper has already exceeded reasonable limits. "Enough is as good as a feast" we are told, and I would fain leave off before my hearers have lost all appetite.

<sup>1</sup> *B. Willis*, p. 95.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 7, 1881.

The LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

The noble CHAIRMAN spoke upon the loss that the Institute and Scientific Societies generally had sustained by the death of Sir Philip Egerton. The Geological Society, of which he had been a fellow for upwards of fifty years, certainly had the greatest claim on him, for his numerous and careful studies of fossil fishes, no less than his great collection of, and papers upon them, were remarkable. But antiquaries also classed him among their distinguished members, and it was in consequence of his eminence in this science that Sir Philip Egerton was elected Antiquary to the Royal Academy. He joined the Institute in its early days, and the death of so accomplished a member was a very great loss to the Society.

MR. F. C. J. SPURRELL read a paper, in which he contributed further information on the dene or chalk holes of Kent and eastern England, with special reference to earthworks in connexion with them and their relation to streams and the conformation of the land. Mr. Spurrell divided the ancient pits into three chief periods, but pointed out instances in which minor distinctions in time could be made in certain positions convenient for observation. The subsidences at Blackheath were explained by this means, and many instances adduced of caves known to have subsided in former times on Blackheath, at Charlton, and in the neighbourhood; in addition, he remarked that though on a public place like Blackheath, where they had been well and carefully filled up, they were difficult to detect, yet he could point out several spots where some would be found to have existed. They were classed in the third or latest division of ancient pits.

MR. E. WALFORD made some observations with respect to the use of pits as dwellings, evidenced by the marks of fire in some examples at Royston, and quoted Virgil in the *Georgics*, with reference to such use. Mr. Spurrell thought the pits were rather used as shelter from cold than as dwellings in the usual sense, though some were certainly so used near Salisbury.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Spurrell for his paper, which will be printed on a future occasion.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. SPURRELL.—Diagrams and drawings in illustration of his paper.

By MR. PORTER, through MR. R. S. Ferguson.—A Mahratta mace, a Fakir's crutch, of iron silver-plated. Mr. Ferguson contributed the following remarks upon this object:—

"An almost similar weapon is in the India Museum, and is engraved by Mr. Egerton in his "Handbook of Indian Arms" in that collection.<sup>1</sup> He describes it thus (p. 115):—"Mace 'Khúndli' P'hansi; curiously shaped-head of open steel scroll work. The shaft, ornamented with incised spiral and lozenge pattern, is hollow, and contains a narrow quadrangular blade attached to the pommel, which unscrews."

"The example now before the Meeting corresponds in all respects with the above description, except in being less ornamented. Its length is 1 ft. 9 in.

"No history is attached to Mr. Porter's mace. It was given to him thirty years ago, and was known as the 'Magician's Wand.' It may have belonged to some fakir, who would thus carry about a deadly weapon, concealed in a harmless looking wand or mace."

By Mr. T. MELVILLE CARTWRIGHT.—A bronze steelyard weight bearing four coats of arms, and found a few months ago under the foundations of a cottage at Newbottle, Northamptonshire. Sir Henry Dryden was kind enough to contribute some notes upon this subject, which will appear, with additions, in a future *Journal*.

By Miss BOX.—A small "Button and Pillar" alarm clock of brass of the extreme end of the seventeenth century, made at Ipswich. It appears that clocks of this character are known in the eastern counties as "Sheepshead" clocks, and are rapidly becoming very scarce.

By Dr. KNAGGS, M.D.—A photograph of, and a rubbing from an inscribed stone,  $46\frac{1}{2} \times 15 \times 4$  inches, formerly in a garden at New Hampton, and lately removed to London by Dr. Knaggs. The inscription is as follows:—

BOYBAΣ MOKAΠOΠI  
ΓIAYΓHKOΣ ΔIΔIΠHΠI  
XAIPETE

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS has been kind enough to contribute the following note upon the inscription:—

"It has been published by Böckh in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, No. 3795, vol. ii, p. 974. The reference was given me by Mr. Cecil Smith of the British Museum, and I have verified it.

"Böckh prints the inscription thus in his explanation—

Βουβας Μοκαπορι (δός)  
Γιγλιγκος Δινδιπορι (δός)  
Χαιρετε

"He is wrong in writing Γιγλιγκος for Γιλιγκος. The letters in brackets are of course supplied from conjecture, but I think this is done correctly. The inscription should be translated thus—

Bubas son of Mokaporis  
Giligekos son of Dindiporis  
Farewell.

"According to Böckh the termination in the names Mokaporis and Dindiporis leads us to suppose that these men lived near the Thracian or Cimmerian Bosphorus. We find in Tacitus mention of *Rhescuporis*, a king of Thrace, concerning whom several particulars are given; *Annals* Book ii, chaps. 64-67, 'fratrem cotyn catenis onerat, dein jubet interfici, Romam ducitur, fugam tentans occiditur' (index to Oberlin's edition).

<sup>1</sup> Plate x, No. 470.



Orelli, in note on chap. 64, mentions a coin in Visconti Iconographie Grecque, ii, 113, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΙΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΔΟΣ, and Victory for the device.

"There is a bay at or near the Thracian Bosphorus named Moucaporis, from some king of Bithynia. The word Μωκαδιον also occurs.

"This monument is evidently a sepulchral στήλη; at the top of it is a pediment with a rosette in the centre. The frieze is ornamented with festoons and ox-heads alternating; there is a small rosette in the centre of each festoon. Between the frieze and the inscription we have a group of figures in relief, a male semi-recumbent and a female seated; a girl on the spectator's left, standing, corresponds with the boy in the same posture on the right. In front of the man and boy are two tables and vases upon them. The design of the artist was to represent the feast of which the relatives partook after the funeral of the deceased. See *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s. v. funus, where there is a reference to Travels in Albania, &c., by Sir John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton. The frontispiece of this work contains an excellent illustration of the subject."

It may be noted that the late Lord Bessborough had a seat in the neighbourhood of the locality in which the stone was found. His collection of sculptures was sold in 1858, and hence, in all probability, its origin.

By the DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CARLISLE, through Mr. R. S. Ferguson.—A helmet with gilded decorations of the extreme end of the sixteenth century. This headpiece has been preserved among a miscellaneous collection of curiosities in the roof of St. Catherine's Chapel in Carlisle Cathedral. It is believed that it was formerly suspended in the south aisle of the chancel.

By Mr. R. READY.—A late seventeenth cross from the Holy Land, inlaid with figures of saints and other decorations in mother-of-pearl.

By Mr. H. HARLAND.—A deed dated 1660, bearing the great seal and signed by Henrietta Maria, Sir Kenelm Digby and others.

May 5, 1881.

The LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

On taking his place, the noble CHAIRMAN said that it became his melancholy duty to allude to the death of Mr. W. Burges, for many years a valued and faithful friend and supporter of the Institute. That his abilities as an architect, artist and painter were of the highest order, was sufficiently evidenced by the beauty and unity of Cork Cathedral, the chapel at Studley, and his works at Cardiff Castle, while his contributions to the *Journal* showed how thoroughly he had mastered the details of mediæval art of all kinds. Mr. Burges had only lately been elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and a graceful tribute had been paid to his memory by Sir Frederick Leighton. Lord Talbot then proposed the following resolution:—

"That the Members of the Royal Archæological Institute take the earliest opportunity of expressing to Mr. Alfred Burges their kindest sympathy on the death of his gifted son, Mr. William Burges, A.R.A., for more than twenty years an accomplished member of this Society and a member of the Council."

This was seconded by Mr. C. S. GREAVES and carried.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE read the following paper on "High Side Windows":—

"A great deal has been said and written about the probable use of the openings in the walls of churches, which men are now agreed for want of a better name to call Low Side Windows. The matter is still in dispute, and the advocates of the different theories have produced much interesting evidence, which tells of various uses to which the windows were put, but nothing has been established as to that for which they were originally made. The things are so common in churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that there must then have been some want to meet, for which they were provided. That they were found convenient for other uses, and may even sometimes have been specially made for them, does not take away from the necessity of there being a first cause for their introduction. It is not my present purpose to discuss what that cause may have been; but I wish to call attention to what appears to be a variety of the same thing, although the name Low Side Window cannot be given to it. So far as I know, this variety, which for the present may be called the High Side Window, has hitherto escaped notice.

"The Low Side Window is found in many situations, but the usual one is in the south wall of the chancel, a little east of the chancel arch. So it is with the high variety, as appears by the small number of examples which I have been able to collect. It occurs in various positions, but for the most part near about the south side of the chancel arch. It is generally an opening resembling the Low Side Window but placed high in the wall.

"I will now describe such as I have seen or found notices or drawings of.

1. "In the chapel of Haddon Hall, which has the character of a small parish church, there is a plain single light opening in the south wall of the nave clerestory close to the east end. It can not have been inserted for the sake of light, for there is abundance without it.

2. "At Stonham Earl in Suffolk is a small quatrefoil in like position with the opening at Haddon, but here the roofs of the transepts butt against the clerestory walls, so there are no windows for some way to the west. The quatrefoil which is just above the slope of the transept roof might have been for light, but the quantity admitted is so small, that if that were the intention it could only have been for the sake of casting a ray of light on some particular object. When I first met with this example I thought it might have been to light the rood, but it is not very well placed for that purpose, and its resemblance in form and position to some of the others, where there is no need of light, seems to have no doubt that its use was the same as theirs. This example has been illustrated somewhere, but I have mislaid the reference.

3. "At Addlethorp Church, Lincolnshire, in the same position, is a square opening about three feet high by two broad, now blocked. The clerestory is well lighted. The eill of the blocked opening is twenty-five feet from the ground and ten feet six inches above the rood loft floor. The church has been fully illustrated by Mr. Henry Vaughan in the sixth volume of the *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, and he tells me that the tradition of the place is, that a lantern used to be hung at night in this High Side Window to guide travellers across the fens.

4. "At Ingham church, Norfolk, is a small two-light window quite at the top of the wall, and just east of the chancel arch on the south side. It is drawn in the *Building News* for July 21, 1876.

5. "At Helpingham church, Lincolnshire, the roof of the chancel has been lowered, but the old weathering remains on the east face of the nave gable. On the south side the rake breaks forward into a salient right angle, which must have been intended to go round a dormer of some sort in the chancel roof. Such a dormer would closely resemble the High Side Window placed as at Ingham, the only difference being, that in one case the opening is above and in the other below the cornice. It should be noted that at Helpingham there is a Low Side Window in the usual place just below where the dormer has been.

6. "At Walsoken, Norfolk, is a square window with quatrefoil tracery at the west end of the south clerestory wall of the nave quite at the top. It is drawn in the *John of Gaunt Sketch Book*, vol. i, plate 43.

7. "At Hitcham, Bucks, just east of the chancel arch and on the south side, is a round window two feet six inches across, trefoiled and sub-cusped. Its centre is 14 feet 6 inches above the floor. This is more elaborate in its details than any other I have seen, and may be intended to give light to the chancel, but it looks singularly odd and unsuited to such a purpose. There is an ordinary Low Side Window below it. It is drawn in the *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, vol. vii, plate 21.

8. "At Patricio, Brecon, a small aisleless church with a very large rood screen and loft, there is a plain opening in each wall of the nave towards the east end. These windows open above the floor of the loft, and would be unseen from below. The same arrangement is found in other churches in the neighbourhood. I am indebted for this information to Mr. H. A. Prothero of Newport.

9. "At Stanley St. Leonards, Gloucestershire, is a detached chapel south west of the church, and in its south wall, near the east and ten feet from the floor, is a square hole closed by a board, in which a quatrefoil is cut. Mr. J. Henry Middleton is preparing an account of the church and surrounding buildings of Stanley St. Leonards, and will I believe figure this window.

10. "At Gloucester Cathedral is an opening in the Lady Chapel, just west of the sedilia, which, although it is below the main range of windows, should rather be classed with the high than the low side windows, for it is eight feet from the floor on the inside and a good deal more on the outside.

11. "At St. Michael's, Oxford, the south porch has a small window just under the vault on the west side. It is not required for light, as the outer arch of the porch appears not to have been closed with a door. The porch is figured in Pugin's *Specimens*, vol. ii, plate 19.<sup>1</sup>

"It would be premature to attempt to settle the use of these windows until we know more about them, and I hope that attention being directed to the matter other examples may be noted and further information collected.

"It seems most likely that the Addlethorp tradition points to their

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written I have met with the following examples;—

12. At Rochester Cathedral is one in the north end of the north eastern transept. It is about 5 feet above the floor inside and a considerable height outside. It looks towards the graveyard.

13. At Caston Church, Norfolk, is one about 12 feet from the ground on the south side just east of the chancel arch. I owe this information to the Rev. George

Crabbe, Rector of Merton, Norfolk.

14. In Atkyn's *Gloucestershire* is a view of Coberley Church in that county taken in 1720 and shewing a High Side Window placed like the last but at the north side. The church has since been rebuilt. The village of Coberley is on the north side of the church and there is reason to believe that that side was used for burials.

primary use, and that it was for the exhibition of a light at night towards the cemetery. I am not sure whether there was a graveyard at Haddon, but probably there was one on the south side. In all the other cases I have mentioned, whatever be the position of the window, it is always towards the cemetery, except in that at Stanley St. Leonard's, where the chapel with the window is quite away from the cemetery, which is there on the north side of the church. The exception shews that there must be some other use for the window, although it was probably still the exhibition of a light. I should add that all the examples here given are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."

After some remarks from the CHAIRMAN, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Micklethwaite.

Mr. J. H. MIDDLETON then made the following observations on some Persian tiles and some examples of Sevillan ware, which were laid before the meeting :—

"The two main classes into which the tiles exhibited here to day may be divided are—first, those manufactured by Oriental potters in the Island of Rhodes, and secondly, those made in or near Damascus. Their main characteristics are very much the same; they are formed of porous whitish grey earthenware, on which the designs are painted, and over all is a clear siliceous glaze, with considerable body.

"The commoner sort are without relief, and are decorated with blossoms and leaves of the rose, tulip, carnation, hyacinth, and zinnia, with other more purely conventional flower patterns. The designs used at Damascus and in Rhodes are almost exactly the same in style.

"The usual colours are bright greens and blues, and a very rich deep red, which, unlike the other colours, is laid on so thickly as to stand out actually in relief, thus adding very considerably to the sumptuousness of the general effect. This red is commonly called the "Rhodian red," and is often supposed to have been produced solely in the Island of Rhodes; but in many of the mosques and private houses of Damascus tiles of this sort exist, into which a *small* quantity of this peculiar colour is introduced; and it appears improbable that the people of Damascus should have gone to the trouble and expense of importing these tiles all the way from Rhodes, when they had at home potters capable of producing tiles of such great beauty and variety, simply for the sake of obtaining the additional effect given by the presence of small quantities of this vivid red. Tiles with a *large* proportion of the red do not, I believe, exist in any of the buildings of Damascus, and I think we may safely conclude that any tiles where the red appears in large quantities are from the potteries of Rhodes.

"Besides the sort of pottery which in texture, design and colouring appears common to these two places, there are other varieties which belong to the Damascus class alone. One of these very much resembles the sort above described, but differs in having a much thinner glaze, and has an additional colour, a sort of dull brownish purple, which is absent on all the Rhodian specimens; another sort, very frequently found in and near Damascus, has the whole design in blue.

"A further variety of the Damascus class has figures in low relief, generally of men or women on horseback, hawking or hunting. The chief colour on these is a deep blue, verging from indigo to ultramarine; a dull red and purple and vivid greens are also used. None of these tiles, whether in relief or not, were used for floors; the glaze being



very soft, and the earthenware of which they are made exceedingly brittle. Those in relief, if rectangular in shape, generally formed a frieze or band round a room, above a dado made of the flat tiles. Some few are oval, but I have never seen one in situ.

"This constant employment of representations of living creatures by Mohammedan artists seems rather strange; but, in the first place, the people of Damascus were chiefly Sunnis (one of the less strict of the Moslem sects), and moreover, even the more orthodox have their own way of getting over the difficulty. I once asked a learned and pious Imaum at Fez in Morocco how a man of his strict views could allow tiles like these to remain in his house? He explained that they did not represent any special men or horses, but gave only the abstract idea of a man and a horse which existed in the mind of the artist.

"Many buildings in Egypt and other countries of North Africa are decorated with these tiles, that is, with the flat varieties; but I think the fact that they were obviously not specially made for the recesses and other wall spaces they occupy, and the ignorant manner in which they are often fitted together regardless of the exigencies of the design, show that they were all foreign importations, and not made in any local manufactories.

"It is difficult to fix any precise date to these works of art, but it is certain that the most flourishing period of their production was at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, during the reign of Shah Abbas II, under whom most of the arts of the Persians seem to have arrived at their greatest perfection.

"In the Island of Rhodes, Lindos was one of the chief seats of their manufacture, and considerable remains of the furnaces in which they were fired still exist there.

"The art of making the tiles without relief, with their beautiful blues and greens, and especially the rich red colour, is now quite lost; but fairly successful imitations of the relief-tiles are still produced at or near Damascus. I think, however, that a difference between the old ones and the modern copies can be detected, especially in the thinness of the glaze and the more purple tones of the blue.

"Jugs and plates with designs and colours like those of the flat tiles exist in considerable numbers, and these I believe to have been exclusively produced in Rhodes. Really fine specimens of the jugs are comparatively rare, and now fetch a large price. The South Kensington Museum possesses a fine collection of these."

"*Sevillian Ware*.—The three dishes exhibited to-day were made at Seville at the end of the seventeenth century; they are obvious copies of Italian (so-called) Majolica, and resemble in design Gubbio or Faenza ware of the early part of the sixteenth century. They differ however from the Italian pottery in being formed of coarser earthenware and in having a much thinner glaze. The production of this ware in Spain seems to have lasted but a very short time, and specimens of it are consequently of rather uncommon occurrence."

The noble CHAIRMAN in conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Middleton, spoke of the interest of the objects and the value of the remarks that had been made upon them. His own impressions had been that there was not so much red in the Rhodian ware. The Sevillian dishes were evidently rude imitations of Italian Majolica. The influence of Italy upon the fictile arts of Spain was very great; it operated also



upon the manufacture of glass in the Peninsula, it was evident in painting, and extended to poetry.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. J. H. MIDDLETON.—Three dishes of late seventeenth century Sevilla ware; two tiles in relief of Damascus work, one sixteenth century, the other probably modern. Other tiles, without relief, of Damascus; and similar tiles made by Persian potters in the Island of Rhodes.

By the BARON DE COSSON.—Three swords of the fourteenth century, and fragments of weapons from Almedinilla, near Cordova, Spain. Among these objects was a "morning star," not made as usual of a ball of wood with iron spikes, but entirely of hammered iron.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL BAYLY.—A collection of 120 rubbings from Essex brasses, forming a valuable series, many of them being from churches quite out of the world, difficult of access, and hitherto unrecorded. These rubbings, which occupied all the available space upon the walls, were commented upon by the noble Chairman and Mr. Waller, the latter pointing out the interest or peculiarities of many of them. In the course these remarks the occurrence of that ancient religious and Buddhist emblem known as the "filfol" on the orphrey of the brass of Radulphus Peichehay, circa 1370, from Stifford church was noticed.

By Mr. M. H. BLOXAM.—A spherical object in terra cotta, with a loop for suspension in the same material, possibly a loom weight. This was found at a considerable depth at Brinklow, Warwickshire.

By Mr. A. HARTSHORNE.—A tracing of the engraving (in Dom Pierre Hyacinthe Morice, *Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Bretagne, Paris, MDCCCL, tome i, p. 426*) of the tomb and effigy of John IV, Duke of Brittany, who died in 1399. The meeting was indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Seidler, of Nantes, for the opportunity of seeing this illustration of a remarkable example of English work formerly existing in Brittany, as well as for the following extracts respecting it:—

(*Travers, vol. i, p. 459, written 1750, pub. 18—*)

"Le corps de Jean IV fut enhumé le lendemain de sa mort dans le chœur de l'église cathédrale, ou l'on voit son tombeau, mais dans une situation différente de celle qu'il eut d'abord. Comme on changea la position de l'autel on fut obligé de changer celle du tombeau, avec la permission du Roi, le substitut du Procureur Général s'étant opposé à ce qu'on le rasât sans cette permission. On l'ouvrit l'an 1733, sans user des menagements qu'il eut été convenable d'observer à l'ouverture de la sépulture d'un souverain, et sans aucune attention à en conserver les restes. Ce tombeau est d'albâtre avec la figure du Duc en relief, telle qu'on la voit au vol. i de l'histoire de Bretagne par Dom. Lobineau. Il fut taillé en Angleterre par les soins de la Duchesse Douairière, mariée en secondes noces au Roi d'Angleterre. Elle l'envoya avec trois ouvriers Anglais qui lui donnerent sa forme et le placèrent vers l'an 1405."

(*A Guépin, Histoire de Nantes, p. 123.*)

"La Duchesse en montant sur le trône d'Angleterre n'avait pas oublié ce qu'elle devait à son ancien époux; aussi vit on arriver à Nantes en 1405 des ouvriers anglais qui venait y construire le tombeau de Jean IV, surnommé le conquérant, dont ils apportaient avec eux toutes les pièces. Ce tombeau, ouvert depuis en 1733 et détruit entièrement en 1793 était en albâtre, ainsi qu'un grand nombre des sculptures de cette époque. . . . Cependant l'on doit vivement regretter la suppression entière de ce monument."

(*Dom Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 498, Vol. i, written 1750.)

"Jean fut enterré le 3 Novembre dans lechoeur de l'église Cathédrale de Nantes où l'on voit encore aujourd'hui son tombeau, qui est de marbre blanc, avec la figure en bosse, qui le représente armé de toutes piécès avec le collier de l'ermine au cou. Les livres de choeur à couvercle de bois, armez de fermoirs de cuivre à gros cloux, que l'on met dessus cette figure, ont entièrement effacé tous les traits du visage; et tout ce que l'on voit de reste, est une fort grande moustache, pendante avec un air martial, qui devait assez convenir au Duc Jean IV Surnommé avec raison le valliant et le Conquérant, car peu de princes ont eu plus de guerres à soutenir que lui."

The engraving represents the Duke in the usual military costume of a knight of his period, with certain peculiarities of detail showing that the English "marblelers" must have worked, as usual, from special instructions, or from actual models, thus the Duke wears a collar charged with little animals representing ermines, in allusion to the fabled origin of his arms; the hauberk of mail has short sleeves, and the skirt is edged with bells, both distinctly Continental features of this military garment. On the other hand the design of the panelled and canopied side of the tomb was evidently left entirely to the sculptors, and is consequently as purely English work as it can well be.

The safe-conduct, under the protection of which the monument was carried to France in 1405, is given at large in Rymer's "*Fœdera*," vol. viii, p. 510.

Mr. H. R. H. GOSSELIN.—Examples of Icelandic silver filagree work, *vira virki*, and an eighteenth century Icelandic wooden casket. This is surrounded by an inscription in Gothic type which, together with other decorations, carries the traditions of earlier times.

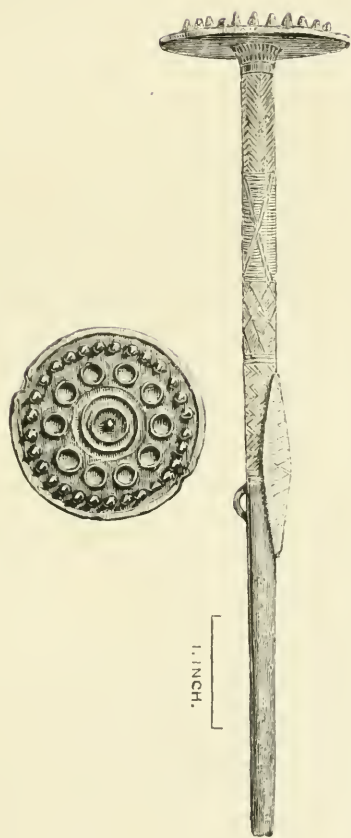
By the Rev. C. W. BINGHAM.—A beautiful bronze pin, said to have been found some years ago at Dorchester.

The upper portion of the stem is very delicately ornamented and in actual use this portion would have stood out free, the pin being probably used for the hair and kept in a fixed position by means of the lozenge and the little loop. Pins of this general character are frequent in Irish collections, and their variety and beauty may be gathered from the examples in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The central cone on the head is usual with pins of this particular type. In the example from Dorchester, the outer circle of acute cones on the head, the ornamented stem, the little loop, and most of all the lozenge, are to be noticed.

Mr. Bingham also exhibited, certainly with some diffidence, the half of a hollow flint pebble, found entire at Ryme, near Sherborne. The boy who picked it up seems to have heard something "shockle" within, and on the stone subsequently becoming broken by accident, a white chalky powder, as might have been expected, was revealed; but in addition to this substance appeared, perchance *viâ* the boy's waistcoat pocket, though this is not specifically stated, a small pierced amber bead, which, if it does no more, at least tends to neutralize the truth of the aphorism that "there is no new thing under the sun."

The evidences of this geological art puzzle have been deposited in the Dorset museum, for the mystification of antiquaries of the future.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL.—"Cursory Remarks" on the Book of Common Prayer, and other MSS., by Dr. Isaac Watts.



Bronze Pin found at Dorchester.



# Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1880.

### RECEIPTS.

To Balance at Bank, 1st January, 1880 (less payment made in 1880 in respect of Debts due in 1879)	£	s.	d.
" Cash in hands of Secretary	-	101	19 2
" Petty Cash in hand	-	7	6 9
	-	8	12 1
Annual Subscriptions, including Arrears and payments in advance	-	402	3 0
Entrance Fees	-	34	13 0
Life Compositions	-	31	10 0
Subscriptions to General Index	-	13	13 0
Sale of Publications, &c.	-	140	12 2
	-		11 2
Balance of Account of Lincoln Meeting	-	-	82 2 10

£822 12 0

Audited and found correct, } T. HENRY BAYLIS.  
July, 1881, } W. HENLEY JERVIS.

### EXPENDITURE.

By Publishing Account—	£	s.	d.
Engraving for Journal	-	79	8 0
W. Pollard, Printing	-	127	13 6
Editing Journal	-	50	0 0
	-	257	1 6
" House Expenses—			
Rent of Apartments	-	155	0 0
Secretary's Salary	-	160	0 0
W. S. Johnson, Printing	-	49	4 6
M. Bell, bookbinding	-	7	1 0
G. H. Bywater, Repairs	-	3	16 0
Housekeeper and Sundries	-	17	12 0
	-	332	13 6
" Maps, Expenses, etc., in respect of Lincoln Meeting	-	11	18 2
" Petty Cash Account—			
Office Expenses, Messenger, etc.	-	63	8 11
Postage Stamps, Delivery of Journal, etc.	-	48	15 3
Gas	-	19	7
Cabs, Omnibuses, Portage, etc.	-	8	10 9
Carriage of Parcels, Bookings, etc.	-	8	13 10
Stationery and Office Sundries	-	7	2 0
Engraving, Binding, etc., for Journal	-	22	18 10
Petty Cash and Advertising Lincoln Meeting	-	11	2 3
	-	171	11 5
.. Balance at Bankers on 31st December, 1880	115	19	7
Reduced by following payments in 1881, in respect of debts due in 1880—			
Watkins, F.	-	38	15 0
Hartshorne, A.	-	35	0 0
	-	73	15 0
" Petty Cash in hand	-	42	4 7
	-	4	2 10
	-	46	7 5
	-	£822	12 0

Presented at the Meeting of Members at Bedford, July 28th, 1881, approved and passed.  
(Signed) TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, Chairman.





### Notices of Archaeological Publications.

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD ST. PAUL'S. By W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A. Elliot Stock, 1881.

The great church at the top of Ludgate Hill is but of recent work, and it is all of one time. It is important as presenting to us the ideal of an English cathedral at the end of the seventeenth century, and it is valuable for its intrinsic merits as a work of art. But it cannot compare in antiquarian interest with churches which bear in their own fabrics their history for seven or eight centuries or even more. As an ecclesiastical foundation, however, the cathedral of London has a history such as belongs to none other. *Paul's*, as it was called by the mediæval cockney, who, like his modern descendant, delighted in monosyllables, was so mixed up with the social as well as the ecclesiastical life of Old London, and through London of all England, that its story must be known before they can be properly understood. Dr. Sparrow Simpson's new book is intended to give general readers some idea of what Old St. Paul's was and what went on there. Unlike the excellent volume by the same hand, lately put forth by the Camden Society, it does not profess to bring forward any new matter, and, therefore, it does not call for detailed examination in an archaeological review; but as a popular book, well calculated to excite an interest in the subject, it has our hearty commendation. As antiquaries, we must, however, enter a protest against the pseudo-antique dress in which the publishers have chosen to deck it out. If forgery were a virtue, high praise would be due to this imitation of a pannelled calf cover, craftily done in waxed cloth. But our liking for "old Cambridge binding" does not dispose us to be pleased by even the cleverest deception. Nor do we particularly love discoloured paper for its own sake.

OLD YORKSHIRE. By WILLIAM SMITH, F.S.A.S. London, Longmans, 1881.

This is the first instalment of a series of papers reprinted from a local journal, the *Leeds Mercury*. Mr. Smith apparently edits a "Notes and Queries" column, and has here selected and arranged the most valuable of the papers contributed by his correspondents. He has secured the service of an enthusiastic American tourist to write a preface, in which he tells us that his countrymen excel ours in the matter of local histories, and that every little town in New England has its historian. Mr. Smith's volume relates to (1) Yorkshire Antiquities, of which we can only say, if, after reading Mr. Collyer's preface, we may use an American phrase, that it is "rather mixed"; (2) Yorkshire Artists, such as Proctor, Lodge and Eddy; (3) Yorkshire Authors, Thoresby, Smeaton, Lister and others; (4) Battlefields; (5) Bells; and so on to Quakers, Religious Houses, Rhymes and Proverbs, among which last, by the way, we miss that one about Bawtry's father, "who was hanged for leaving of his liquor." Surely Bawtry is a York name. There are three excellent indexes, without which such a mass of notes would be useless. We might find minor faults in plenty, but a book like this is a step in the right direction and deserves encouragement, even if it were not so well edited, so well printed, and, on the whole, so pleasantly written as Mr. Smith's *Old Yorkshire*.

## Archaeological Intelligence.

AN ALPHABET POSSET POT.—We are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. T. Fowler for the following note:—

“Professor Westwood and others may be interested in a note of a ‘Posset Pot,’ which I saw some years ago in the possession of the late Mr. John Gough Nichols of Brighton. I was reminded of it at once by the woodcut in ‘Proceedings,’ *Archaeological Journal*, xxxviii, 101, and from a coloured drawing of it, made for me by Miss Daniel-Tyssen in 1867, and now before me. I see that it was very similar in form, size, material and general character to the one described by Professor Westwood. It was  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height, and  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter at the top. Round the outside, just clear of the rim, we have the Roman alphabet from A to P, in raised letters, alternately yellow and green; then about ten little ears or handles, made by rolling up strips of clay so as to resemble ammonites stuck on edgewise; then, below each of these, an open ear or loop of clay, like the ‘handles’ of Professor Westwood’s example. The date is in Arabic figures, yellow and green, 17 18, divided by one of the upper handles. Between each two of the lower handles we have an ornamental strip of yellow and one of green, similar to the letters and figures. The drawing shews nothing further, unless there be chevrons in those spaces between the upper handles which are not occupied by the figures of the date. What made me pay special attention to it was that I was much interested in the subject of alphabet bells. Here, as often in the case of bells, just so much of the alphabet was put on as would conveniently go round. The pot was called a “christening bowl.”

COINS OF THE JEWS.—We have much pleasure in calling attention to the publication of Mr. Frederic W. Madden’s new work on this subject, with which he has long shown himself so competent to deal. It may be virtually considered a second edition of Mr. Madden’s “History of the Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments,” which was published in 1864, since it embraces nearly all the original matter contained in that volume as well as the additional information printed in its “Supplement.” The new volume is further enriched by the critical corrections gained from all papers on the subject that could be obtained, so that the “History of the Coins of the Jews,” from the earliest times to the destruction of Jerusalem and the building of *Ælia Capitolina* by order of the Emperor Hadrian, is brought up to the knowledge of the present day. Mr. Madden has paid great attention to the chronology of all periods, and a historical commentary has, where needful, been prefixed and interwoven with the purely Numismatic portion of the work. A chapter is devoted to the question of ancient Jewish Palæography, and the Appendices deal with the “Weights mentioned in the Bible,” the “Money in the New Testament,” &c. It need only be added that the work is copiously illustrated, that the names of Subscribers will be received by Messrs. Trübner & Co., 57, Ludgate Hill, E.C., and the price of the work is £2 2s.

INDEX TO ARCHEOLOGICAL PAPERS.—We have more than once expressed a hope that we might some day have an Index of the Titles of Papers in the Transactions of Archaeological Societies, and we rejoice to hear that Mr. Gomme has nearly completed this very desirable work for the Index Society, and that this large and useful volume will be issued early next year.

# The Archaeological Journal.

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DECEMBER, 1881.

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## RECENT RESEARCHES AMONG THE PYRAMIDS.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A.,

Before I proceed to bring forward a few notes of the recent discoveries in Egypt I beg leave to make some remarks on the present state of Egyptian research, with special reference to England's part in it.

I was surprised a few months ago to read in a French newspaper published in Egypt, that Egyptology as a science belongs to France. The writer of the article in question went on to depreciate the studies of German scholars, characterising them as "plodding and short sighted." As to England, there was not the slightest reference made to the country of Young and Hincks, of Howard-Vyse and Perring,—and may I not also say of Belzoni and Bonomi?

But when we enquire as to the cause of this ignoring of England the answer is but too easily found. The writer of the article had much to say about what the French and Germans together have been doing at Boolak, much as to what the French are doing at Paris, the Germans at Berlin, the Italians at Turin, and so on; but there was nothing to be said of England. There are no professors of Egyptian history or literature at Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin. At the British Museum the Egyptian department is united with the Assyrian; and the only writers of note on Egypt, who belong to the Museum, do not belong to this double-bodied but single-headed department.

I spoke on several occasions to eminent foreign students of Egyptology. They all seemed to think Englishmen took no interest in it, but were committed to the wild fancies of Mr. Smyth. A Frenchman said to me lately, with but too much truth, "Your countrymen care for

nothing in Egypt except what relates to the Pyramid inch and the Exodus." I pointed with pride to the five little volumes of the *Records of the Past*. But he pooohed them on the double ground that not a single hieroglyph is to be found in them, so that scientifically they are valueless, and that the best translations are made from the French. It was but too true. Mr. Poole, in his lectures on *Ancient Egypt*, recently published in the *Contemporary Review*, and the only thoroughly satisfactory piece of work England has yet produced on the subject, says of the *Records* in a foot note :—"The necessary introduction to the study of the documents is wanting, and the critical apparatus is far too scanty."

I must make one special exception. A few articles have appeared in the transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology to which a student may turn with satisfaction. Mr. Renouf, their writer, is well acquainted with hieroglyphics and their interpretation. I am not reading a criticism on contemporary Egyptologists, but I am sorry to say that Mr. Renouf's Hibbert Lectures do not fulfil the promise of his earlier work, for a reason which is but too apparent on every page.

Notwithstanding that at Oxford and Cambridge new professorships are being created and old ones adjusted to the wants of the day, and Commissioners sitting constantly, I hear nothing whatever as to the appointment of any Egyptian teachers. There are no other Universities of importance in Europe without them.

All classical learning must eventually be traced to Egypt. I believe I am correct in saying that no scholar at Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin is acquainted with more than the hieroglyphic alphabet, if indeed one can be found who is acquainted even with that. I should like to ask how many school inspectors could show a class the original forms of our ordinary letters on a black board. Although Herodotus is constantly read in schools and colleges, how many teachers can supplement or correct his account of Egypt?

What I have ventured to say with regard to Egyptology in general is especially true with regard to the Pyramid period in particular. Who among our many classical scholars can distinguish at sight the period of an



inscription? In this country, but almost unknown, is the earliest inscription yet found. It relates to a priest named Schery, and is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. It is by far the oldest example of the art of writing now recognised. Yet which of the students or professors at this University is competent to describe the difference between the language of this tablet and that of the more famous Rosetta stone?

To study the art and history of the Pyramid builders is impossible or nearly impossible in this country. I have been amused on several occasions to see the surprise of English people in Egypt at finding that there are more than three pyramids: many of them, indeed, are surprised to find that there is more than one.

The Museum arranged at Boolak by the late Mariette Pasha has a room exclusively devoted to this period, and there alone can it be properly studied.

The French have recently sent a number of students for the purpose of studying at Boolak. A similar commission has been formed at Berlin, and will probably visit Egypt during the ensuing season. Only England stands aloof, which is the more strange as a majority of the winter visitors to Egypt are either English or American.<sup>1</sup>

It may be roughly stated that the number of pyramids is sixty, or thereabouts. Some are so disintegrated that one is not sure that they ever were pyramids, and not ordinary tombs. They are mere heaps of crumbling limestone.

These heaps have hitherto been little noticed. Their position is marked by Perring in his plan, and later by Lepsius: but few of them have been opened until now. The attention of archæologists has been directed to the great unruined pyramids such as those of Geezeh and Dashoor: and very little has rewarded their pains. Few inscriptions have been found; and it is a curious fact, that we have been till quite lately almost entirely in the dark as to what was the religion of the kings and people who erected these mighty works.

The little we knew was chiefly derived from the prayer

<sup>1</sup> The following list of the boats which made the Nile voyage last winter gives some idea of the proportion:—Total

number, 42. English, 19; French, 6; German, 6; American, 5; Belgian, 3; Swiss, 1; Italian, 1; Dutch, 1.

preserved on a wooden coffin now in the British Museum, and from indirect references in the epitaphs of the great functionaries of state. One great official was priest of the sacred bull. His wife poured out libations in the house of the sacred cat. And so on. But there were no prayers, no vows, no references more direct to religious ceremonials. The wooden coffin was found in the third Pyramid of Geezeh. On it King Mycerinus, who is called by the name Osiris, prays the sky his mother, and the earth his father, to protect and conduct him to the abode of bliss. How far the sky or the earth are here referred to figuratively we cannot say. But assuming that they were reckoned as divinities we immediately find that the Pyramid builders of the Fourth Dynasty worshipped Osiris, Noot, and Seb.

On the coffin of Shoofoo Arsh, the architect of Shoofoo, the builder of the Great Pyramid, there is a prayer to Anepu, or Anubis, the jackal which was supposed to conduct the deceased to his everlasting abode. There are a few other similar references, and in the result, it has seemed plain to some students that at the time of this early kingdom the principal object of worship was the King, who is always referred to as the Good God; and that the ruling race worshipped, besides, the sky, the earth, the sun, the stars, and the ancestors of the royal family, Asar, his wife Aset and their son Hor, of Abood or Abdoo, whom we generally read of as Osiris, Isis and Horus, of Abydos. By references to the priesthoods of sacred animals we further learn that each animal was revered in a different place, and that it is possible, or I may say probable, that these sacred animals represented the gods of a lower race which the ruling race found in the land when they came, and of whose superstitions they were not unwilling to avail themselves.

These views have been abundantly confirmed by the recent discoveries among the pyramids. Shortly before the death of M. Mariette his coadjutor, Herr Brugsch, the brother of the historian of Egypt, Brugsch Pasha, who had been at work for some time at Sakkara, found a practicable entrance to one of the ruinous pyramids, a mere cairn externally, and reporting his discovery to head quarters he was joined by his brother and the

inscriptions read. It will be remembered that no inscriptions are now on the exterior of any pyramid, with the exception of a few mason's marks in red paint; and that the same might be said of the interiors, though some inscriptions of doubtful meaning were found in the great pyramid of Sakkara, and removed to Berlin by Herr Lepsius. What was therefore Herr Brugsch's surprise to find the newly opened pyramid literally covered with hieroglyphs; and when three more in the same neighbourhood had been opened two of them were found also to contain writing.

A certain feeling of disappointment ensued. None of these writings contained any historical allusions beyond the name of the Pharaoh commemorated. The names were those of Unas, the last king of the fifth dynasty; and of Papy, and Merenra, his son, of the sixth. The tomb of Teta, the intervening king, has not yet been found, although his name occurs among the fragmentary sculptures with which so much of this part of the pyramid platform is strewed.<sup>1</sup> The absence of historical data was the more to be deplored, because one of these kings being the last of his family, we might otherwise have learnt something as to the laws which governed succession to the throne from them. One king called Papy is said by Manetho to have been a giant, and to have reigned 100 years.

All the inscriptions however are religious. By the kindness of a friend, who with difficulty penetrated into one of the sepulchral chambers after the entrance had been filled up by the French newcomers, I was able to send a short account to the London papers, from one of which I may take this paragraph:—

The first pyramid opened was that marked on Perring's map No. 5. It proved to be the tomb of Papy Ramery, probably the king mentioned by Manetho as Phiops II of the sixth dynasty. There are two chambers, both built of fine Mokattem limestone, the ends (east and west) being large continuous walls, between which the sides and roof are placed without any connexion or support from the ends. The passage chamber is now inaccessible, but the other, though partly covered up with broken masonry, was sufficiently perfect when opened for some of the long and remarkable inscriptions to be visible. Fragments of other inscriptions are lying about in all directions. The sarcophagus, which is of basalt,

<sup>1</sup> I am able to exhibit such a fragment, part of an alabaster vase.

has been partly destroyed by fire, wedge holes, and heavy blows. It is of extraordinary massiveness, being 106·5 inches in length, the sides 12·2 and the bottom no less than 20 inches in thickness. It contained a wooden coffin, probably similar to that of Mycerinus in the British Museum, but in a fragmentary condition. The body, not embalmed, but wrapped in a cerement of very fine linen—probably, to judge by the smell, steeped in cedar oil—was found and removed to Boolak, with some of the surrounding objects; but it has not been exhibited to the public.

The only inscription visible on the basalt coffin is as follows:—"The life of the King of Egypt, Ra . . . y [Ramery] the Everliving." Near the sarcophagus is a monolithic square box or well of granite, sunk in the floor, 28 inches wide inside, and with sides 6·2 inches in thickness. The lid of granite is propped up and is 9 inches thick, without grooves or pin holes. The inscriptions relate entirely to the religion and not at all to the history of the king. In them he is always named Papy,<sup>1</sup> the second name not occurring in the chamber itself, but only in the passage, where it is un mutilated, and may be read easily as Ramery. Several divinities are invoked by name, but none are represented by figures. The name of Anepoo (Anubis) is very frequent. Seb and Noot are mentioned, as on the coffin of Mycerinus, and also Hor, Set, and Asar (Osiris); Aset (Isis) does not occur, and I need hardly say Amen is also absent. The deceased is always referred to as Asar, but the phrase "justified" or "Ma cheroo" is wholly absent. Many localities are mentioned, such as An (Heliopolis) and Abood (Abydos), but not Thebes.

M. Mariette was of opinion that the flat-topped tomb to which the Arabs give the name of Pharaoh's Seat, was the pyramid of Unas, as he found the name of that king painted on some of the stones. The year before last Mr. Stevenson found the same name painted on a stone on the top of the second pyramid of Dashoor. But in the cairn now opened it is carved in a manner quite unmistakable.

The following is a list of amulets, scarabs, and other objects, which I beg to exhibit as illustrative of the above remarks:—

*List of Amulets, Scarabs, and other Objects bearing the names of Kings of Egypt, Dynasties I—XXIX.*

Dynasty I.—1. Cylinder bearing the name Semen Ptah Nefer, perhaps the Semempses of Manetho, 8th king.

Dynasty III.—2. Neb-Ka. 3. Seneferoo.

Dynasty IV.—4. Chafra. 5. The same. 6. Menkaosra.

Dynasty V.—7. Kaka. 8. Ratatka. 9. Unas. 10. The same. 11. The same.

Dynasty VI.—12. Papy I. 13. The same. 14. Papy II. 15. The same. 16. Raneferka. 17. The same. (This cartouche-shaped amulet

<sup>1</sup> I am able to exhibit Scarabs bearing both these names, and three bearing the name of Unas.



and the cylinder, No-17, may belong to some other of the four or five kings who bore this name.)

Dynasty XI.—18. Mentuhotep IV. 19. The same. 20. The same. 21. Raka. 22. Seneb. 23. The same.

Dynasty XII.—24. Amenemha. 25. The same. 26. Amenemha I. 27. Usertasen. 28. Amenemha II. 29. The same. 30. Usertasen III (cylinder.) 31. The same (scarab.) 32. The same. 33. Amenemha III. 34. Amenemha, IV.

Dynasty XIII.—35. Rahotep. 36. Neferhotep V. 37. The same. 38. Amenemha Ra II. 39. Sebakhoteb V. 40. Suacura. 41. Amenes.

Dynasty XVIII.—42. Aahmes I. 43. Queen Nefertary. 44. Amenhotep. 45. The same. 46. Amenhotep I. 47. Thothmes. 48. Thothmes II. 49. The same. 50. Queen Amennohet Hatasoo. 51. The same. 52. The same. 53. The same. 54. Thothmes III (duck-shaped amulet.) 55. The same (on a tapering cylinder of blue glass or enamel.) 56. The same. 57. The same. 58. Queen Amenmery. 59. The same. 60. Amenhotep II. 61. The same. 62. Amenhotep III (frog-shaped amulet.) 63. The same. 64. The same. 65. The same. 66. The same. 67. The same. 68. Amenhotep III and Queen Thya. 69. Queen Thya. 70. Khoo-en-Aten (on a cartouche-shaped amulet of blue glass or enamel.) 71. The same (on a cartouche-shaped amulet of glazed pottery.) 72. Ay (on the bezel of a ring.)

Dynasty XIX.—73. Rameses. 74. Sethi I (on the bezel of an earthenware glazed ring: the name in this form, having been erased from monuments, rarely occurs.) 75. The same (throne name.) 76. The same. 77. Rameses II. 78. The same. 79. The same. 80. Merenptah. 81. The same.

Dynasty XX.—82. Rameses III. 83. The same. 84. Rameses IV. 85. The same. 86. The same. 87. Rameses X. 88. Rameses XI. 89. Rameses XII.

Dynasty XXII.—90. Shishak I. 91. Takeloth. 92. Osorkon.

Dynasty XXIII.—93. Shishak III.

Dynasty XXVI.—94. Psamthik. 95. The same. 96. The same. 97. Psamthik I. 98. Psamthik II. 99. The same. 100. Hophra. 101. The same, with a winged sphinx, on an amulet in the form of a ram's head, of blue earthenware. 102. Aahmes II (on a cartouche-shaped amulet, bearing the throne name on the reverse.)

*The above are arranged together in a case.*

Dynasty V.—1. Sahura (cylinder of black stone.)

Dynasty VI.—2. Teta (on the lid of an alabaster vase.)

Dynasty XII.—3. Usertasen I (on fragment of a marble vase.)

Dynasty XVIII.—4. Amenhotep III and Thya (long inscription on a large scarab.) 5. The same (on a green porcelain or enamel scarab.) 6. Khoo-en-Aten or Amenhotep IV (stamp or seal, bearing one of his cartouches.)

Dynasty XXVI.—7. Necho (fragment of an alabaster vase.)

Dynasty XXIX.—8. Achoris (portion of a kneeling statuette of stone.)





## THE CASTLES OF ENGLAND AND WALES AT THE LATTER PART OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

By GEO. T. CLARK.

*(Continued).*

The castles of the shires of Nottingham and Derby, of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire, complete the tale of the fortresses south of the Tees and Lune. Nottingham, one of the castles ordered and possibly built by the Conqueror, on a rock high above the Trent, contained one of the grandest of the rectangular keeps. It was removed in the seventeenth century, and replaced by a building of about the same dimensions, but of very different character. At the foot of the rock were the two mounds thrown up in the tenth century to command the passage of the Trent, but these also have been removed. Another very considerable castle upon the Trent was that of Newark, the work of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, in the twelfth century. The very considerable remains include the front towards the river, an imposing mass of masonry, the effect of which is heightened by the great gatehouse upon its flank, a Norman work of very unusual size and splendour. The ground plan of this castle is nearly square, and may represent a Roman encampment. There was a castle at Worksop.

The oldest and most remarkable of the Derbyshire castles is that of Castleton or Peveril in the Peak, with its small but strong rectangular keep, built on the edge of the precipice at the base of which is the celebrated cavern, one of the marvels of the Peak. Bolsover, now nearly all rebuilt, was also a Peveril castle. Of Sheffield, the castle of the Furnivals and Talbots, placed upon the junction of the Sheaf and the Don, nothing now remains. There seem to have been early castles, or perhaps fortified houses, at

Codnor a Zouch seat, Melbourne, and Gresley. Also Bogis and Hareston were Derbyshire castles in the reign of Henry II.

The wide expanse of Yorkshire contained much worthy of defence, and was inhabited by a race of men not indisposed to provide it. The mounds of York, both of the first class in bulk and elevation, were posted on either bank of the Ouse, here a deep and broad stream. Of these mounds, one stands on the junction of the Foss with the Ouse, above a tract of marshy ground, between it and the wall of the Roman Eboracum. Here the Conqueror placed his first castle, and in the keep and within the spacious area below he posted William Malet and his 500 knights and their followers. Amidst much of modern work the old walls may still be traced, and a very fine shell, though of Early English date, still stands on the summit of the mound. The other mound, the Bayle Hill, south of the river, and connected with the earthworks of the later city, was also fortified by William, but in haste and with timber only, which does not appear ever to have been replaced with masonry. The city is strongly fortified with walls and a ditch, and the celebrated gateways or bars contain each a nucleus or core of Norman masonry. Next to York in importance is Scarborough, the stronghold of William le Gros, Earl of Aumale, and the citadel of Holderness. The castle may be said to contain the whole table top of a rocky promontory, defended on three sides by a precipitous cliff, at the foot of which is the German Ocean, while towards the land is a deep natural depression. The approach was over a narrow causeway, raised upon arches, broken in the centre by a drawbridge and bridge tower, covered at the outer end by a strong barbican, and terminating below a lofty rectangular keep, much of which still remains, and by the side of which was the final entrance, and probably another drawbridge. In the words of Robert de Brunne—

“Was there none entree  
That to the castle gan ligge  
But a straight causee  
At the end a drawbrigge.”

Scarborough is not only a strong castle by nature and by art, but is capable of containing several thousand men, in fact a small army. South of Scarborough, also upon the

coast, but where the natural advantages of the cliff had to be supplied by enormous earthworks, was Skipsea, held and strengthened by Drogo, William's Flemish lieutenant in that country. Aldbrough was also a Holderness Castle, built by Odo of Aumarle, of which there remains only the mound and the wall.

Between Scarborough and York stood Malton, a seat of Earl Siward, and held by David of Scotland against King Stephen. The masonry is now gone, but the site is still marked by the Roman camp within or upon the edge of which the castle stood. North of Malton is Pickering, once the Burh of the English Morcar, where are the remains of a shell keep upon the mound. Here the mound is central between and common to both wards. The general enclosing curtain is tolerably perfect, and the whole affords an excellent example of the manner in which the Norman architects dealt with an earthwork when the mound stood in the centre of an enclosure, instead of as usual upon one side of it. On the edge of the Honour of Pickering is Hamlake or Helmsley, the seat of the Barons de Ros before they inherited Belvoir, and where the remains of a very late rectangular keep stand on one side of a rectangular court, having two regular gatehouses, walls built against lofty banks, and beyond them strong and extensive outworks in earth and masonry. It is difficult to form an opinion upon the age of these earthworks. They impinge upon and are certainly later than a small Roman camp. At Mulgrave and Normanby were castles; at the latter are still parts of a rectangular Norman keep. Mulgrave stands on the sea cliff. It was the seat of the Saxon Wada and afterwards the Castle of Nigel Fossard and the Mowbrays. At Gilling some early vaults and walls are worked into the later castle of the Fairfaxes. Thirsk, Black Bourton in Lonsdale, and Malzeard, the "capita" of three Mowbray Baronies, all contained castles of some importance in the twelfth century. Of Malzeard and Bourton the earthworks are considerable. Tadcaster, a place of strength both in Roman and Danish times, possessed also a Norman castle of which, however, only the mounds remain; and there is even less of Hugh Puiset's work of Northallerton, surrendered to Henry II in 1174, and ordered to be destroyed in 1177. Its earthworks

are intersected by a railway. Of Tanfield, a Fitz-Hugh and Marmion castle, there are still some small remains.

The great castle of North Yorkshire is Richmond, so called by Earl Alan, who obtained in 1070 the possessions of the English Edwin, and removed the seat from the adjacent Gilling, where the earthworks long remained, to a stronger position on the Swale. The Norman Castle was built in 1071 : it includes a large area, most part of which is defended by a natural cliff. The containing wall is mostly original, and within its substance is a curious small Norman chapel. The rectangular keep is placed at the weakest part of the circuit next to the town, and in front of it are the remains of a barbican. The well-known "Registrum Honoris de Richmond" specifies to which part of the castle the castle guard of each great tenant was due, and the Hall which the family of Scolland were bound to maintain and guard to this day bears their name. The town was also walled. Near Richmond are the scanty remains of Ravenswath, a Fitz-Hugh castle, and lower down the Swale was Bedale, the castle of 'Le beau Bryan de Fitz-Aleyne,' now entirely gone, though the site is still pointed out. The warlike habits of the Lords are, however, represented by a curious portcullis closing the door of the belfry in the parish church. Middleham Castle, on the edge of its celebrated moor, was founded by Ribald, brother to Earl Alan, and ancestor in the female line of the great family of Neville, under whom the Norman keep received its handsome addition and gained its fame. Masham, a castle of the Scropes, is now a mere ruin. Drax seems to have been held by Ralph Paganel as early as the reign of Stephen. Merhall, in Weston, a castle of the Barons Lancaster, is reputed to have been demolished by King John. Killarby, Albruck-on-Tees, and Cawdwell were early castles, as were Armanthwaite, Bowes, Hat-lesey, Sigston, and Whorlton. Of Gleaston, the moot-hill remains, which is thought to have been surmounted by a keep ; and Hornby was also a Lonsdale castle. The passes of the Lune were, however, more celebrated for their defensive earthworks, due to the Danes or the English, than for Norman castles.

Coningsborough, on the Don, is no less from its position than its architecture, one of the most remarkable of York-



shire castles. Its grand cylindrical tower, supported by buttresses of great depth and height, is superior in design and workmanship to that of Pembroke, and almost rivals Coucy. It stands on the summit of a steep rocky knoll, and has been inserted into an earlier Norman wall, which is built upon the steep edge of the rock and encloses a court of moderate area. Upon the slope are the remains of the entrance and fortified approach, and at the base of the hill is a ditch, or rather a ravine, and on one side beyond it an outwork in earth. Probably the hill has been occupied as a place of strength from a very early time, but the masonry is the work of the Warrens Earls of Surrey, and is worthy of their greatness. Knaresborough Castle, on the Nidd, visited by Henry II. in 1181, occupies the top of a rocky promontory. Here the keep, though of Norman form and dimensions, is of decorated date, and remarkable for the excellence of its details. The adjacent town has also been fortified, though apparently by a ditch and bank only. Pontefract, another celebrated Yorkshire castle, is also peculiar. Here the castle encloses a large and elevated platform of rock, scarp and revetted all round, and at one end of which, enclosing an earthen mound, is the circular keep. Much of its masonry is of the eleventh or early in the twelfth century. Its subterranean passages and chambers, of Norman date, are curious. Besides these Yorkshire contains many other castles connected for the most part with great baronial families, and playing their part in the defence of the country against the Scots. Harewood, reputed a Danish seat, was the castle of Robert de Romeli; Skipton, also built by that family, contains some early parts, and has always been inhabited. Kilton was a castle of Cleveland, as was Castleton, where the Bruces fortified a moated mound. Burton was granted by the Conqueror to the same family, having been a seat of Earl Morecar; Danby was also a Bruce castle, and Skelton castle, built in 1140, was the head of their barony. There was also the Archbishop's castle of Cawood, and Crake, a castle of the Bishops of Durham, said to be mentioned in the seventh century. Baynard was a castle of the Lords Wake of Cottingham; Leeds Castle was besieged by Stephen in 1139; Wilton was an early castle of the



Bulmers ; Guisborough was founded in 1120 ; Sandal Castle, under the walls of which was fought the battle of Wakefield, was a late Warren Castle, but the mound and earthworks are on a large scale and old. Yorkshire contained also a considerable number of fortified houses, some of which bore the names of castles, though whether of early date is uncertain, such were Ryther and Slingsby. There is said to have been a castle at Upsal, and one at Hilderskelf, in the grounds of Castle-Howard. Wressill and Sheriff Hutton in their present forms are very late, but the latter has an early history, and near the parish church are some remarkable earthworks, which it is thought mark the site of an early castle.

Yorkshire is rich in earthworks, and especially in moated mounds. Many have already been mentioned as having been incorporated into later castles ; there are others of at least equal age and strength which do not seem ever to have been connected with masonry, such are Mexbrough, Castleton, Wakefield, Levington on the Leven, and others on the Lune. Some of these are known to have been the seats of English Earls and Thaness, and after the Conquest fell into disuse and decay, though at that period they were probably formidable.

Lancashire, in the castle-building age, was not recognised as a county, but was divided between a part of Yorkshire and the tract between the Mersey and the Ribble. This latter formed the great Barony of Roger of Poitou, a younger son of Earl Roger of Shrewsbury. His castle of Penverdant or Penwortham is named in Domesday, and its colossal mound is still called the Castle Hill, but the "caput" of the barony was the Castle of Clitheroe, the small but strong square keep of which stands on the point of a steep promontory of rock, and must have been nearly inaccessible to assault. Upon Earl Roger's fall Clitheroe came to the Lacys. The great castle of Lancashire is at Lancaster, well placed, high above the broad water of the Lune, and within the area of a Roman castrum, whence it derives its name. Here, as at Carlisle, the railway is so laid out as to shew the castle to great advantage. The castle is attributed to Roger of Poitou, but the keep, a grand structure, ninety feet high,

appears somewhat later, as is the Edwardian gateway, also a superb specimen of military architecture. Unfortunately, being a prison, the whole is closed against antiquarian visitors. There was a castle at Liverpool said to have been built by the same Roger in 1076. Merhull and Kirkby are Lancashire castles attributed to Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid. There seems to have been a castle at Manchester, on the Irwell, just outside the old town, in Leland's time, and at Greenhalgh, and near Rochdale, probably at Castleton, where was the burh of the English lord. At Halton is also a lofty burh, as usual near the church, indicating the site of the "aula" of the English lord, and of the keep of his Norman successor. Castlehead in Atterpole, near Cartmel, is also reputed an early castle. The castles of Holland, Hornby, Peel, Thurland, Ulverston and Glaiston are probably of later date.

Cheshire, the palatine earldom of Hugh, named, probably by his posterity, "the Wolf," standing upon the Welsh border, demanded and was supplied by many strong places. Chester, the seat of the earldom, represents the Roman Deva, the *Castra Legionum*, and the Norman castle, with a small and early rectangular keep occupying one corner of the area, stand on the verge of the river Dee. Near to Chester in Wirrall was Shotwick, of which the earthworks remain, and higher up upon the Dee was Holt. Beeston is almost the only remarkable fortress in the county. It stands on the platform of an inaccessible rock. The masonry is probably late, but the deep well may be a part of the Norman castle. All the fifteen Barons of the palatinate, feudatories of Earl Hugh, had castles, but these, representing private estates, mostly continued to be occupied and became fortified houses. The sites and more or less of the remains are to be seen of Halton and Kinderton, the castles of William fitz-Hugh and Venables; Shipbrook of the Vernons; Nantwich of Piers Malbanke; Malpas of Robert fitz-Hugh; and Dunham of Hamo de Massy. There were also castles at Frodsham, Oldcastle, Uttersford, Pulford, Dodleston, Shockleach, Nantwich, Stockport, Burton, Ullerwood, Runcorn, West Derby, Northwick, Castle Cob, and probably some others. A large number of these sites are marked by moated mounds, and there are besides many

similar mounds in the county to which masonry does not appear to have been added.

Thus, between the Thames and the Tees, the Bristol Avon and the Lune, the central parts of England contained at the close of the reign of Henry II. at the least 214 castles, of which about 17 had rectangular and 44 shell keeps, while of 153 nothing is accurately known, or they belong to neither of the great types. Of these probably at least 180 stood on old English sites, and very few indeed can be said with certainty to have stood upon altogether new foundations.

There remain to be considered the castles of the northern counties, Westmoreland and Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland, for centuries exposed to invasions from beyond the Tweed, and fortified accordingly. In this tract were at least four castles of the first-class—Durham, Bamburgh, Norham, and the strongly-posted town and castle of Berwick; and of the second-class Brough, Appleby and Brougham, Cockermouth, Carlisle, Prudhoe and Newcastle, Ford and Alnwick, and Warkworth. Besides these were others, some perhaps at times almost their equals in importance, but the continued incursions of the Scots were fatal to the English fortresses as were those of the English to the Scotch, and thus many on both sides the border were again and again burned and levelled, until they were either not rebuilt or only represented by Peel towers and castellets, which again were destroyed, so that of very many castles, the names only are preserved.

The lake country of Westmoreland was strong and contained little to attract plunderers; but on its edge on the winding Eamont is Brougham Castle, with a pure Norman keep, bearing testimony to the power of the Barons Vipont its early lords. It stands upon the side of a well-preserved Roman camp, as does Brough, another Norman castle, also with a rectangular keep. A similar keep at Appleby is still inhabited. Kendal Castle is probably an early fortress, though nothing remains of it but an encircling and not very early wall. Westmoreland is peculiarly rich in fortified manor-houses, some of which may be on old sites, though the greater number, like the castle of Penrith, belong to a later period. There were

peels or castellets at Bewly, Hartley, Howgill, and Pendragon.

Carlisle is the citadel of Cumberland, and was for centuries the most important fortress in the north, playing a considerable part in every Scottish war. The name proclaims it to be of British origin, and its position led to its adoption by the Romans; and, indeed, it is said that the ditch of the southern of the two great lines of defence thrown up by that people, divides the castle from the town. Cumberland bears many marks of Danish invasions, and in one of these in the ninth century, Carlisle was laid waste, and so remained, until in 1093 William Rufus founded the castle and added the town to his kingdom. His successor raised the town into an episcopal city and completed what was needed in the castle. Patched and neglected as is the keep, still the principal features of the castle and the encircling walls are for the most part original. Rose Castle, the episcopal seat, higher up the river, is on an old site and in part old. Cockermouth, a castle of William de Meschines and the Lords Lucy, remains, and near it, towards St. Bees, in a fragment of Egremont, also built by de Meschines. Scaleby, on the most exposed frontier, a de Tilliol castle—though not of the eleventh century—is perfect; which cannot be said of Bewcastle, built by the Lords de Vaux; Naworth, still inhabited, was inherited by the Howards from the Dacres, who also gave name to Dacre, rather a strong house than a castle. Besides these there are or were strong places at St. Andrews, Askerton, Blencraik, St. Bees, Castle-Corrock, Corby, Cannonby, Dalby, Dilston, Down Hall, Dunvalloght, Drawdykes, Greystock, Horton, Harington, Hay-Castle, Heton, Highgate, Irton, St. John's, Featherstone, Kirk-Oswald, Kyloe tower, Liddell strength, Linstock, Lorton, Millom, Ousby, Rowcliffe, Shank, Triermain, and Wolsty. Many of these are dotted about the more exposed parts of the county; others were in the rear of the Roman wall.

The castle of Durham, taken alone, is rivalled both in position and grandeur by Bamburgh, but taken in conjunction with the cathedral and attendant buildings,

“Half church of God, half fortress, 'Gainst the Scot,”



the group is without an equal. The main feature of the castle is the circular keep—the oldest, grandest and most complete of that type in Britain. The lower ward also is spacious and includes many buildings, some of them of Norman date. The castle is posted upon the root of the rocky peninsula included by a fold of the Tees, and stands between the city and the grand old shrine and final resting place of St. Cuthbert. The older parts were probably built in the reign of the Conqueror, about 1088, when William, having banished Carileph, held the temporalities of the see ; other authorities attribute the work to Bishop Comyn in 1072. The two chief castles of the Bishopric are Raby and Barnard Castle, for Norham is virtually in Northumberland. Raby, the celebrated seat of the Nevilles, is of Norman origin, as is Barnard Castle, though its fine round tower is later. In plan this castle much resembles Ludlow, to which its position is not inferior. It is named from Barnard de Baliol. Branspeth, also a Neville castle, is a noble structure, but of later date than Raby. Bowes has a late Norman keep. Besides these may be mentioned Lumley, Staindrop, Streatham, Witon, Stockton and Bishop Auckland. In the local quarrels the names also occur of Evenwood Castle, near Auckland, Hilton, Holy Island, and, better known from its later possessors, Ravensworth. The Bishopric was well fortified, and was besides intersected by the deep ravines of the Tees, and possessed the Tyne for a frontier.

“Foremost,”—the quotation is drawn from the writings of an author who, beyond any other of the present day, makes his own mark upon what he writes,—“in interest among the monuments of Northumberland in the narrower sense, of the earldom beyond the Tyne, stand the castles ; the castles of every size and shape, from Bamburgh, where the castle occupies the whole site of a royal city, to the smallest pele-tower, where the pettiest squire or parson sought shelter for himself in the upper stage and for his cows in the lower. For the pele-towers of the Border-land like the endless small square towers of Ireland are essentially castles. They shew the type of the Norman keep continued on a small scale to a very late time. Perhaps many of the adulterine castles which arose in every time of anarchy, and were overthrown at



every return of order, many of the eleven hundred and odd castles which overspread the land during the anarchy of Stephen, may not have been of much greater pretensions. At any rate, from the great keep of Newcastle—were we not in Northumberland we should speak of the far greater keep of Colchester—to the smallest pele-tower which survives as a small part of a modern house, the idea which runs through all is exactly the same. The castles and towers then, great and small, are the most marked feature of the country. They distinguish it from those shires where castles of any kind are rare; and the employment of the type of the great keeps on a very small scale distinguishes it from the other land of castles. In Wales the Norman keep is not usual; the castles are, for the most part, later in date and more complex in plan; and the small square private tower, the distinctive feature of the North, is there hardly to be found. Northumberland has much to show the traveller in many ways, from the Roman wall onward, but the feature which is especially characteristic is that it is the land of castles.”

Northumberland is said to have contained sixty castles, but this must include many fortified houses and castles of the private gentry. Alnwick, better known as the seat of the earls of Northumberland than from its builder and early lords, is a very fine example of a baronial castle. The keep or central ward includes an open court, entered by a Norman gateway encrusted by a Decorated gate-house, and round which, incorporated with the curtain, were the hall, kitchen, chapel, and the lord's lodgings. Most of the court has been rebuilt, but the old lines and much of the old foundations have been preserved, and the effect is probably not unlike that of the original Norman court. The concentric defences, walls, towers and barbican are old. The castle stands between the town and the Alne, beyond which is the park. The builder seems to have been Eustace de Vesci in the late Norman period, before 1157. Three miles to the north is the tower of Highfarland. Warkworth, built by one of the fitz-Richard family in the reign of Henry II, was much injured by William the Lion, who laid siege to it in 1176, but still retains large remains of the original work. Tynemouth, an island fortress, seems to have been a seat

of Earl Waltheof; it was long afterwards a Percy castle. Prudhoe, a castle of the Umfravilles, built in the middle of the eleventh century, has a small Norman keep, and most of the original curtain wall. The additions include a barbican and a curious chapel over the gateway. The original castle was attacked without success by William of Scotland in 1174. The castle of Newcastle, high upon the bank of the Tyne and included within the walls of the town, was built by Robert Curthose in 1080, and is a very perfect example of a rectangular Norman keep, with a curious oratory within the fore-building and a great number of mural passages and chambers, so that in many respects it has the appearance of being half a century later than its recorded date. It is also well preserved, saving some injudicious alterations made many years since, and it is accessible to every visitor, being in the hands of the local antiquarian society, and under the safe and skilful protection of the historian of the Roman wall.

Bamborough is probably the oldest, and in all respects the noblest and most historical of the Northumbrian fortresses. It was founded by the flame-bearing Ida in the sixth century, when it was enclosed by a hedge and afterwards by a wall, but most of its circuit was already fortified by a natural cliff of great height. The castle occupies the whole of this elevated platform of basalt, one side of which is upon the sea beach. The wall is built along the edge of the precipice, and rising above all is a magnificent square Norman keep of rather late date, somewhat altered indeed within and still inhabited, but retaining most of its original features, and altogether presenting a very grand appearance. Bamburgh, like Alnwick, has come under the wand of the enchanter, and any reference to it would indeed be incomplete which took no notice of the following passage drawn from the *Saturday Review*. "At Bamburgh, above all, we feel that we are pilgrims come to do our service at one of the great cradles of our national life. It is the one spot in northern England around which the same interest gathers which belongs to the landing places of Hengest, of Ælle, and of Cerdic, in the southern lands. It is to the Angle what these spots are to the Jute and the Saxon. The

beginnings of the Anglian kingdoms are less rich in romantic and personal lore than are those of their Jutish and Saxon neighbours. Unless we chose to accept the tale about Oeta and Ebussa, we have no record of the actual leaders of the first Teutonic settlements in the Anglian parts of Britain. The earliest kingdoms seem not to have been founded by new comers from beyond the sea, but to have been formed by the fusing together of smaller independent settlements. Yet around Bamburgh and its founder Ida all Northumbrian history gathers. Though its keep is more than five hundred years later than Ida's time—though it is only here and there that we see fragments of masonry which we even guess may be older than the keep—it is still a perfectly allowable figure when the poet of northern Britain speaks of Bamburgh as 'King Ida's fortress.' The founder of the Northumbrian kingdom, the first who bore the kingly name in Bamburgh, the warrior whom the trembling Briton spoke of as the 'flame-bearer' appears, in the one slight authentic notice of him, not as the leader of a new colony from the older England, but rather as the man who gathered together a number of scattered independent settlements into a nation and a kingdom. The chronicler records of him that in 547 'he took to the kingdom;' but nothing is said of his coming, like Hengest or Cerdic, from beyond sea. And all the other accounts fall in with the same notion. Henry of Huntingdon, though he has no story to tell, no ballad to translate, was doubtless following some old tradition when he described the Anglian chiefs, after a series of victories over the Welsh, joining together to set a king over them. And all agree in speaking of Bamburgh, called, so the story ran, from the Queen Bebbe, as a special work of Ida. Whatever may be the origin of the name, it suggests the kindred name of the East Frankish Babenberg, which has been cut short into Bamberg by the same process which has cut short Bebbanburh into Bamburgh. Yet Bamburgh was a fortress by nature, even before Ida had fenced it in, first with a hedge and then with a wall. Here we see the succession of the early stages of fortification, the palisade first and then the earthen wall, the *vallum*, not the *murus*, of the Roman art of defence.

But, whether hedge or wall, the site of Bamburgh was already a castle before it had been fenced in by the simplest forms of art. That mass of isolated basaltic rock frowning over the sea on one side, over the land on the other, was indeed a spot marked out by nature for dominion. Here was the dwelling-place of successive Bernician kings, ealdormen, and earls ; here they took shelter as in an impregnable refuge from the inroads of Scot and Dane. Here the elder Waltheof shut himself up in terror, while his valiant son Uhtred sent forth and rescued the newly founded church and city of Durham from the invader. Here Gospatric the Earl held his head quarters, while he and Malcolm of Scotland were ravaging each other's lands in turn. In earlier days a banished Northumbrian king, flying from his own people to seek shelter with the Picts, defended himself for a while at Bamburgh, and gave the native chronicler of Northumberland an opportunity of giving us our earliest picture of the spot. Baeda, without mentioning the name, had spoken of Bamburgh as a royal city, and it is not only as a fortress, but as a city, that Bamburgh appears in the Northumbrian chronicler. He speaks of '*Bebba civitas*' as '*Urbs munitissima non admodum magna.*' It did not take in more than the space of two or three fields ; still it was a city, though a city approached by lofty steps, and with a single entrance hollowed in the rock. Its highest point was crowned, not as yet by the keep of the Norman, but by a church, which, according to the standard of the eighth century, was a goodly one. This church contained a precious chest, which sheltered a yet more precious relic, the wonder working right hand of the martyred King Oswald. We read too how the city, perched on its ocean rock, was yet, unlike the inland hill of the elder Salisbury, well furnished with water, clear to the eye and sweet to the taste. We see then what the royal city of the Bernician realm really was. It simply took in the present circuit of the castle. The present village, with its stately church, is, even in its origin, of later date. But, by the time that we reach the event in the history of Bamburgh which is told us in the most striking detail, the keep had already arisen ; the English city had become the Norman castle. In the days of Rufus, when the fierce Robert of Mowbray



had risen a second time in rebellion, the keep of Bamburgh, safe on its rock and guarded by surrounding waves and marshes, was deemed beyond the power even of the Red King to subdue by force of arms. The building of another fortress to hold it in check, the ἐπιτειχίσμος, as a Greek would have called it, which bore the mocking name of *Malvoisin*, was all that could be done while the rebel earl kept himself within the impregnable walls. It was only when he risked himself without those walls, when he was led up to them as a captive, with his eyes to be seared out if his valiant wife refused to surrender, that Bamburgh came into the royal hands."

At Mitford is a very peculiar Norman keep still held by the descendants of its early lords. Bothal, the Ogle Castle may be old, but its present remains are not so, and this is also the case with Morpeth, a castle of the de Maulays.

Of Berwick Castle the remains are inconsiderable and are encroached upon by the railway station, but the adjacent town has a bank and ditch and a low tower or two or bastion, of its ancient defences, and within this is a citadel of the age of Vauban. Higher up and on the opposite or English bank of the Tweed is the grand episcopal castle of Norham, the special care of the bishops of Durham. Its rectangular keep is of unusual size, and though Norman, of two periods. Parts of its containing wall are also original, as is the gatehouse, and about it are various earthworks, remains apparently of some of the sieges which it has undergone, and beyond these are the lines of a large Roman camp.

Norham, attributed to Bishop Flambard in 1121, was surrendered to Henry II by Bishop Puiset in 1174, and was entrusted to William de Neville in 1177. Beneath the walls and within the adjacent parish church Edward entertained and decided upon the claims to the Scottish throne. Among the more considerable of Northumbrian castles were Ford, Chillingham, Wark, and the Umfraville castle of Harbottle. There should also be mentioned as occurring in border story, Aydon, Bavington, Belsay, Bellister, Birtley, Blenkinsop, Bywell tower, Burraden tower, Capheaton, Carlington, Chipchase, Cornhill, Cockle Park tower, Coupland, Dale, Duddon tower, Edlingham,



Errington, Elsdon, Etal, Eskott, Farne, Fenwick tower, Horton, Houghton, Heaton, Hirst, Hemmell, Kylvie, Langley, Littleharle, and Lilburn towers, Lemington, Newton tower, Ogle, Pontland, Simonsburn, Spylaw, Swinbourne, Shortflatt tower, Tarot, Tynemouth, Thirlwall, Wallington, Widdrington, Witton, Williesmotewick, and a few more peels and castellets and early moats, shewing where strong houses formerly stood. The fact was, that for many centuries no owner of land near the Scottish border could live without some kind of defence, and a careful survey, while it might fail to discover traces of some of the above, would probably establish those of many as yet unrecorded.

It appears, therefore, that in the four northern counties there are at least 103 strong places, of which ten boast rectangular Norman, and one, or perhaps two, shell keeps, while of ninety-one little is known.

*(To be continued).*

## ON THE TREATMENT OF ANCIENT ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS.<sup>1</sup>

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

It may seem that some apology is needed for bringing forward once more the well worn subject of "restoration." All that I can say about it has been said before by other people, as well as by myself. But, on the other hand, the mischief against which we protest still goes on, and finds defenders even amongst antiquaries, whose special studies ought to make them most alive to the harm of it. Such being the case, it is necessary to go on repeating our objections. A new gospel can only obtain a hearing from the world by persistent iteration, and until men are well familiar with the sound, they will not, for the most part, take the trouble to understand it. There are subjects upon which we may wait patiently till time manifests the truth; but this is not one of them. Our ancient architectural remains are daily suffering from the misdirected zeal of their guardians, and unless we can obtain a hearing from them, there will soon not be much left worth contending for. A meeting like this seems to be a most suitable occasion for bringing the matter forward once more, and in it I know I may look for an intelligent audience, and I hope a sympathetic one.

An ancient building may be regarded as a historic monument, as a work of art, or as a useful edifice. As antiquaries we have to do with it only in the first aspect, although we must take care not to lose sight of the other two. It is evident that the value of a historic monument depends entirely upon the genuineness of its condition. A mere fragment may be most precious, whereas a perfect work, containing much which really is what it pretends

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Architectural Section at the Bedford Meeting, July 28, 1881.

to be, may be worthless, because it is adulterated with forgeries, which can not be distinguished from the rest. No one would deny this with respect to written documents. We value the fragments of Babylonian history which scholars have lately decyphered for us, and we may wish that they were more perfect than they are. But if some man had set to work on his tablets and cylinders and neatly patched up all the missing portions and covered them with writing, "in exact conformity with the original," and then put forth the result, I do not think that the public recognition of his ingenuity would have taken the form of compliments upon the "thoroughness" of his "restoration."

Now old churches are as much historical documents as Babylonian cylinders are. But ever since their value as such first began to be appreciated, there have been those who have advocated and practised a falsification of them, just as much to be condemned as would be the forgery of ancient records. I do not speak of the destruction wrought under the name of "restoration" by incompetent architects and *amateurs*, but of the still worse mischief by men who thoroughly understood what they were doing, and who have not only destroyed much real old work, but have mixed up what they allowed to remain with forgeries of their own. The doctrine of "conservative restoration," as they are pleased to call it, which was preached by nearly all the leading architects of the last generation, has been more destructive than the axe of the Puritan, or the century and a half of churchwardenism which came after it. It is to the credit of this Institute that some of its members, and notably the late Mr. Petit, saw the danger, and protested against it from the first. But the evil went on.

The doctrine of "Restoration" depends upon the theory that each building belongs to a "period," and that the proper treatment of it is to take out everything which is not of that period and to replace it by new work, such as the architect believes might, could, would, should, or ought to have been there at that "period." The success of course varies with the skill of the architect, and often the interpolations are at once evident, and the harm confined to the destruction only. This, indeed, is generally

the case as regards wood work, which nearly always carries its modernness plainly written upon it. But in stone, the most important of all building materials, many architects have produced work which, when the newness is gone off, can scarcely be distinguished from the old. Such a mixture of old and new takes from the former all its historic value, for who can tell of any portion of it whether it is due to the taste and skill of the ancient architect, or to the archæological learning of his brother of the nineteenth century?

But granting that the restored church—I speak of churches because the question becomes a practical one chiefly with respect to them, but the principle is the same for all buildings—granting, I say, that the church, when restored, is all that can be claimed for it, viz., an exact model of what it was in the thirteenth, or whatever century it may be, is it worth the old church which is sacrificed to make way for it? It is a fallacy to say of your old church that it belongs to any one “period.” It belongs to all periods from the time when its first stone was laid, perhaps more than a thousand years ago, down to the present day. Its life has been continuous, and one of many changes. There is, perhaps, no portion of it which has not been rebuilt more than once, but the church is the same. Even that which has gone from it has left its influence behind, and may be traced through the later work by one who knows how to look for it. Thirty generations have come here for worship and the Sacraments, as their descendants still do; and every generation has left its mark upon the building. Some have improved it, and some, it is true, have injured it; but even the marks of the harm they did may be full of interest; and those that have done nothing else have left us their tombstones. The place is alive with memories, and it is absurd to talk of its “period.”

Now let us see what the “conservative restorer” does for it. The bulk of the walls is, we will suppose, of the favourite thirteenth century, which fixes its “period.” The chancel was remodelled in the fourteenth century, and the east window was Flowing Decorated of four lights, but below it might be seen the cills of the original three lancets. With such evidence, of course, the end must be

"restored," and if any doubts about it crept in they were entirely removed by the discovery of two or three stones of the "Early English" jambs in the wall upon taking out the fourteenth century window. The window nearest the altar on the south side of the chancel and that similarly placed in the south aisle of the nave were each of two lights, the former Decorated and the other Perpendicular, both inserted to give more light to the altars near them, and there was a similar insertion towards the west of the north wall; all these were clearly "innovations on the original design," and, as the architect pointed out, the tracery was somewhat out of repair, and there could be no doubt that there were lancets in these places, so the lancets were "restored." The like happened to a broad lancet near the south door which had been divided by a mullion and had tracery inserted in the head. Most of these windows retained fragments of painted glass of their respective dates, a good deal of that in the tracery being *in situ*. A few of the larger pieces are inserted in the window of the new vestry, and some in the fan light over the rectory front door; the others were not worth preserving and nobody knows what has become of them.

There was a difficulty about the west tower: it is in the early "Perpendicular" style and "quite out of keeping with the rest of the building;" but, unfortunately, funds were not forthcoming to rebuild it, so it is allowed to remain under a sort of protest. The clerestory of the nave was even later than the tower, "quite Debased," in fact; besides which there was the weathering, which shewed that there was once a high-pitched roof instead of the flat lead one. There could, therefore, be no hesitation about the removal of the clerestory; and the sale of the old lead nearly paid for a new stained deal roof of trussed rafters covered with neat Staffordshire tiles. The removal of the clerestory and the glazing of the restored lancet windows with "cathedral glass of assorted tints," has thrown a faint green light over the interior eminently calculated to foster devotion but a little suggestive of the Brighton Aquarium on a dull day.

Before the "restoration" the furniture of the church was of the most incongruous description. The pews were most irregular and of many dates, some Late Perpendi-



cular, some "Jacobean," and so on, to modern times. These have given place to neat uniform open benches of varnished pine. There was a large pulpit dated 1632, with a sounding board of the same date. This has given place to a more appropriate structure of Caen stone with pillars of Cornish serpentine. In the chancel arch stood an old rood screen, very late and out of repair. As it was out of keeping with the church and blocked out the view of the restored chancel, it was taken away and parts of it may now be seen made into a cupboard in the vestry. There were two ancient effigies, but so broken as not to be thought worth preserving. They are now on a rockery in the rectory garden. The other monuments were all of the "Pagan" sort, and were of course removed. A neat tile floor replaces the old one, which was made up almost entirely of gravestones, many of which were broken and very shabby. Proper attention has been given to warming and lighting, and the "restored" church is what the newspapers call "one of the handsomest in the county." But somehow, in spite of its merits, it is found to be a very dull affair and we soon have had enough of it. The fact is that its history has all gone and it has become a new building. It may have merit, but that merit is not of a sort which appeals to antiquaries. The church may be more useful than it was and even possibly more more beautiful, but it is no longer as it used to be—the living witness, and it may be the only witness, of the prosperity and adversity, the joys and the sorrows, the faith and the passions which have affected the men of that parish for many past centuries. The loss of such a witness is as grievous as it is irrevocable, although at present comparatively few seem to feel it. Men generally appreciate their loss where an ancient parish church has been replaced by one of the miserable edifices of the later Georgian period. Unless I am greatly mistaken some of our "conservatively" restored buildings will, before long, excite feelings of the same sort.

But it may be asked, Do churches exist simply as historical monuments? and are not the decency of the services and the convenience of the worshippers the first points to be considered? This brings me to the main subject of my paper. There are men who, disgusted by

the reckless and ignorant destruction wrought by the "restorers," have condemned all alterations of ancient buildings, and insisted that nothing should be done to them except what is absolutely necessary to preserve them from ruin. But I am not one of them. The present generation have as much share in their church as any of the past, and have as much right as they to alter it to suit their needs and tastes. What gives an old church an interest which is shared by few other ancient relics is that it is a still *living* monument, and I hold that to take from it this quality is only in degree less harmful than to obliterate the record of its past life. Our duty is not only to preserve, but, as occasion calls, to continue the history.

Monuments, such as tombs, whose sole function is, and has been from the beginning, only existence, and those again whose use is now gone with the circumstances which called them into being, belong to a different class. Their record is finished, and our duty towards them is simply to protect and preserve them. If they are imperfect, we must accept them in their imperfection. To replace missing or defective parts of a thing which we still want to use is right and sensible. But to do the like to a thing without use, upon pretence of bringing it back to its original state, is absurd. What is gone is gone, and you can no more replace it than you can call back last week. When you have done your best at "restoring" a thing you have only produced a conjectural model of what it was, and you must almost certainly have destroyed some of the evidence upon which your "restoration" was based. It may be well sometimes to have models of ancient objects made, but the originals themselves should not be mutilated to produce them.

But to return to the question of churches. The first step towards a right treatment of them is to get rid of the *period* delusion. A church is dilapidated and inconvenient, and perhaps even unseemly. By all means let it be repaired and made decent and convenient. But let it be done with a due respect to the building and what it has witnessed. Do not try and make it look like a new church just imported from the thirteenth century; but let it show that it has stood ever since the thirteenth

century, and has passed through times both good and evil in its long life from then till now. All this may be if the work is done in the right way, and yet the requirements of our time need not be overlooked.

An architect who has to deal with an old church must begin by searching out its history, and must learn by what steps it came to be what it is, bearing in mind that history did not stop in the thirteenth or even in the sixteenth century, and that nothing is to be condemned as a disfigurement or mutilation merely on account of its date. Next let him arrange his alterations so as to take away as little as may be. It is often impossible but that there shall be some loss, but let it be only of that which is least worth keeping. Lastly, let the architect design his additions so that they may be in harmony with the old, but not make believe to be other than what they are. Let them be exactly what modern requirements call for, and let their date be plainly upon them. Till of late this was done naturally by every man doing his work, as a matter of course, in the style of his own time ; but now we have unfortunately no common style, and each man has to make or select one for himself. Work done in old churches must now be designed upon a study of old churches ; but let us avoid in every case any direct reproduction of what may already be there. Where symmetry demands a general accordance between the old and the new, as, for example, where a new arcade is to be added to a nave which now has only one aisle, or where new pews have to range with old ones, the general design may be followed and the difference marked in the details ; and, as a general rule, it is well that modern additions and repairs should be in a different material from the old.

It is not necessary to protest now against the barbarous scraping and reworking which has destroyed so much old work. The "conservative restorers" have at least the merit of having put a stop to that, except in the hands of men who are too ignorant to be reached by anything that either they or we can say. But old plaster needs protection. Old rubble walls were never intended to be exposed on the inside, still less to have their rudeness intensified by pointing with dark mortar.

Sometimes, when a church is being enlarged, it may be

necessary to remove objects which we do not wish to destroy. In such cases it is quite proper to set them up again in other positions—by preference, in the new work. But, wherever they are put, the fact of their removal should be marked in some way, either by their position or even by an actual inscription. For it should be remembered that the position of a thing is as much a part of its history as its form. The “restorers” generally have failed to understand this, and some even good men think they have done no harm to a thing so long as they have not destroyed its parts. Many a church has its history hopelessly confused by windows and screens, and the like being removed and cunningly fitted to places to which they do not belong. If a thing must be moved, as sometimes cannot be helped, the removal must be openly and honestly done, and no lies told about it.

Our present services are sufficiently near to the old ones to make mediæval arrangements and the principal objects of mediæval furniture well suited to modern use, and these therefore may need judicious repair. Other objects the use of which has passed away should be left as they are. If perchance they are in such a condition that to leave them exposed would be unseemly, there is no harm in covering them up, but nothing in the way of “restoration” should be done to them. The like too of old tombs and all that belongs to them as their railings and heraldic appendages.

Those whose notions of “conservative restoration” permit them to retain fifteenth century work, too frequently think it a duty to destroy everything which is later than the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> This is a most serious mistake. Much excellent work was done in the seventeenth century, both before and after the Puritan usurpation. Pulpits of these times were lately common, and some still remain, as do a few good reredoses of that and the succeeding century. These and many other things, which I need not name separately, all go to make up the life of the church. They are good in themselves, far better than the Cockney Gothic affairs, which have so

<sup>1</sup> I have observed it as rather singular that this passion is strongest in Low Churchmen.



often usurped their places, and they serve their respective purposes thoroughly well.

Some things, as the deal box pews of fifty years ago, and many stained and varnished "Gothic" abominations of the last three decades, are by their own wretched meanness unworthy of a place in the church at all, and and we may justly remove them because they ought never to have been admitted. This liberty, however, is one which must be used with caution. It does not extend to old gravestones and monuments, whatever be their quality. Many recent monuments are really offensive in design, and sometimes in position, but they should not be destroyed, nor, as is too often done, cut down, in order to lessen their size. They are too important a part in the record of the church to be lightly thrown away, and they should not only be preserved, but preserved unaltered. In extreme cases it may be right to cover them up, or to remove them to less objectionable sites, in which last case, some record of the removal should be left in their old places.

As for new work, it is perfectly right to put in anything which is either needed to suit modern requirements, or which our modern sense of propriety demands. The late revival in the Church has created many new wants, the satisfying of which affords ample opportunity for us to add our share to the history. Let all we do be the very best we can produce, and the value of it will be of the same sort as of the old. Posterity will thank us for it, and many think the chapter added in our time not the least interesting of the whole.



## ON CHAUCER'S MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

By M. H. BLOXAM, F.S.A.

On a careful examination of the monuments and sepulchral effigies in many of our Cathedrals I have, not unfrequently, met with instances, in which it has been evident that the effigies were not those of the individuals to whom they had been popularly ascribed, but were of a much earlier or later period.

Of these facts I purpose adducing a few examples.

On the south side of the Lady Chapel, Hereford Cathedral, is the reputed sepulchral effigy of Dean Borew, who died A.D. 1462. On a close examination it is evidently the effigy of a Dean of a much earlier period, that is not later than the early half of the fourteenth century, or prior to the year 1350.<sup>2</sup>

In the priory church of Hexham, Northumberland, is an effigy ascribed to Prior Richard; now, there were three priors of that name, but this effigy, which is of the fifteenth century, is of a much later period than the last of them.

The monument and effigy in Chichester Cathedral ascribed to Bishop Richard de la Wych, who died A.D. 1253—better known as St. Richard, his canonization having taken place A.D. 1262, is at least a century later in date and the monument of some other bishop.

In the Cathedral of Canterbury, in the south aisle of the choir, on the south side, is a monument or high tomb on which reclines a sepulchral effigy which has been popularly assigned to Archbishop Walter Reynolds, who died A.D. 1327. It is not the effigy of an archbishop, but rather that of a mitred prior; and I would ascribe it to Prior Henry de Eastry, who died A.D. 1331.

I have found in Wells Cathedral monuments equally misappropriated to prelates of that see.

The monument of Chaucer, who died A.D. 1400, placed beneath the east window of the south transept of Westminster Abbey, is one deserving of attention.

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Bedford Meeting, July 26, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> A representation of this effigy appears in the *Archæological Journal*, xxxiv, 418.

It is not the original monument as Dart, in his history of the Abbey, A.D. 1723, tells us ; for, according to him, Chaucer "was buried before the chapel of St. Bennet, where his stone of broad grey marble as (says he) I take it, was not long since remaining, but was taken up when Mr. Drydens monument was erected, and sawn to mend the pavements." Now Dryden's monument was set up in 1720, on the site it would appear, if Dart is correct, of the grave of Chaucer, west of the chapel of St. Bennet and some distance north in a straight line of Chaucer's monument.

The latter consists of a high tomb, placed north and south, divided in front into three compartments, each containing a shield within a cusped quatrefoil.

This tomb is beneath a recessed and overhanging canopy, open in front, but displaying three hanging arches ogee shaped, crocketed and finialled, and cusped within, panelled at the back, and finished at the top with an horizontal hollow moulding containing flowers at intervals.

Dart gives the inscription as follows :—

M. S.  
 QUI FUIT ANGLORUM VATES TER MAXIMUS OLIM  
 GALFRIDUS CHAUCER CONDITOR HOC TUMULO  
 ANNUM SI QUERAS DOMINI, SI TEMPORA MORTIS  
 ECCE NOTÆ SUBSUNT, QUÆ TIBI CUNOTA NOTANT  
 25 OCTOBRIS, 1400.  
 ÆRUMNARUM REQUIES MORS  
 N BRIGHAM HOS FECIT MUSARUM NOMINE SUMPTUS  
 1555.

By which it appears that this monument was erected in the middle of the sixteenth century by Nicholas Brigham, an admirer of the poet upwards of 150 years after his death. The inscription denotes that he was here buried ; but Dart states that he was buried before the chapel of St. Bennet.

But this monument is very evidently not of the date of the period in which it was here erected, when it would probably have been designed in the style of the renaissance, neither is it, as may be seen from its architectural details, a work coeval with the death of the poet ; it is clearly of an intermediate period, of a date I should fix as *circa* 1470-1480. It may fairly be compared with the monument in the same abbey church of Dudley, Bishop of Durham, who died A.D. 1483.

How then are we to account for this anomaly? I think, in reply, I may venture on a fair and reasonable conjecture.

From the "Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London," edited by my friend the late John Gough Nichols, one of the most eminent antiquaries of his day, for the Camden Society, and published A.D. 1852, the following extracts have been taken:—

"1538. Also this yere was alle the placys of relygione "within the citte of London subprest in November."

"1547. Item: the v day after in September beganne "the Kynges vysytation at Powelles. . . . Item at this "same tyme was pullyed up *all the tomes*; grett stones all "the auteres, with the stalles and walles of the qweer "and auteres in the church that was some tyme the Gray "Freeres, and solde, and the qweer made smaller."

"1552. Item the xxv day of October was the pluckyng "down of alle the alteres and chappelles in alle Powlles "church with *alle the toumes* at the commandment of the "byshoppe then beyng Nicholas Rydley . . . . and "wolde a pullyd downe John a Gauntes tome; but there "was a commandment (to) the contrary from the counsell, "and soo yt was made all playne as it aperes."

Mr. J. G. Nichols, in his preface to the Chronicle, from which the above extracts have been taken, informs us that "all the tombs and large grave stones were at the same time taken away and sold for the paltry sum of fifty pounds." Amidst the general destruction of ancestral memorials which was accomplished in those days of heartless and impious spoliation, this act, perhaps, exceeded all others of the kind.

The church of the Grey Friars had been the favorite place of sepulture with those of the aristocracy of England who had died in the metropolis.

According to the reckoning of Weever, the church had been honoured with the sepulture of four queens, four duchesses, four countesses, one duke, two earls, eight barons and some thirty-five knights; and in all 663 persons of quality. Stowe tells us that "there were nine tombs of alabaster and marble environed with spikes of iron in the choir, and one tomb in the body of the church, also coped with iron; besides seven score grave stones of

marble." Both Stowe and Weever derived their information from a catalogue of all the sepulchral monuments, made some time before the expulsion of the friars, which is still preserved in their Register. To the artistic antiquary it would have offered greater interest had it described the character of the monuments more fully; but it particularizes the "raised tombs and they were more numerous than Stowe calculated." Amongst the latter were in the Lady Chapel, that of Sir Walter Langley, 1470. In the Chapel of the Apostles, south of the choir, was a great raised tomb to Sir Walter Blount, Knight of the Garter, 1477; and another to John Blount, Lord Mountjoy, 1485. Either of these in architectural design would approximate in date the monument in Westminster Abbey erected as a memorial of Chaucer in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Stowe, in his Survey of London, further informs us that the ten tombs above-mentioned were "all pulled down, besides 140 grave-stones of marble, all sold for £50 or thereabouts, by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith and alderman of London."

At the price at which these raised monuments or high tombs and sepulchral marble slabs were sold—150 for £50—they averaged only 6s. 8d. each; although the raised tombs, ten in number, may have severally realized much more. We cannot be surprised then that some of these may have been purchased at a low rate, with a view to their being utilised as future monuments to others.

One of these, it is most probable, was bought by Nicholas Brigham with the intent to remove it and re-erect it as a monument to one whom, as a poet, he revered; and here he could do so at small cost, so far as regarded the monument itself, its subsequent re-erection proving, perhaps, the larger portion of the costs of the undertaking.

It is much to be regretted that the late Dean of Westminster had not his attention drawn to an investigation of the probable site of sepulchre of the poet Chaucer, on which there are, as I have shewn, conflicting opinions. After all, his works are the most fitting memorial of his fame.



## THE DEDICATIONS OF THE CHURCHES OF LINCOLNSHIRE, AS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY.

By the Rev. Precentor VENABLES.

The following paper is an endeavour to classify the dedications of the Lincolnshire churches, and to enquire what light is thrown by them on the history of the county. An investigation of the same nature by Mr. Thomas Kerslake of Bristol with regard to the dedications of the churches of Exeter, read at the annual meeting in that city in 1873, and printed in this *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> has abundantly shewn how fertile of valuable results such researches may prove. Other dissertations of Mr. Kerslake may also be referred to in which the same mine has been skilfully worked for the South-west of England,<sup>2</sup> as well as the very interesting and exhaustive essay of Mr. W. Copeland Borlase, on Cornish dedications, *The Age of the Saints*, which is by far the most important contribution to this province of investigation which has appeared of late years,<sup>3</sup> deserving to be put on a level with the similar work undertaken by the Rev. Rice Reeves for the Saints of the mother and sister Celtic Church of Wales.<sup>4</sup>

The first enquiry which presents itself is whether the dedications of Lincolnshire offer any traces of the Romano-British Church. Any such would possess the greatest interest. But it is by no means surprising that none such exist. Indeed, however probable we may deem it that so important a city, as its architectural remains prove "Lindum Colonia" to have been in Roman times, was the seat of a Christian Church, there is no trustworthy evidence of the fact. The only suggestion of a Christian Church in Lincoln at the period is given by the possibility that the "Colonia Londinensium," which sent one of the three

<sup>1</sup> *The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter*, vol. xxx, pp. 211-215.

<sup>2</sup> *Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia*. Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society, 1872. *The*

*Wiltshire Dorset* [no place or date.]

<sup>3</sup> *The Age of the Saints*, by W. Copeland Borlase, M.A. Truro: Lake & Lake. 1878.

<sup>4</sup> *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, by the Rev. Rice Reeves, M.A., London. 1836.



Romano-British bishops, Adelfius by name, to the Council of Arles A.D. 314, is a misreading for "Colonia Lindensium." This conjecture, though accepted by Gale, Bingham, Routh, Lappenberg and Robertson, has been rejected in favour of "Legionensium," i.e., "the city of Legions," Caerleon on Usk, by such authorities as Haddan and Stubbs, Freeman and Bright, and may therefore be considered at least precarious. Moreover, if any of the existing churches had been survivals from that remote and shadowy period, we could have looked for no proof of their antiquity in their present dedications. For there can be little doubt that the primitive churches were not dedicated at all in the modern sense, i.e., put under the protection of any particular saint as patron.<sup>1</sup> The earliest churches were named after the person who built them, or from the locality in which they stood,<sup>2</sup> or from some marked characteristic of the building, and if they bore the name of a saint or martyr it was because they were erected over his grave, or contained his relics, and thus became, in a sense, his monument. By degrees this rule was relaxed, and the custom was introduced of dedicating churches as memorials of distinguished holy personages.<sup>3</sup> It has been sometimes asserted

<sup>1</sup> See Bingham, *Ecdl. Ant.*, book viii, ch. ix, sect. 8. "Churches [were] always dedicated to God and not to saints, though sometimes distinguished by their names for a memorial of them." "The same place indeed was often a monument or memorial of a martyr, and a temple of God, because churches were commonly built over the sepulchres of the martyrs, or on the places where they suffered, or else the relics of martyrs were translated into them; and hence they were called by the martyr's name because they were memorials of them. The church and the altar that was built at Carthage on the place where St. Cyprian suffered was called *mensa Cypriani*, Cyprian's altar, not because it was built or dedicated to him or his worship (Augustine, *Serm. de Diversis*, lxiii), but because it was a memorial of his martyrdom."

<sup>2</sup> Bingham (*u.s.*, sect. 9) refers to the *Basilica Fausti, Florentii*, and *Leontii* at Carthage, named after their respective builders; the Serapeum of Alexandria, called by the name of Arcadius, who converted it into a church (*Soz. H.E.*, vii, 15); those of the "*Holy Cross*" and

"*Resurrection*" at Jerusalem, erected on the spots traditionally identified with our Lord's Passion and rising again; the "*Anastasia*" at Constantinople, where the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity rose again in the teaching of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and the "*Restituta*" at Carthage, so called because rescued from the hand of the Arians. One of the churches at Alexandria was called "*Cæsareum*," having been formerly a temple of the Cæsars; and one at Antioch, "*Palaca*," because it stood in the old quarter of the city—*παλαιά*. We may refer also to the *Portian* basilica at Milan and the *Lateran* and *Vatican* at Rome as examples of churches retaining the ancient title of the owner or locality.

<sup>3</sup> It is evident from Bede's account of the foundation of Lindisfarne that the church erected by St. Finan, the successor of St. Aidan, for his episcopal see, had no patron saint, and was not in the later sense dedicated at all till Theodore of Tarsus dedicated it "in honour of the blessed Apostle Peter" (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 25). "Qui [Finan] in insula Lindisfarne fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi

that this custom was brought into England by St. Augustine and his Roman missionaries. This, however, is refuted by the fact that St. Augustine in 597 found a church existing at Canterbury dedicated to St. Martin,<sup>1</sup> the great missionary bishop of Tours, who died in 397, and that shortly before this St. Ninian, the apostle of Cumbria, and what is now S.W. Scotland, had dedicated the church he erected at "Candida Casa," the modern Whithern, to the same celebrated prelate.<sup>2</sup>

The religious history of Lincolnshire is an entire blank till the mission of Paulinus, between A.D. 625 and 628. If there had been a Romano-British Church in Lindsey, it had entirely died out, and Paulinus found all the inhabitants heathen when he baptised them by crowds at mid-day in the Trent at the uncouthly named "Tiovulfing-ceaster," a place identified by some with Torksey, by others with Southwell.<sup>3</sup> At Lincoln itself we know, on the authority of Bede,<sup>4</sup> that Paulinus erected a church, in which Honorius was consecrated archbishop; the roofless walls of which were seen by the historian in the following century. This notable event presents us with the earliest church of which we have any knowledge in our county. A

congruam; quam tamen more Scottorum non de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque harundine texit, quam tempore sequenti reventissimus archiepiscopus Theodorus in honore beati apostoli Petri dedicavit." In the same way the monastery built by St. Cedd at Lastingham, "according to the custom of Lindisfarne," "juxta ritus Lindisfarnensium," was destitute of a patron saint until "*in process of time* a church was built of stone in honour of the Blessed Mother of God." (*Ibid.* iii, 23). "Tempore autem procedente in eodem monasterio ecclesia est in honorem beatæ Dei genetricis de lapide facta."

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, lib. i, c. 26. "Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent in qua regina . . . orare consueverat."

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, lib. iii, c. 4. "Cujus [Nynike] sedem episcopalem Sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit jam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. Qui locus . . . vulgo vocatur ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi

ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more, fecerit."

<sup>3</sup> The name means the "chester" or fortified city of the Tiovalfings or descendants of Tiovulf. Tiovulf is equivalent to Tiw the Saxon Mars, just as Beowulf is equivalent to Beow. Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons*, i, 416. "As Tiov=Tyr, perhaps it is now Torksey at the junction of the Foss-Dyke and the Trent." Rev. G. H. Moberly, Note on Bede, *H. E.*, lib. ii, c. 16. The place was the Roman "Ad Pontem." Dr. Bright, on the other hand, says "it is usually identified with Southwell" (which, however, does not stand on the Trent), "where the minster of St. Mary has always claimed Paulinus as its founder." *Early English Church History*, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, lib. ii, c. 16, "in qua videlicet civitate [Lindocolina] et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide [Paulinus] fecit, ejus tecto vel longa incuria vel hostili manu dejecto parietes hactenus stare videntur et omnibus annis aliqua sanitatum miracula in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum qui fideliter quaerunt ostendi. In qua ecclesia Paulinus, transseunte ad Christum Justo, Honorium pro eo consecravit episcopum."

church which, we have good grounds for asserting, has ever since retained the same site and has been known by the same name under a familiar abbreviation, and which may therefore be safely regarded as the most ancient locality dedicated to Christian worship in Lincolnshire, the church of St. Paul's in the Bail.

An objection has been raised to identifying this church with that built by Paulinus from the acknowledged improbability that he would have dedicated a church to himself. The answer to this is, that this is an example of what Professor Stubbs terms "*proprietary dedications*," of which the examples are so abundant in Wales and Cornwall. By this is understood the calling a church by the name of the holy person who built it, and in connection with whom it first obtained local celebrity. Professor Rice Rees in his admirable essay on "*Welsh Saints*," lays down the principle that "the churches which from their endowments are shown to be the most ancient have no other patron saints than the persons alleged to have been their founders."<sup>1</sup> The learned author unhesitatingly accepts the "popular opinion" that "many of the churches in Wales were founded by certain holy persons or saints, whose names they retain, as if Llangadog and Llandeilo, or the churches of Cadog or Teilo were not so called in consequence of any formal dedication, but named after their founders."<sup>2</sup> Again, speaking of St. Cedd's residence at Lastingham and his foundation of a monastery there without any special dedication, "if the consecration of a place depended upon the residence of a person of presumed sanctity, who for a generation should perform certain religious exercises upon the spot, it will at once appear how the primitive Christians of Wales

<sup>1</sup> Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, pp. 54, 59. "It would naturally follow that the church should be called after the name of the person thus dwelling on the spot, and in this sense and no other 'the true' founder is to be understood. The place was called after him as a house is often called by the name of its builder"—*ibid.* p. xiii. "In order to understand," writes Mr. Borlase, "how our Cornish churches came to bear the names of Saints at all, I may here add a notice of the usage which the British Church retained from early times in contradistinc-

tion to the formal system of dedication set up in the churches of the Continent during the period of its isolation. It was customary that when any holy man, were he Bishop or Priest, wished to found a church or a monastery, he should come himself to the spot on which the future edifice was to be raised, and there continue forty days in the exercise of prayer and fasting. . . . This done, the ceremony was completed, and all that was required by way of consecration was effected." Borlase, *Age of the Saints*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

were at first the founders and afterwards, in default of the usual mode of dedication, were considered to be the Saints of the churches that bear their name.”<sup>1</sup>

As in modern days we have had “Rowland Hill’s Chapel” and “Whitefield’s” and “Spurgeon’s Tabernacle,” so the people of Lincoln in the eighth century would naturally call the new building “Paulinus’ Church.” When Paulinus had been canonized and took rank as a saint of the Church, the rule of placing every religious edifice under the patronage of a special saint having in the mean time obtained universal currency, it was taken for granted that the church known by his name was, in the modern sense, dedicated to him. The docking Paulinus of the two last syllables of his name is not without example. Any dedication to St. Paul is one of the very rarest in England ; that to St. Peter and St. Paul combined occurs constantly,—we have as many 23 in Lincolnshire,—but St. Paul alone very seldom. St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, St. Paul’s Bedford, Malmesbury Abbey Church, Wooburn in Bucks, and two or three others are all that can be quoted. Of the few there are, in several Paul is really an abbreviation of Paulinus. It is so in St. Paul’s Cray in Kent and the adjacent village of Crayford. The dedications to St. Paul in Devonshire and Cornwall are, as a rule, to the Breton Bishop, “St. Pol de Leon,” as those in Wales are to the preceptor of St. David, “Pawl Hen,” “Paulinus Vetus,” Paul the Aged.<sup>2</sup>

The dedications to the very obscure saint, Hybald, must doubtless be referred to the same class of proprietary dedications. All we know of Hybald, or Hygbald, as his name may more properly be written, is learnt from Bede,<sup>3</sup> viz., that he was an abbot somewhere in Lindsey, (Dr. Stubbs thinks at Bardney,) “vir sanctissimus et contentissimus,” who had heard the great missionary Egbert relate St. Chad’s vision of the ascent to heaven of his brother Cedd’s soul. We also know that he was the preceptor of St. Swidbert. Either before he became abbot, or after retiring from his post for the sake of a more austere and contemplative life, we may conceive of him as living in a cell and erecting a small wattled

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Rees’ Welsh Saints*, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *H.E.*, iv, 3.



chapel, first at Hibaldstow—*i.e.*, the “stow,” or place, of Hibald—and then at outlying mission stations at the adjacent villages of Manton and Scawby, at both which, as well as Hibaldstow itself, the church is dedicated to him. The fourth dedication to him at Ashby de la Launde I am unable to account for.

The same law is exemplified at Crowland. The cell and chapel, originally erected there by St. Guthlac, were naturally known by his name; in the same way as that built by his sister Pega was called “Pega’s kirk,” or Peakirk. The monastery of Crowland was first formally dedicated to St. Guthlac as a mark of gratitude on the endowment of the abbey by Æthelbald, the powerful king of Mercia, 716-755, who had met with much kindness from the holy anchorite during his exile, and had heard from his lips the prophecy of his future royal dignity. Three other churches in the county bear the name of St. Guthlac, *viz.*, Fishtoft, Market Deeping, and Little Ponton. Of these the first was given to Crowland in 1114 by Alan de Croun, the founder of Frieston Priory, a cell to that house, as part of the endowment of his new foundation, and exchanged its original dedication, whatever that may have been, (a church is mentioned in Domesday) for the patron saint of the great abbey to which it had become attached. The manor of Market Deeping also belonged to the Crowland Abbey. The connection of St. Guthlac with Little Ponton I have not yet been able to discover.

Before we pass from Crowland, I would call attention to the full dedication of the abbey—*viz.*, St. Mary, St. Bartholomew, and St. Guthlac—as an example of the “compound” or “stratified” class, where catholic and non-national dedications have been accumulated on the primitive local saint. “In most cases,” writes Mr. Kerslake,<sup>1</sup> “the local name has yielded entirely to the pressure and disappeared altogether; drowned out by the more catholic or hierarchical system. In some cases, however, the older name was tolerated, but in a subordinate place, either as a politic concession to the veneration of the neighbours, whose offerings were still worth having, or some of whose contracts stipulated a payment

<sup>1</sup> *Wdsh in Dorset*, p. 10.



before the altar or shrine of the local patron." Bardney Abbey affords another example of this "stratification." It was one of the earliest monastic foundations, if not the very earliest, in Lindsey. The monks told Leland they knew not who their founder was. On the translation of the bones of St. Oswald, the holy young king of Northumbria, by his niece Ostryth, the Queen of Ethelred, at the close of the seventh century, the house was placed under the invocation of the royal saint. On its refoundation by Gilbert of Gaunt shortly after the Conquest the names of the two chief apostles were prefixed to that of its original patron, and it became the house of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Oswald. The examples of St. Peter and St. Etheldreda at Ely, of St. Peter and St. Wilfrid at Ripon, of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Augustine at Canterbury, of St. Andrew and St. David at the Cathedral of St. David's, of St. Teilo and St. Peter at Llandaff, show the same principle at work, burying the original founder, of merely local celebrity, beneath accumulated dedications to Catholic saints.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to look over the catalogue of Lincolnshire dedications without being struck with the prevalence of that to St. Michael. It is found no fewer than twenty-six times. This, which is usually an abbreviated form of St. Michael and All Angels, was one of the earliest dedications, and is regarded by Mr. Kerslake as a survival of Celtic Christianity, having been allowed to pass on, unadded to and unaltered, in virtue of its Catholic character. In Wales, where the most distinct traces of Celtic or pre-Anglian Christianity exist, the dedication to St. Michael, though not absolutely the most ancient, was by far the widest in primitive times. At present that to St. Mary is in excess in the Principality. But these churches are mostly found in the English or Flemish districts and in the churches of later foundation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 70, gives a large number of similar instances from the Principality, viz., Llanveuno, St. Peter and St. Beuno; Llansilloe, St. Peter and St. Tysillio; Llangathen, St. Michael and All Angels and St. Cathen; Llangwynyw, All Saints and St. Cwynyw; Llanegryn, St. Mary and St. Egryn; Llanbieddian, St. John Baptist and St.

Bleiddian; Kilpeck, St. Mary and St. David.

<sup>2</sup> Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, pp. 36-43. "These churches, unlike those dedicated to St. Mary, do not cover the English districts, but are dispersed over the country with greater regularity. They are so far characteristic of the Principality, that the proportion they bear to

The prevalence of this dedication in so flat a county as Lincolnshire is remarkable. The examples of St. Michael's on the Mount, Lincoln, Waddington, Cammeringham, Glentworth, Haydor, and the like, seem to show that even here it generally affected the highest ground attainable. One of the two churches at Binbrook—now, I believe, in ruins—offers one of the five dedications to the brother archangel, St. Gabriel, found in the whole of England, viz., in Devonshire, 2; Dorsetshire, 1; London, 1; and Lincolnshire, 1.

Perhaps the most prevalent of the earliest dedications is that to St. Martin. We have already noticed that the two undoubted instances of churches dedicated to a saint before the arrival of St. Augustine bore his name. As a rule it will be found that in any town the church dedicated to St. Martin is almost if not quite the oldest in the place. It is so, as we have seen, at Canterbury, and there are not wanting those who urge the same claim for the church of St. Martin at Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of a silver coin struck at Lincoln early in the tenth century, bearing the name of St. Martin with that of the city itself, similar to those stamped with St. Peter's name coined at York, proves the existence of a connection between the saint and the city, which led the late Mr. Hawkins to regard St. Martin as the patron saint of Lincoln, to whom the first church erected there was dedicated. However this may have been, the very early date of the dedications to St. Martin is unquestionable, as well as their wide but very unequal dispersion through England; Lincolnshire, with Norfolk, standing second in frequency. Kent contains the

other churches is twice as great as that of those dedicated to St. Michael in England. This national distinction would show that they were mostly founded by the native princes, and their more general dispersion would indicate that they belonged to an era prior to the occupation of parts of Wales by foreigners." *Ibid.*, p. 40. "The churches which, from their endowments are shown to be the most ancient, have no other patron saint than the persons alleged to be their founders; the next in point of antiquity are called after St. Michael the Archangel . . . Afterwards follow those dedicated to the Apostles and other saints." *Ibid.*

p. 59. It is interesting to notice the different proportion of these dedications in Cornwall, "unconquered stubborn Cornwall." Mr. Borlase says, "Out of a list of 210 Cornish churches (22 of which bear uncertain and modern names) I find 9 dedications to St. Mary, 5 to St. Michael, 22 to well-known calendar saints, 28 to obscure saints, most of them of foreign origin, contained in early Celtic lists, while no less than 117 retain their native British name." *Age of the Saints*, p. 65.

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins, *The Ancient Mint at Lincoln*. Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute 1848, p. 54.

largest number, viz., 27; Lincolnshire and Norfolk, 14 each; Middlesex, 8; Suffolk, 7; Essex, 4.

The honour paid to St. Martin is easily intelligible, when we bear in mind the close connection in early times between the Church, "one might say the Mother Church" in Gaul,<sup>1</sup> in which St. Martin was deservedly regarded with grateful reverence, as, with St. Hilary, the greatest doctor and the most successful propagator of the faith she had produced.

If the churches of St. Martin have a reasonable claim to a pre-Saxon origin, the same claim may be urged with even less question for those of St. Germanus. There are three such dedications in our own county, those at Ranby, Scothern, and Thurlby. The apostolic activity of St. Germanus in bringing back the British Church from the errors of Pelagianism to the orthodox faith, for which purpose it will be remembered he, then Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes were sent over in 426 by a synod of the Gallic Church, as well as the grand tale of the "Alleluia Victory" over the heathen Picts and Saxons, near Mold in Flintshire, caused his name to be long celebrated among the people he had instructed, and to spread from them to the most distant parts of the island. St. German, however, failed to take any deep root on the reverence of the English Church, and we may safely regard all churches dedicated to him as belonging to the very earliest era.<sup>2</sup>

Passing downward in the history of the county, Lindsey, being a border land between the two kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria, was, like Palestine between Egypt and Assyria, the frequent battlefield of the two powers,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bright, speaking of the Pelagian heresy, writes "Britain it seems had no divines competent to resist it, and an appeal was therefore made to the Church, one might say the Mother Church, in Gaul, the Church of Hilary and of Martin, which was well able and ready to assist out of its abundance the theological poverty of Britain," by sending over Germanus and Lupus." *Early English Church History*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> "Several churches in Wales bear the name of Garmon" (as St. Germanus is called in Welsh) "but, as he visited this country twice, only one of them can be distinctly referred to his first mission, viz., Llanarmon in Denbighshire. It is singular that the parish attached to

it adjoins that of Mold, in which the "Alleluia Victory" is said to have been gained; and if Archbishop Usher has correctly determined the locality of the engagement—Maesgarmon, the field of Germanus—the church in question is possibly situated on the spot where Germanus is described to have raised a sacred edifice, formed of the branches of trees interwoven together, in which he and his followers celebrated the services of Easter and baptized the greater part of the army of the Britons, before they proceeded to meet their enemies." *Rees' u. s.*, p. 125. It deserves remark that St. Lupus, the companion of St. Germanus in his mission to Britain, appears to be uncommemorated by dedications.

and was sometimes included within the limits of one kingdom, sometimes of the other. It was Northumbrian when we first hear of it under Edwyn and Oswald, A.D. 633, was conquered by Penda of Mercia, A.D. 642, was regained to Northumbria by Oswy in A.D. 655, reconquered by the Mercian Wulfhere, again recovered by Egfrid, and finally reconquered by Ethelred in 679. We should, therefore, be prepared to expect a mixture of Northumbrian and Mercian ecclesiastical traditions, with a preponderance in favour of the former, as the earlier and more permanent influence. And this is just what we find. The Northumbrian dedications far exceed the Mercian, especially in the north of the county. It is of course impossible to assert that such dedications belong certainly to Northumbrian or Mercian times. Some of them may be later. But they indicate Northumbrian or Mercian influences, and thus throw a light on the history of the county.

Another link with Northumbria is furnished by St. Athelwold, or Ethelwald, commemorated at Alvingham, whom we may safely identify with the companion of St. Cuthbert in the monastery of Ripon, who afterwards succeeded him in his hermitage and oratory on the Farne Islands, where he died after a twelve years' sojourn about A.D. 699, and was buried at Lindisfarne. Ethelwald is commemorated on the 23rd of March.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most interesting of these Northumbrian dedications is that to St. Pancras, of which we have examples at Wroot in the Isle of Axholme, and in a now destroyed church in Lincoln.<sup>2</sup> This is a much rarer dedication in Eastern England than we should be prepared to anticipate from our familiarity with the great London parish of that name. In the western counties dedications to St. Pancras are more frequent, and probably commemorate the earlier saint of that name, said to have been sent as a missionary bishop into Sicily by St. Peter, and to have been martyred at Taormina. But this island has received two distinct inoculations of this

<sup>1</sup> His name appears in a Latinised form as Aediluualdus, or Oidiluualdus. Bede describes the preservation by his prayers of two brothers of Lindisfarne who had come to visit him, when sur-

prised by a storm on their homeward voyage. (Bede, *H.E.*, v, 1. *Vita S. Cuthb.*, cxlvi).

<sup>2</sup> Recorded in Exton's *Thesaurus* as "destructa."



name,<sup>1</sup> and our St. Pancras is certainly the Phrygian boy martyred at Rome in the time of Diocletian, brought into England by St. Augustine, who rededicated in his honour the ancient British church at Canterbury, which had been profaned by heathen worship, and from which, as we shall all remember—for have not some of us seen the marks of his claws on its stones?—the evil spirit was dislodged with so much reluctance. The connection of the county of Lincoln with this youthful martyr is interesting. Among the relics sent by Pope Vitalian to Oswy, king of Northumbria, A.D. 667—his letter is to be found in Bede<sup>2</sup>—were those of this sainted boy. The Isle of Axholme then certainly formed part of Oswy's kingdom, and we may not be far wrong in believing that the church of Wroot was built by him to receive the sacred deposit. At the same time relics of the Roman deacon St. Lawrence were sent to Oswy. There are fourteen churches dedicated to this saint in our county, of which Frodingham near the Northumbrian border and others may retain the memory of this sacred gift.

Lincolnshire is fertile in St. Helens, which are chiefly confined to one district. Of the thirty churches dedicated to the Christian empress, nearly all lie on the eastern side of the Wolds, in Lindsey proper (Boultham and Brant Broughton are exceptions) from Brigsley near Grimsby to Leverton in Holland. They are especially frequent about Louth and Alford. The reason is not far to seek. Mr. Kerslake's words on this subject deserve quotation:—"The reputed British-Roman nativity of St. Helen in Deira"—she was more probably the daughter of a tavern-keeper in Bithynia—"appears to have given her name a prevalence in the provinces with which the Anglian successors of the Northern Britons were infected. And they accepted and improved the legacy. But the remains of this acceptance of a local aspect of religion are the most conspicuous in Deira"—in Yorkshire we find twenty-two—"and in Lindisse or Southumbria, a constituent of that kingdom, thirty." The Northumbrian influence spread with enfeebled force into Mercia, as that of

<sup>1</sup> Kerslake, *Welsh in Dorset*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.*, iii, 29.



Mercia did into Lindsey, and we find "a pretty free but reduced scattering" of St. Helens in other counties. Notts has ten, Derbyshire five, Northants six, Leicestershire five.<sup>1</sup> It is a striking fact that of the whole number in England, about ninety-six, nearly a third are found in our own county. We know far too little of the early history of Christianity and of the origin of the parochial system in England to form any trustworthy conclusion as to the date of these dedications. But they are probably very early.

The beauty of the character of the youthful king of Northumbria, St. Oswald,—killed, as we shall remember, in the great battle of Maserfield, near Oswestry, against Penda, the stubborn old pagan king of Mercia, August 5, 642,—his death as a champion of the faith, praying for his soldiers, and the belief in the power of his intercessions in the heavenly kingdom, combined to render him a very popular saint in Northumbria and its adjacent provinces. Lincolnshire furnishes seven dedications, of which, as we should have anticipated, nearly half, viz., Althorpe, Crowle and Luddington, are in the Isle of Axholme. The others are Blankney, Strubby in the Marsh, between Alford and Louth, Rand near Wragby, and Howell. No doubt each of these churches has its own story to tell, if we could make its stones vocal.

To speak of another great Northumbrian name, St. Wilfrid of York. The memory of this great, busy, ubiquitous prelate is preserved in the diocese—the erection of which as a separate see under Eadhed Bishop of Lindsey by Archbishop Theodore was one of the wrongs against which he appealed to the Papal See—in four churches, scattered over its wide area, viz., Alford, Honington, Metherringham, and Thornton. I can trace no connection between these places and Wilfrid. In these, as in other examples, which probably form the majority of later dedications, we may not be wrong in believing that the selection of the patron saint was left to the founder, who chose the one for whom he had a special veneration.

Of St. Cuthbert, called by Dr. Bright "the typical saint of Northumbria,"<sup>2</sup> Lincolnshire furnishes only two

<sup>1</sup> Kerslake, *Supremacy of Mercia*, p. 54. <sup>2</sup> Bright, *Early English Church History*, p. 264.

memorials, Brattleby and a destroyed church in Lincoln. Frequent as his churches are in Northern England—"forty-three can be named between Humber and Mersey, and Tweed and Solway"<sup>1</sup>—they are very thinly scattered over the midland and western counties (there is a familiar instance in the city of Wells), and in the south-eastern they are not found at all. The inference is that his influence was a purely local one.

The one dedication, at Blyborough, to the youthful martyr, Alkmund, is probably rather of Mercian than Northumbrian origin. He is said to have been the son of Alcred King of Northumbria; but his celebrity lies chiefly in Mercia, and is due to Ethelfleda, the famous Lady of the Mercians, the warlike daughter of King Alfred, who, "Amazon though she be reputed, confessed her womanhood by her *cultus* of the child martyr at her towns of Derby and Shrewsbury," which were placed by her under that patronage.

The dedications to St. Chad exhibit the same mixed Northumbrian and Mercian influence. A native of Northumbria, selected by Theodore for the vast Mercian diocese then including Lindsey, establishing his see at Lichfield, and building a monastery on land given him by Wulfhere of Mercia at a place called by Bede *Ad Baruæ*,<sup>2</sup> probably to be identified with Barrow on Humber, he unites the traditions of the two kingdoms in his own person. He is not, however, commemorated at Barrow or its neighbourhood, his three churches being at Dunholme, Harpswell, and Welbourne.

The church of St. Etheldreda at West Halton in a similar way combines Northumbrian and East Anglian traditions. The daughter of Anna the devout monarch of East Anglia, the reluctant wife, first of Tonbert, chief of the Southern Gyrviens of Cambridgeshire and then still more reluctantly of Egfrid of Northumbria, the foundress of the Abbey of Ely, her memory belongs to both kingdoms.

The seven churches dedicated to St. Edith, the daughter of Edgar and abbess of Wilton, 970, nearly all of which are found in the marsh land between Alford and Louth, and the five dedicated to St. Swithin, furnish the only distinct connection with Wessex.

<sup>1</sup> Kerslake, *Supremacy of Mercia*, p. 20.    <sup>2</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, lib. iv, c. 3.

St. Olave at Ruckland is, singularly enough, the only distinctly Danish dedication in the county which, in its local nomenclature, presents so many evidences of Danish occupation.

The six St. Botolphs—the chief of which is the glorious church of the town which, transplanted by the Pilgrim Fathers, has carried his name to the other side of the Atlantic,—connect our county both with Lower Germany, where St. Botolph and his brother Adulf, though English by birth, had been instructed in the faith, and had become monks, and with East Anglia, where he obtained special celebrity. It is noticeable that the churches dedicated to this saint, as a rule, stand at a gate. In London we have a St. Botolph at Billingsgate, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and Aldgate. At Cambridge his church stands at Trumpington Gate, and in Lincoln at South Bargate. St. Botolph's Priory at Colchester has a like situation. I have vainly sought for an explanation of this, and shall be thankful if one can be suggested.

The churches of St. Wulfram, the patron saint of Sens, at Grantham ; of St. Vedast, the patron of Arras, at Tathwell ; of St. Leodgar, or Leger, patron of Autun, at Wyberton ; of St. Medard, patron of Rouen and of Noyon, at Little Bytham ; of St. Radegund, wife of Clothair, who deserted her husband for a religious life under St. Medard's influence, at Grayingham ; of St. Julian, the apostle of Le Mans and Celtic Gaul, at Benniworth ; and of St. Vincent, the Spanish deacon, at Burton by Lincoln and at Caythorpe, present severally historical problems which it would be interesting to pursue, and, if possible, solve. They may have come in with Fleming and Norman proprietors, or through appropriations to foreign monasteries, or they may have been named from the day on which the churches were respectively consecrated. Local investigations can alone furnish a satisfactory explanation.

The groups of identical dedications scattered over the county cannot fail to arrest attention. I have spoken of the St. Helens and the St. Ediths. The group of St. Denises in the neighbourhood of Sleaford and Folk-ingham is equally remarkable, and the St. Andrews in the same district even more so. For such groups it is

not easy to give any absolutely satisfactory explanation. The most probable is that the present dedication takes the place of an older one to a comparatively obscure saint, and was given at the time of the consecration of the high altar after the renovation of the church and the extension of the chancel, the new dedication commemorating the saint under whose patronage the consecrating bishop had placed himself.

It is worthy of notice how very few saints canonized since the tenth century are commemorated in our churches. In this our county only follows the general rule. We have no St. Francis, St. Dominic, or St. Clara. Even St. Benedict is rare—we have five, and the question has been raised whether the dedication is to St. Benedict of Nursia or to our native St. Benedict Biscop, that worthy rival of the great patriarch of the monks of the West, whose robe and name he wore. The former, however, is more probable. Of certainly post-Conquest dedications, we have six, or, including the destroyed chapel on the Highbridge at Lincoln, seven dedications to St. Thomas of Canterbury in Lincolnshire. If any of these churches were of earlier date, this must have replaced the older dedication. This process of change was continually going on, a more popular saint replacing one who had gone out of general favour. Professor Stubbs writes, “the Catholic dedications after the Reformation replaced in many cases the old historic saints. There were doubtless changes of dedication before, but *that*, I think, was *the* period of change.”<sup>1</sup>

Taking a general conspectus of the Lincolnshire dedications, we find that to All Saints most frequent, 95 ; St. Andrew, 68 ; St. Peter, 64 ; St. Mary the Virgin, 59 ; we then drop to St. Margaret, 31 ; St. Nicholas, 29 ; St. Michael, 28 ; St. Helen, 28 ; St. John the Baptist, 25 ; St. Peter and St. Paul, 23 ; St. James, 19 ; St. Martin, 16 ; St. Lawrence, 15 ; Holy Trinity, usually a post-Reformation dedication, 14. It would be tedious to pursue the enumeration any further. The lists appended give full particulars.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Borlase considers that these changes of dedication in Cornwall “from Keltic Saints to important Saints in the Roman calendar date from the thirteenth

or fourteenth centuries, on occasions when a bishop was consecrating the high altar of a newly renovated church, as was the case at Fowey.” *Age of the Saints*, 67.



It is a singular fact that dedications in honour of some of the Apostles and Evangelists should be so rare—those very dedications which are in these modern times so common. St. John the Evangelist was far less honoured than his namesake the Baptist—four churches against nineteen. Four churches are dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle, as many to St. Bartholomew; three to St. Stephen; St. Philip, St. Mark and St. Luke one apiece.

Unique dedications, hardly to be found elsewhere in England, are St. Cornelius, probably the Pope of that name, at Linwood, St. Genewys at Scotton,<sup>1</sup> St. Ethelwald at Alvingham, and the Flemish St. Bavon in a destroyed church of the city of Lincoln. Another destroyed Lincoln church, St. Rumbold, has a counterpart at Colchester and elsewhere.

I cannot bring this paper to an end without feeling how far it has been from fulfilling the promise of its title. Except in one or two instances, I have rather indicated how our dedications may be used to illustrate local history, than illustrated it. May I hope that what has been written may incite some younger and better instructed archæologists to pursue the investigation, and thus it will not have been altogether in vain. The most promising field of investigation is that furnished by mediæval wills; the testator, in the majority of cases, mentioning not only the church in or by which he desired to be buried, but also its dedication. A careful examination of the wills belonging to the registries of the Archdeaconries of Stow and Lincoln, would probably supply most of the lost dedications, and also enable us to correct many erroneous ones.<sup>2</sup> The research may be tedious and toilsome, but the reward will be certain. "Nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus."

<sup>1</sup> Is this another form of Genoveva, the St. Genevieve of Paris, or of Gwynws, the brother of Gwynau, members of the nearly innumerable sainted progeny of Brychan, commemorated December 13? St. Gwynws is the patron saint of Lanwnys, Cardiganshire, and may be deemed its founder. Rees, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> I need only refer to the paper by Canon Raine, on "The Dedications of

the Yorkshire Churches," in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, to shew how profitably this mine may be worked. Testamentary evidence kindly supplied by Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., has proved that the true dedication of the Church of Kirton in Lindsey is not SS. Peter and Paul, as given in Exton and Bacon, but S. Andrew.



## List of DEDICATIONS OF CHURCHES in the County of Lincoln.

The Churches marked *d* are destroyed.

<i>S. Alkmund</i>	Norton Disney	Fulletby
Blyborough	Orby	Hacconby
<i>All Saints</i>	Oxcomb	Hagnaby
Aby	Pillham	Hagnaby cum Hannah
Ashby, West	Rasen, West	Halton Holgate
Barrowby	Ruskington	Heckington
Barkwith, West	Saltfleetby All Saints	Helpringham
Beckingham	Saxby	Horbling
Bennington, by Boston	Scarle, North	Immingham
Bennington, Long	Sixhills	Ingoldsby
Bigby	Snelland	Irby upon Humber
Bracebridge	Stamford	Irnham
Branston	Stapleford	Kelby
Brauncewell	Steeping, Great	Kirkby cum Osgodby
Brocklesby	Stroxtun	Kirton in Lindsey
Broxholme	Sturton, Great	Leasingham South
Cadney	Swinderby	Lincoln, 3. ( <i>d.</i> )
Canwick	Tealby	Miningsby
Coleby	Theddlethorpe	Minting
Croft	Thorganby	Panton
Croby	Thornton le Moor	Pickworth
Dunsby	Thorpe on the Hill	Potterhanworth
Eagle	Toynnton All Saints	Redburn
Elkington, South	Ulceby	Rippingale
Elsham or Ailesham	Upton	Sausthorpe
Faldingworth	Walesby	Scot Willoughby
Fenton	Waltham	Scredington
Flixborough	Wainfleet All Saints	Sempringham
Fosdyke	Westborough	Stainton le Vale
Friskney	Wellingore	Stamford. ( <i>d.</i> )
Gainsborough	Wilksby	Steeping, Little
Gautby	Winteringham	Stewton
Goulceby	Winterton	Stone, North
Goxhill	Wragby	Thoresby, South
Grasby	Wyham cum Cadeby	Timberland
Greetham	<i>S. Andrew</i>	Utterby
Greetwell	Anderby	Welton
Hammeringham	Apley. ( <i>d.</i> )	Willoughton
Haugham	Asgarby	Witham on the Hill
Hanworth, Cold	Ashby Puerorum	Wootton
Harmston	Beelsby	<i>S. Athelwald</i>
Heapham	Beesby in the Marsh	See S. Ethelwald
Hemswell	Billingborough	<i>S. Anne</i>
Holbeach	Bonby	Lincoln Thorngate. ( <i>d.</i> )
Holton	Boothby	<i>S. Austin</i>
Holton Beckering	Boothby Graffoe	Lincoln. ( <i>d.</i> )
Horsington	Boothby Pagnell	<i>S. Bartholomew</i>
Hough on the Hill	Burton Penwardine	Appleby
Hougham	Burton upon Stather	Covenham
Hykeham, North	Butterwick	Culverthorpe
Ingham	Calceby. ( <i>d.</i> )	Keelby
Irby in the Marsh	Claxby	Lincoln. ( <i>d.</i> )
Kyline, South	Claxby Pluckacre	Risby
Langton	Crawell	Welby
Legbourne	Denton	<i>S. Baron</i>
Lincoln, 2. ( <i>d.</i> )	Donnington upon Bain	Lincoln. ( <i>d.</i> )
Maltby le Marsh	Dowsby	<i>S. Benedict</i>
Marcham on the Hill	Epworth	Candleby
Moorby	Ewerby	Halham upon Bain
Moulton	Falkingham	Lincoln
Nettleham	Farlthorpe	Scrivelsby
Newton in the Wolds	Fillingham	Wood Enderby

*S. Botolph*  
Boston  
Lincoln  
Newton  
Quarrington  
Saxilby  
Skidbrook cum Saltfleet

*S. Chad*  
Dunholm  
Harpwell  
Welbourn

*S. Clement*  
Fiskerton  
Grainthorpe  
Lincoln, 2. (*d.*)  
Rowston or Roulston  
Saltfleetby  
Skegness  
Stamford. (*d.*)  
Sutton in the Marsh  
Worlaby

*S. Cornelius*  
Linwood

*Holy Cross*  
Carlton Castle  
Kirby Green  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Ponton, Great  
Scopwick

*S. Cuthbert*  
Brattleby  
Lincoln. (*d.*)

*S. Denis*  
Aswarby  
Killingham, North  
Kirkby Laythorpe  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Silk Willoughby  
Sleaford

*S. Edith*  
Anwick  
Carlton, Little  
Coates  
Grimoldby  
Grimsby, Little  
Reston, North  
" South

*S. Edmund*  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Riby  
Sutton, St. Edmund  
Spital Chapel

*S. Edward*  
Barlings  
Lincoln, 2. (*d.*)  
Sudbrooke

*S. Eltheldreda*  
West Halton

*S. Ethelwald*  
Alvingham

*S. Faith*  
Calceethorpe  
Kelstern  
Lincoln. (*d.*)

*S. Firman*  
Thurlby

*S. Gabriel*  
Binbrook

*S. Gencwys*  
Scotton

*S. German*  
Ranby  
Scothern  
Thurlby

*S. George*  
Bradley  
Gayton le Marsh  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Stamford

*S. S. George and Lawrence*  
Springthorpe

*S. Giles*  
Langton by Wragby  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Seartho  
Sleaford, Old

*S. Gregory*  
Lincoln. (*d.*)

*S. Guthlac*  
Crowland  
Deeping, Market  
Fishtoft  
Ponton, Little

*S. Helen*  
Ashby by Partney  
Aswardby  
Barnoldby le Beck  
Biscathorpe  
Boultham  
Brant Broughton  
Brigsley  
Burgh upon Bain  
Burton, Gate  
Cawthorpe, Little  
Cumberworth  
Edlington, North  
Elkington  
Keal, East  
" West  
Kirmington  
Lea  
Leverton

Ludford Magna  
Mareham le Fen  
Ormsby, North  
Saxby  
Stickford  
Swinthorpe  
Theddlethorpe  
Thoresby, North  
Willingham by Stow  
Willoughby near Alford

*S. Hilald*  
Ashby de la Launde  
Hibaldstow  
Manton  
Scawby

*S. Hilary and S. Albinus*  
Spridlington

*Holy Innocents*  
Lincoln. (*d.*)

*S. James*  
Allington, East  
Aslackby  
Bolington  
Bytham, Castle  
Deeping, S. James  
Dorrington  
Dry, Doddington  
Firsby, East  
Firsby in Aslackhoe  
Frieston  
Grimsby  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Louth

Rauceby, South  
Rigsby cum Ailby  
Skillington  
Spilsby  
Sutton, S. James  
Woolsthorpe by Gran-

*S. John the Baptist* [tham  
Alkborough  
Baston  
Belean  
Carlton, Great  
Colsterworth  
Hale, Great  
Leasingham  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Lissington  
Londonthorpe  
Morton  
Nettleton  
Northorpe  
Scampton  
Stainton by Langworth  
Stamford  
Stiver cum Mablethorpe  
Stow cum Barholm  
Sutterby  
Toynton, High  
Washingborough  
Whaplode, Drove  
Whitton  
Witham, South  
Yarburgh

*S. John the Evangelist*  
Corby  
Croxtan  
Lincoln, 3. (*d.*)  
Washingborough

*S. Julian*  
Benniworth

*S. Lawrence*  
Aylesby  
Bardney  
Corringham  
Fulstow  
Frodingham  
Hallington  
Lincoln. (*d.*)  
Revesby  
Sedgebrook

Skellingthorpe	Willingham, South	Swarby
Snarford	Withcall	<i>SSS. Mary, Bartholomew and Guthlac</i>
Surfleet	<i>S. Mark</i>	Crowland late Abbey Church
Tallington	Lincoln	<i>SS. Mary and Holy Rood</i>
Thornton Curtis	<i>S. Mary</i>	Donnington
Wickenby	Barkworth, East	<i>SS. Mary and Nicholas</i>
<i>S. Leodegar</i>	Barnetby-le-Wold	Kelsy, South
Wyberton	Barton upon Humber	Spalding
<i>S. Leonard</i>	Binbrook	<i>SS. Mary and Peter</i>
Chapel Mumby	Bloxholm	Harlaxton
Cockerington, South	Brigg	Waddingham
Haugh	Broughton	<i>S. Mary Magdalen</i>
Lincoln. ( <i>d.</i> )	Butterwick, West	Bitchfield
Ormsby, South	Carlton-le-Moorland	Fleet
Stamford	Claxby	Gedney
<i>S. Lucia</i>	Cockerington, North	Lincoln
Dembleby	Covenham	Rothwell
<i>S. Luke</i>	Cowbit	Somerby
Stickney	East Ferry	<i>S. Maurice</i>
<i>S. Margaret</i>	Evedon	Horkstow
Authorpe	Fotherby	<i>S. Medardus</i>
Bucknall	Frampton	Bytham, Little
Braceborough	Hainton	<i>S. Michael</i>
Braceby	Harrington	Bassingham
Enderby, Bag	Hatcliffe	Billingham
Habrough	Hogsthorpe	Burwell
Hawerby cum Beesby	Horncastle	Cammeringham
Henningby	Hundleby	Coates, Little
Huttoft	Kirkby upon Bain	Coningsby
Keddington	Leake	Deeping, West
Ketesby	Lincoln, Cathedral	Driby
Laceby	Lincoln, 2. ( <i>1 d.</i> )	Edenham
Langton by Horncastle	Long Sutton	Glentworth
Lincoln, 2. ( <i>1 d.</i> )	Ludborough	Hackthorn
Martin	Mablethorpe	Haydor
Quadring	Manby	Hykeham, South
Roughton	Marsh Chapel	Langtoft
Saleby cum Thoresthorpe	Marston	Lincoln, 2. ( <i>1 d.</i> )
Salmondbay	Pinchbeck	Martin
Sibsey	Riseholme	Mavis Enderby
Somerby	Roxby cum Risby	Newton by Tost
Somersby	Somercoates, South	Scafield. ( <i>d.</i> )
Thimbleby	Stamford	Stamford, 2
Usselby	Stoke, South	Stainton, Market
Waddingworth	Stow	Stragglethorpe
Well	Sutterton	Swaton
Winceby	Swineshead	Torrington, East
Wispington	Swinstead	Uffington
Withern	Syston	Waddington
Woodhall	Tetford	<i>S. Nicholas</i>
<i>S. Martin</i>	Thoresway	Addlethorpe
Ancaster	Torrington, West	Barkstone
Barholme	Tothill	Cabourn
Blyton cum Wharton	Tydd, S. Mary	Caenby
Dalderby	Wainfleet, S. Mary	Carlton, Scroop
Kirmond-le-Mire	Welton	Coates, Great
Lincoln	Weston	Coates, North
Owersby	Whaplode	Cuxwold
Owston	Wilsford	Ferriby, South
Ravendale	Winthorpe	Fulbeck
Stamford	Witham, North	Grimsby
Stubton	Woolsthorpe	Gunby
Waith	Wrawby	Haxey
Welton-le-Marsh	<i>SS. Mary and All Saints.</i>	
Welton-le-Wold	Kirkby Underwood	

Kirkby, East	Ludford Parva	<i>S. Radegund</i>
Lincoln	Lusby	Grayingham
Normanton	Markby	<i>S. Rumbold</i>
Partney	Mumby	Lincoln. ( <i>d.</i> )
Sapperton	Navenby	<i>S. Sebastian</i>
Searby with Ownby	Newton upon Trent	Gonerby, Great
Skirbeck	Nocton	<i>S. Stephen</i>
Snitterby	Normanby on the Wolds	Careby
Spanby	Norton, Bishops	Carlby
Stenigot	Raithby cum Maltby	Hatton
Sutton	Rasen, Middle	Lincoln. ( <i>d.</i> )
Swaby	Rauceby, North	Stamford
Swayfield	Ropsley	<i>S. Swithin</i>
Uleby	Saltfleetby, S. Peter	Asgarby
Walcot by Falkingham	Scotter	Baumber
Wickham in Holland	Skendleby	Bicker
<i>S. Olave</i>	Somercotes, North	Leadenham
Ruckland	Sotby	Lincoln
<i>S. Oswald</i>	Stainby	<i>S. Thomas the Apostle</i>
Althorpe	Stamford	Legsby
Blankney	Stixwold	Rasen, Market
Crowle	Thorpe	Stamford
Howell	Threackingham	Willingham, North
Luddington	Torksey	<i>S. Thomas of Canterbury</i>
Rand	Toynton, Low	Ameotts
Strubby cum Woodthorpe	Toynton, S. Peter	Bassingthorpe cum
<i>S. Paul</i>	Trusthorpe	Westby
Lincoln	Tupholme	Burton Coggles
Stamford	Willingham, Cherry	Digby
<i>S. Pancras</i>	Wrangle	Greatford
Wroot	<i>SS. Peter and Mary</i>	Lincoln. ( <i>d.</i> )
<i>S. Peter</i>	Waddingham	<i>Holy Trinity</i>
Aisthorpe	<i>SS. Peter and Paul</i>	Allington, West
Ashby cum Fenby	Algarkirk	Barrow upon Humber
Asterby	Belton	Bilsby
Aubourn	Belchford	Gedney Hill
Barton upon Humber	Bollingbrooke	Hagworthingham
Bottesford	Bourn	Lincoln, 3. ( <i>d.</i> )
Burgh in the Marsh	Bratoft	Messingham
Cawkwell	Caistor	Muckton
Claypole	Gosberton	Raithby
Conisholme	Hareby	Stamford. ( <i>d.</i> )
Creeton	Healing	Swallow
Doddington	Ingoldmells	Tattershall
Dunston	Kettlethorpe	<i>Holy Trinity and S. Mary</i>
Farforth cum Maidenwell	Kirton by Boston	Clee
Foston	Normanby by Spital	<i>S. Vedast</i>
Friesthorpe	Osbourneby	Tathwell
Gayton le Wold	Ownby	<i>S. Vincent</i>
Glenham	Rasen, Middle	Burton by Lincoln
Gumby	Reepham	Caythorpe
Halton, East	Scremby	<i>S. Wilfred</i>
Humberstone	Stallingborough	Alford
Holton le Clay	Tetney	Honington
Kingerby	Toft	Metheringham
Langton	Wigtoft	Thornton
Lavington or Lenton	<i>S. Philip</i>	<i>S. Wulfram</i>
Limber, Great	Brinkhill	Grantham
Lincoln, 8. ( <i>5. d.</i> )		

ALPHABETICAL LIST of the CHURCHES in the County of Lincoln, with  
their DEDICATIONS, including Churches destroyed and gone to decay.

Aly, All Saints  
 Addlethorpe, S. Nicholas  
 Ailesham *alias* Elsham, All Saints  
 Ailsby. *See* Riggsby  
 Aisby. *See* Haydor  
 Aisthorpe, S. Peter  
 Alford, S. Wilfrid  
 Algarkirk, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Alkborough *alias* Aukborough, S. John  
     the Baptist  
 Allington, East, S. James  
 Allington, West, Holy Trinity  
 Althorpe, S. Oswald  
 Alvingham, S. Ethelwald  
 Amcotts, S. Thomas of Canterbury  
 Ancaster, S. Martin  
 Anderby, S. Andrew  
 Anwick, S. Edith  
 Apley (gone to decay), S. Andrew  
 Appleby, S. Bartholomew  
 Asgarby by Spilsby, S. Swithin  
 Asgarby by Sleaford, S. Andrew  
 Ashby by Partney, S. Helen  
 Ashby-de-la-Laund, S. Hibald  
 Ashby with Fenby, S. Peter  
 Ashby Puerorum, S. Andrew  
 Ashby, West, All Saints  
 Aslackby, S. James  
 Asterby, S. Peter  
 Aswardby, S. Helen  
 Aubourn, S. Peter  
 Aunsby, S. Thomas of Canterbury  
 Authorpe, S. Margaret  
 Aylesby, S. Lawrence  
 Bag Enderby, S. Margaret  
 Bardney, S. Lawrence  
 Barholm, S. Martin  
 Barkston, S. Nicholas  
 Barkwith, East, S. Mary  
 Barkwith, West, All Saints  
 Barlings, S. Edward  
 Barnetby-le-Wold, S. Mary  
 Barnoldby-le-Beck, St. Helen.  
 Barrow upon Humber, Holy Trinity  
 Barrowby by Grantham, All Saints  
 Barton upon Humber, S. Peter  
     S. Mary  
 Bassingthorpe, S. Thomas of Canterbury  
 Bassingham, S. Michael  
 Baston, S. John the Baptist  
 Baumber or Barnburgh, St. Swithin  
 Beckingham, All Saints  
 Beelsby, S. Andrew  
 Beesby in the Marsh, S. Andrew  
 Beesby, cum Hawerby, S. John the  
     Baptist  
 Belchford, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Belleau, S. John the Baptist  
 Belton by Epworth, All Saints

Belton by Grantham, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Bennington, by Boston, All Saints  
 Bennington, Long, All Saints  
 Benniworth or Benningworth, S. Julian  
 Bicker, S. Swithin  
 Bigby, All Saints  
 Billingham, S. Andrew  
 Billingham, S. Michael  
 Bilby, Holy Trinity  
 Binbrook, S. Gabriel  
 Biscathorpe, S. Helen  
 Bitchfield, S. Mary Magdalen  
 Blankney, S. Oswald  
 Bleasby  
 Bloxholm, S. Mary  
 Blyborough, S. Alkmund  
 Blyton, S. Martin  
 Bolingbroke, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Bolington, S. James  
 Bonby, S. Andrew  
 Boothby or Boothby-Graffo, S. Andrew  
 Boothby Pagnell, S. Andrew  
 Boston, S. Botolph  
 Bottesford, S. Peter  
 Boughton *vide* Asgarby  
 Boultham, S. Helen  
 Bourn, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Braceborough, S. Margaret  
 Bracebridge, All Saints  
 Bracey, S. Margaret  
 Bradley, St. George  
 Brandon, *vide* Hough on the Hill  
 Branston, All Saints  
 Brant Broughton, S. Helen  
 Bratoft, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Brattelby, S. Cuthbert  
 Brauncewell, All Saints  
 Brigg, St. Mary  
 Briggsley, S. Helen  
 Brinkhill, S. Philip  
 Brocklesby, All Saints  
 Brothertoft  
 Broughton, S. Mary  
 Broxholme, All Saints  
 Bucknall, S. Margaret  
 Burgh on Bain, S. Helen  
 Burgh in the Marsh, S. Peter  
 Burton by Lincoln, S. Vincent  
 Burton Coggles, S. Thomas of Canterbury  
 Burton Pedwardine, S. Andrew  
 Burton Stather, S. Andrew  
 Burwell, S. Michael  
 Buslingthorpe  
 Butterwick by Boston, S. Andrew  
 Butterwick, West, S. Mary  
 Bytham Castle, S. James  
 Bytham, Little, S. Medardus  
 Cabourn, S. Nicholas  
 Cadeby *vide* Wylham



Cadney, All Saints  
 Cadwell  
 Caenby, S. Nicholas  
 Caistor, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Calceby, S. Andrew  
 Calcethorpe, S. Faith  
 Cammeringham, S. Michael  
 Candlesby, S. Benedict.  
 Canwick, All Saints  
 Careby, S. Stephen  
 Carlby, S. Stephen  
 Carlton Castle, Holy Cross  
 Carlton, Great, S. John the Baptist  
 Carlton, Little, S. Edith  
 Carlton le Moorlands, S. Mary  
 Carlton, North  
 Carlton, South  
 Carlton Scroop, S. Nicholas  
 Cawkwell, S. Peter  
 Cawthorpe, Little, S. Helen  
 Caythorpe, S. Vincent  
 Claxby by Alford, S. Andrew  
 Claxby by Normanby, S. Mary  
 Claxby Plukaere, S. Andrew  
 Claypole, S. Peter  
 Claythorpe  
 Clee, Holy Trinity and S. Mary  
 Clixby  
 Coates, by Gainsborough, S. Edith  
 Coates, Great, S. Nicholas  
 Coates, Little, S. Michael  
 Coates, North, S. Nicholas  
 Cockerington, North, S. Mary  
 Cockerington, South, S. Leonard  
 Coleby by Lincoln, All Saints  
 Colsterworth, S. John the Baptist  
 Coningsby, S. Michael  
 Conisholm, S. Peter  
 Corby, S. John the Evangelist  
 Corringham, S. Lawrence  
 Covenham, S. Bartholomew  
     " S. Mary  
 Cowbit, S. Mary  
 Cranwell, S. Andrew  
 Creeton, S. Peter  
 Croft, All Saints  
 Crowland, SSS. Mary, Bartholomew and  
     Guthlac  
 Crowle, S. Oswald  
 Croxby, All Saints  
 Croxton, S. John the Evangelist  
 Culverthorpe, S. Bartholomew  
 Cumberworth, S. Helen  
 Cuxwold or Cokeswold, S. Nicholas  
 Dalby  
 Dalderby, S. Martin (gone to decay).  
 Deeping, East, S. James  
 Deeping, Fen  
 Deeping, Market, S. Guthlac  
 Deeping, West, S. Michael  
 Dembleby, S. Lucia  
 Denton, S. Andrew  
 Digby, S. Thomas of Canterbury  
 Doddington by Lincoln, S. Peter  
 Doddington, Dry, S. James

Dorrington by Spalding, S. Mary and  
     Holy Rood  
 Dorrington upon Bain, S. Andrew  
 Dorrington, S. James  
 Dowsby, S. Andrew  
 Driby, S. Michael  
 Dunholme, S. Chad  
 Dunsby by Bourn, All Saints  
 Dunston, S. Peter  
 Eagle, All Saints  
 East Ferry, Scotton, S. Mary  
 Edenham, S. Michael  
 Edlington, S. Helen  
 Elkington, North, S. Helen  
 Elkington, South, All Saints  
 Elsham, All Saints  
 Enderby-Bag, *see* Bag Enderby  
 Enderby, Mavis, *see* Mavis Enderby  
 Enderby-Wood, *see* Wood Enderby  
 Epworth, S. Andrew  
 Evedon, S. Mary  
 Ewerby, S. Andrew  
 Faldingworth, All Saints  
 Falkingham, S. Andrew  
 Farforth, S. Peter  
 Farlthorpe, S. Andrew  
 Fenby *vide* Ashby  
 Fenton by Newark, All Saints  
 Ferriby, South, S. Nicholas  
 Fillingham, S. Andrew  
 Firsby by Spilsby, S. James  
 Firsby in Aslackhoe, S. James  
 Fishtoft, S. Guthlac  
 Fiskerton, S. Clements  
 Fleet, S. Mary Magdalen  
 Flixborough, All Saints  
 Fosdyke, All Saints  
 Foston, S. Peter  
 Fotherby, S. Mary  
 Frampton, S. Mary  
 Frieston, S. James  
 Friesthorpe, S. Peter  
 Friskney, All Saints  
 Frodingham, S. Lawrence  
 Fulbeck, S. Nicholas  
 Fulletby, S. Andrew  
 Fulstow, S. Lawrence  
 Gainsborough, All Saints  
 Gate Burton, S. Helen  
 Gautby, All Saints  
 Gayton le Marsh, S. George  
 Gayton le Wold, S. Peter  
 Gedney, S. Mary Magdalen  
 Gedney Hill, Holy Trinity  
 Glanford-Brigg, *vide* Brigg  
 Glentham, S. Peter  
 Glentworth, S. Michael  
 Goltho  
 Gonerby Great, S. Sebastian  
 Gosberton, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Goulceby, All Saints  
 Goxhill, All Saints  
 Grainsby, S. Nicholas  
 Grainthorpe, S. Clement  
 Grantham, S. Wulfram

- Grassby, All Saints  
 Grayingham, S. Radegund  
 Greatford, S. Thomas of Canterbury  
 Greetham, All Saints  
 Greetwell, All Saints  
 Grimoldby, S. Edith  
 Grimsby, Great, S. James  
 Grimsby, Little, S. Edith  
 Gunby by Spilsby, S. Peter  
 Gunby by Colsterworth, S. Nicholas  
 Habrough, S. Margaret  
 Hacconby, S. Andrew  
 Haceby, S. Barbar  
 Hackthorn, S. Michael  
 Hagnaby, by Spilsby, S. Andrew  
 Hagnaby cum Hamah, S. Andrew  
 Hagworthingham, Holy Trinity  
 Hainton, S. Mary  
 Hale, Great, S. John the Baptist  
 Hallington  
 Haltham upon Bain, S. Benedict  
 Halton, East, S. Peter  
 Halton, West, S. Etheldreda  
 Halton-Holgate, S. Andrew  
 Hammeringsham, All Saints  
 Hanworth, Cold, All Saints  
 Harby, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Harlaxton, SS. Mary and Peter  
 Harmston, All Saints  
 Harpswell, S. Chad  
 Harrington, S. Mary  
 Hatchliffe, S. Mary  
 Hatton, S. Stephen  
 Haugh, S. Leonard  
 Haugham, All Saints  
 Hawerby, S. Margaret  
 Haxey, S. Nicholas  
 Haydor, S. Michael  
 Healing, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Heapham, All Saints  
 Heckington, S. Andrew  
 Heighington  
 Helpringham, S. Andrew  
 Hemingby, S. Margaret  
 Hemswell, All Saints  
 Hibaldstow, S. Hiballd  
 Hogsthorpe, S. Mary  
 Holbeach, All Saints  
 Holton, All Saints  
 Holton Beckering, All Saints  
 Holton le Clay, S. Peter  
 Holton le Moor  
 Honington, S. Wilfrid  
 Horbling, S. Andrew  
 Horkstow, S. Maurice  
 Horncastle, S. Mary  
 Horsington, All Saints  
 Hough on the Hill, All Saints  
 Hougham, All Saints  
 Howell, S. Oswald  
 Humberston, S. Peter  
 Hundelby, S. Mary  
 Hungerton  
 Huttoft, S. Margaret  
 Hykeham, North, All Saints  
 Hykeham, South, S. Michael  
 Immingham, S. Andrew  
 Ingham, All Saints  
 Ingleby  
 Ingoldmells, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Ingoldsby, S. Andrew  
 Irby on Humber, S. Andrew  
 Irby in the Marsh, All Saints  
 Irnham, S. Andrew  
 Keadby  
 Keal, East, S. Helen  
 Keal, West, S. Helen  
 Keddington, S. Margaret  
 Keelby, S. Bartholomew  
 Kelby, S. Andrew  
 Kelsey, North  
 Kelsey, South, SS. Mary and Nicholas  
 Kelstern, S. Faith  
 Ketesby with S. Ormsby, S. Margaret  
 Kettlethorpe, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Kexby  
 Killingholme, North, S. Denis  
 Kingerby, S. Peter  
 Kirkby cum Osgodby, S. Andrew  
 Kirkby upon Bain, S. Mary  
 Kirkby, East, S. Nicholas  
 Kirkby Green, Holy Cross  
 Kirkby Laythorpe, S. Denis  
 Kirkby Underwood, S. Mary and All Saints  
 Kirkstead  
 Kirmington, S. Helen  
 Kirmond le Mire, S. Martin  
 Kirton by Boston, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Kirton in Lindsey, S. Andrew  
 Knaith  
 Kyme, South, All Saints  
 Laceby, S. Margaret  
 Langtoft, S. Michael  
 Langton by Wragby, S. Giles  
 Langton by Horncastle, S. Margaret  
 Langton by Spilsby, S. Peter  
 Laughton by Gainsborough, All Saints  
 Lea, S. Helen  
 Leadenham, S. Swithin  
 Leake, S. Mary  
 Leasingham, North, S. John the Baptist  
 Leasingham, South, S. Andrew  
 Legbourn, All Saints  
 Legsby, S. Thomas  
 Lenton, S. Peter  
 Leverton, S. Helen  
 Limber, Great, S. Peter  
 Lincoln, S. Anne  
 " S. Andrew, 3  
 " S. Austin  
 " S. Baxon  
 " S. Bartholomew  
 " S. Benedict  
 " S. Botolph  
 " S. Clement, 2  
 " S. Cross  
 " S. Cuthbert  
 " S. Denis  
 " S. Edmund

- Lincoln, S. Edward, 2  
 " S. Faith  
 " S. Giles  
 " S. Gregory  
 " S. James  
 " S. John the Baptist  
 " S. John the Evangelist, 2  
 " S. Lawrence  
 " S. Leonard  
 " S. Margaret  
 " S. Mark  
 " S. Martin  
 " S. Mary Magdalen  
 " S. Mary, 2  
 " S. Michael, 2  
 " S. Nicholas  
 " S. Paul  
 " S. Peter, 8  
 " S. Rumbold  
 " S. Stephen  
 " S. Swithin  
 " Holy Trinity, 2  
 Linwood, S. Cornelius  
 Lissington, S. John the Baptist  
 Londonthorpe, S. John the Baptist  
 Louth, S. James  
 Ludborough, S. Mary  
 Luddington, S. Oswald  
 Ludford Magna, S. Helen  
 Ludford Parva, S. Peter (gone to decay)  
 Lusby, S. Peter  
 Luton or Sutton, S. Nicholas  
 Mablethorpe, St. Mary  
 Maltby le Marsh, All Saints  
 Manby, S. Mary  
 Manton, S. Hibald  
 Mareham le Fen, S. Helen  
 Mareham on the Hill, All Saints  
 Markby, S. Peter  
 Market Deeping, S. Guthlac  
 Marsh Chapel, S. Mary  
 Marston, S. Mary  
 Martin by Horncastle, S. Michael  
 Marton, S. Margaret  
 Mavis Enderby, S. Michael  
 Melton Ross  
 Messingham, Holy Trinity  
 Metheringham, S. Wilfrid  
 Middle Rasen, *see* Rasen Middle  
 Miningsby, S. Andrew  
 Minting, S. Andrew  
 Moorby, All Saints  
 Morton, near Bourn, S. John the Baptist  
 Moulton, All Saints  
 Muckton, Holy Trinity  
 Mumby, S. Peter  
 Navenby, S. Peter  
 Nettleham, All Saints  
 Nettleton, S. John the Baptist  
 Newton by Falkingham, S. Botolph  
 Newton by Toft, S. Michael  
 Newton upon Trent, S. Peter  
 Nocton, S. Peter  
 Normanby by Spital, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Normanby on the Wolds, S. Peter  
 Normanton, S. Nicholas  
 Northorpe, S. John the Baptist  
 Norton Bishop, S. Peter  
 Norton Disney, All Saints  
 Newton in the Wolds, All Saints  
 Orby, All Saints  
 Ormsby, South, S. Leonard  
 Ormsby, North, S. Helen  
 Osbournby, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Owersby, North, S. Martin  
 Ownby, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Oxcomb, All Saints  
 Owston, S. Martin  
 Panton, S. Andrew  
 Partney, S. Nicholas  
 Pickworth, S. Andrew  
 Pilham, All Saints  
 Pinchbeck, S. Mary  
 Ponton, Great, Holy Cross  
 Ponton, Little, S. Guthlac  
 Potter Hanworth, S. Andrew  
 Quadring, S. Margaret  
 Quarrington, S. Botolph  
 Raithby by Spilsby, Holy Trinity  
 Raithby with Maltby, S. Peter  
 Ranby, S. German  
 Rand, S. Oswald  
 Rasen, Market, S. Thomas the Apostle  
 Rasen, Middle, Drax, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Rasen, Middle, Topholm, S. Peter  
 Rasen, West, All Saints  
 Rauceby, North, S. Peter  
 Rauceby, South, S. James  
 Ravendale, East, S. Martin  
 Ravendale, West  
 Redbourn, S. Andrew  
 Reepham, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Reston, South, S. Edith  
 Reston, North, S. Edith  
 Revesby, S. Lawrence  
 Riby, S. Edmund  
 Rigby with Ailby, S. James  
 Rippingale, S. Andrew  
 Risby, S. Bartholomew  
 Riseholme, S. Mary  
 Ropsley, S. Peter  
 Rothwell, S. Mary Magdalen  
 Roughton, S. Margaret  
 Rowston or Roulston, S. Clement  
 Roxby, S. Mary  
 Ruckland, S. Olave  
 Ruskington, All Saints  
 Saleby with Thoresthorpe, S. Margaret  
 Salmonby, S. Margaret  
 Saltfleetby, S. Clements  
 Saltfleetby, All Saints  
 Saltfleetby, S. Peter  
 Sapperton, S. Nicholas  
 Saunthorpe, S. Andrew  
 Saxby, cum Firby, S. Helen  
 Saxby, near Barton, All Saints  
 Saxilby, S. Botolph  
 Scamblesby  
 Scampton, S. John the Baptist  
 Scarle, North, All Saints

- Scartho, S. Giles  
 Scawby, S. Hibald  
 Scopwick, Holy Cross  
 Scothern, S. German  
 Scot Willoughby, S. Andrew  
 Scotter, S. Peter  
 Scotton, S. Genewys  
 Serafield, S. Michael (gone to decay)  
 Scredington, S. Andrew  
 Scremby, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Scrivelsby, S. Benedict  
 Searby cum Owmbly, S. Nicholas  
 Sedgebrook, S. Lawrence  
 Sempringham, S. Andrew  
 Sibsey, S. Margaret  
 Silk Willoughby, S. Denis  
 Six Hills, All Saints  
 Skegness, S. Clement  
 Skellingthorpe, S. Lawrence  
 Skendleby, S. Peter  
 Skidbrook, S. Botolph  
 Skirbeck, S. Nicholas  
 Skillington, S. James  
 Sleaford, New, S. Denis  
 Sleaford, Old, St. Giles  
 Snarford, S. Lawrence  
 Snelland, All Saints  
 Snitterby, S. Nicholas  
 Somerby by Brigg, S. Margaret  
 Somerby by Grantham, S. Mary Magdalen  
 Somercotes, North, S. Peter  
 Somercotes, South, S. Mary  
 Somersby, S. Margaret  
 Sothby, S. Peter  
 Spalding, SS. Mary and Nicholas  
 Spanby, S. Nicholas  
 Spilsby, S. James  
 Spridlington, SS. Hilary and Albinus  
 Springthorpe, SS. George and Lawrence  
 Stainby, S. Peter  
 Stainfield  
 Stainton by Langworth, S. John the Baptist  
 Stainton, Market, S. Michael  
 Stainton le Vale, S. Andrew  
 Stallingborough, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Stamford, All Saints, 2  
     " S. Andrew  
     " S. Clement  
     " S. George  
     " S. John the Baptist  
     " S. Leonard  
     " S. Mary, 2  
     " S. Michael, 2  
     " S. Paul  
     " S. Peter  
     " S. Stephen  
     " S. Thomas  
     " Holy Trinity  
 Stapleford, All Saints  
 Steeping, Great, All Saints  
 Steeping, Little, S. Andrew  
 Stenigot, S. Nicholas  
 Stewton, S. Andrew  
 Stickford, S. Helen  
 Stickney, S. Luke  
 Stixwold, S. Peter  
 Stoke, North, S. Andrew  
 Stoke, South, S. Mary  
 Stow, S. Mary  
 Stow, near Market Deeping, S. John the Baptist  
 Stragglethorpe, S. Michael  
 Stroxtun, All Saints  
 Strubby, near Alford, S. Oswald  
 Stubton, S. Martin  
 Sturton, Great, All Saints  
 Sudbrook, S. Edward  
 Surfleet, S. Lawrence  
 Sutterby, S. John the Baptist  
 Sutherton, S. Mary  
 Sutton Long, S. Mary  
     " S. Nicholas  
     " S. Edmund  
     " S. James  
 Sutton in the Marsh, S. Clement  
 Swaby, S. Nicholas  
 Swallow, Holy Trinity  
 Swarby, S. Mary and All Saints  
 Swaton, S. Michael  
 Swayfield, S. Nicholas  
 Swinderby, All Saints  
 Swineshead, S. Mary  
 Swinhope, S. Helen  
 Swinstead, S. Mary  
 Syston, S. Mary  
 Tallington, S. Lawrence  
 Tathwell, S. Vedast  
 Tattershall, Holy Trinity  
 Tealby, All Saints  
 Temple Bruer  
 Tetford, S. Mary  
 Tetney, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Theddlethorpe, West, All Saints  
 Theddlethorpe, East, S. Helen  
 Thimbleby, S. Margaret  
 Thoresby, South, S. Andrew  
 Thoresby, North, S. Helen  
 Thoresway, S. Mary  
 Thorganby, All Saints  
 Thornton by Horncastle, S. Wilfrid  
 Thornton Curtis, S. Lawrence  
 Thornton le Fen  
 Thornton le Moor, All Saints  
 Thorpe by Wainfleet, S. Peter  
 Thorpe on the Hill, All Saints  
 Threckingham, S. Peter  
 Thurlby by Lincoln, S. German  
 Thurlby by Bourn, S. Firman  
 Timberland, S. Andrew  
 Toft by Market Rasen, SS. Peter and Paul  
 Torksey, S. Peter  
 Torrington, East, S. Michael  
 Torrington, West, S. Mary  
 Tothill, S. Mary  
 Toynton, High, S. John the Baptist  
     " Low, S. Peter  
     " All Saints  
     " S. Peter

Tupholme, S. Peter  
 Trusthorpe, S. Peter  
 Tydd, S. Mary  
 Uffington, S. Michael  
 Ulceby by Alford, All Saints  
 Ulceby by Barton, S. Nicholas  
 Upton, All Saints  
 Usselby, S. Margaret  
 Utterby, S. Andrew  
 Waddingham, SS. Peter and Mary  
 Waddington, S. Michael  
 Waddingworth, S. Margaret  
 Wainfleet, All Saints  
 Wainfleet, S. Mary  
 Waith, S. Martin  
 Walcot, S. Nicholas  
 Walesby, All Saints  
 Waltham, All Saints  
 Washingborough, S. John the Baptist  
 Welbourn, S. Chad  
 Welby, S. Bartholomew  
 Well, S. Margaret  
 Wellingore, All Saints  
 Welton by Lincoln, S. Mary  
 Welton, S. Andrew  
 Welton le Wold, S. Martin  
 Welton in the Marsh, S. Martin  
 Westborough, All Saints  
 Weston, S. Mary  
 Whaplode, S. Mary  
 Whaplode Drove, S. John the Baptist  
 Whittton, S. John the Baptist  
 Wickenby, S. Lawrence  
 Wickham, in Holland, S. Nicholas  
 Wigtoft, SS. Peter and Paul

Wilksby, All Saints  
 Willingham by Stow, S. Helen  
 Willingham, Cherry, S. Peter  
 Willingham, North, S. Thomas the  
 Apostle  
 Willingham, South, S. Martin  
 Willoughby by Alford, S. Helen  
 Willoughby, Scot, S. Andrew  
 Willoughby, Silk, S. Denis  
 Willoughton, S. Andrew  
 Wilsford, S. Mary  
 Wilsforth or Woldsworth  
 Wineby, S. Margaret  
 Winteringham, All Saints  
 Winterton, All Saints  
 Winthorpe, S. Mary  
 Wispington, S. Margaret  
 Witham on the Hill, S. Andrew  
 Witham, North, S. Mary  
 Witham, South, S. John the Baptist  
 Witlicall, S. Martin  
 Withern, S. Margaret  
 Woodhall, S. Margaret  
 Wood Enderby, S. Benedict  
 Woolsthorpe, near Grantham, S. James  
 Woolsthorpe, S. Mary  
 Wootton, S. Andrew  
 Worlaby, S. Clement  
 Wragby, All Saints  
 Wrangle, S. Peter  
 Wrawby, S. Mary  
 Wroot, S. Pancras  
 Wyberton, S. Leodegar  
 Wyham, All Saints  
 Yarborough S. John the Baptist.

## SUMMARY

Shewing aggregate number of separate Dedications, including destroyed,  
 and excluding modern Churches.

S. Alkmund - 1	S. German - 3	S. Martin - 16	S. Pancras - 1
All Saints - 95	S. George - 4	S. Mark - 1	S. Peter - 64
S. Andrew - 63	SS. George and	S. Mary - 59	SS. Peter and
S. Austin - 1	Lawrence - 1	SS. Mary and	Mary - 1
S. Bartholo-	S. Giles - 4	All Saints - 2	SS. Peter and
mew - 7	S. Gregory - 1	SSS. Mary,	Paul - 23
S. Bavon - 1	S. Guthlac - 4	Bartholomew	S. Philip - 1
S. Benedict - 5	S. Helen - 28	and Guthlac 1	S. Radegund 1
S. Botolph - 6	S. Hibald - 4	SS. Mary and	S. Rumbold - 1
S. Chad - 3	SS. Hilary and	Holy Rood 1	S. Sebastian - 1
S. Clement - 10	Albinus 1	SS. Mary and	S. Stephen - 5
S. Cornelius - 1	Holy Innocents 1	Nicholas - 2	S. Swithin - 6
Holy Cross - 5	S. James - 19	SS. Mary and	S. Thomas the
S. Cuthbert - 2	S. John the	Peter - 2	Apostle - 4
S. Denis - 6	Baptist - 25	S. Mary Mag-	S. Thomas of
S. Edith - 7	S. John the	dalen - 6	Canterbury 7
S. Edmund - 4	Evangelist 6	S. Maurice - 1	Holy Trinity 14
S. Edward - 4	S. Julian - 1	S. Medardus 1	Holy Trinity
S. Etheldreda 1	S. Lawrence - 15	S. Michael - 28	and S. Mary 1
S. Ethelwald 1	S. Leodegar - 1	S. Nicholas - 29	S. Vedast - 1
S. Faith - 3	S. Leonard - 6	S. Olave - 1	S. Vincent - 4
S. Finnan - 1	S. Lucia - 1	S. Oswald - 7	S. Wilfrid - 2
S. Gabriel - 1	S. Luke - 1	S. Paul - 2	S. Wulfram - 1
S. Genewys - 1	S. Margaret - 31		





## DENEHOLES, AND ARTIFICIAL CAVES WITH VERTICAL ENTRANCES.

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

The Deneholes of Kent and Essex have received my attention for a long time, but I delayed publishing an account of them until it appeared that I could add something to our knowledge of their origin and use.

Living as I did in a country where deep holes abounded, whose bottoms no one knew of, and whose intercommunication by endless passages over miles of country was the universal belief—lone, useless, and deserted in the depths of woods—it would have been strange indeed if I had not examined them with some care.

These holes too have always been, and are frequently now, a source of danger to wanderers in the woods, to huntsmen, and to horses ploughing in the fields, and not a few are credited with the harbouring of robbers and smugglers in old times. As an instance of the origin of such legends, I once came across a man who told me that he had fallen down a pit, in which he passed two days. On recovering from the fall he wandered down deep passages for immense distances, until, regaining the entrance, he sat under it and howled until some one heard him (for a path led near the hole) and he was extricated. I induced this man to show me the exact spot, which he did with some reluctance. When the opportunity came and the hole was descended, no passages presented themselves; but the size of the cavern, its great circuit, its buttresses and pillars, and high irregular mounds of earth fallen from the vault, fully explained the account of the poor fellow, who, bruised, starved, and in darkness, had crawled round and round the cave “in wandering mazes lost.”

Nothing would induce him to descend it with me

again, and he could not be persuaded that no passages existed. This cave is figured and sketched in Plate II, fig. 2.

Sometimes alone, sometimes with parties of friends, (for a pic-nic in a hole at Stankey has been a favourite and frequent amusement with us), I have been down all the deneholes in the neighbourhood to which a rope ladder could conveniently be carried.

Though less satisfactory to some persons, the discovery that in no case did an open passage exist added to the interest with me, for it indicated plainly that some special object was involved in the close proximity, yet careful separation, of the caves from each other.

The thickness and antiquity of the woods made their apparent connexion with each other at the surface very difficult, for the ground could only be examined in the winter, yet at the same time it promised success. An extensive and careful survey of parts of the counties of Essex and Kent, particularly that between the rivers Darent and Cray, justified this. On Plate I a portion of this area is shown, and by its aid can be seen, in the first place, the relation of the deneholes to each other to the number of 120, and, secondly, their connexion with ditches and banks, some of which appear to be contemporary with the holes, and indicate roads or tracks between settlements and hunting paths, and the hedges and enclosures of a pre-historic "village."

I shall now enumerate some literary notices of these deneholes, chiefly as illustrating their antiquity, and also the difficulty that there has been in explaining their existence. Authors indulge in endless conjectures, for which their works must be examined. I will add my own observations in due order.

It would be impossible to record all the spots or clusters where the pits occur in Kent with which I am acquainted, and I have therefore contented myself with indicating their general whereabouts, and may sum up by saying that they are found over most of the country between the spots mentioned in greater or less numbers.

Their ordinary sites are the sides of valleys leading from a river, which, from its moisture, would grow brush-wood and prove to a certain extent a cover to the road

leading to the holes. They may thus be followed along the "dry valleys" of Kent to the crest of the North Downs. The table land at the head of a valley generally has several holes. When several valleys lead up to one table they are frequent on it; such tables are those between Bexley and Dartford, Blackheath, Hangman's Wood, &c.

In the larger number of instances in which these holes can be now seen they present the appearance of wide basin-shaped depressions, mostly shallow, sometimes deep, and not unfrequently in the state of ponds, at least in winter; others, of which the vault has not fallen in, show but a small depression; and lastly, shafts and the cave itself remain; these are comparatively rare. The holes have disappeared, partly from natural causes, the action of weather, or bad workmanship, or they have been filled in purposely.

The caves are of very various dimensions, from 15 to 50 feet in general diameter, and from 15 to 30 feet in height. Some are round, some square, some pillared, some not; the shafts vary from 2 feet to 3 feet 6 inches in width; these are the least injured; but while all have suffered from enlargement, some have become gaping chasms. Their depth is regulated in most instances by the depth of the chalk from the surface.

The rudest and earliest caves descend into the chalk at once, spots being chosen, with but a few inches of *humus* to penetrate, or none at all; these have comparatively short shafts, and, though some have foot holes, they appear to have been descended by a short rope or a tree trunk; such are the holes on the edges of the chalk hills bordering the Thames, as at Rochester, Northfleet, Purfleet, &c.; occasionally some of them show marks of enlargement or trimming with metallic picks of a late date.

The next kind, and later in age, are those in situations where usually the superincumbent soils are dry and tenacious, having little inclination to fall in (Thanet sand); these were usually descended by foot-holes on either side of the shaft, in some wholly to the bottom, in others the latter part of the descent must have been aided by a rope or tree. The foot-holes of a cave in

Stankey (Plate II, fig. 2), as in others, are opposite to each other, about 18 inches apart, and mostly 6 inches deep, some reaching 20 inches. I supposed that these latter were for sticks or poles to be inserted as rests, but on trying one I found such poles very difficult to pass, unless indeed the whole of the passage down was made into a kind of ladder. It is noticeable that any one below, inserting a pole across the shaft, could easily prevent any one descending.

The Thanet sand bears the wear and tear of use well, but in the lapse of years, perhaps to be counted by thousands, many of these pits, which were once descended by holes, have got too wide for the stride of any man.

Thirdly, those pits which were dug in crumbly rocks, such as the Woolwich pebble beds and London clay, would fall in quickly unless steined, to preserve them for use even temporarily. They were of course inaccessible by foot-holes, therefore they could only be got at by ropes, long and strong, aided perhaps by a winch. These pits are the latest variety.

This rough classification is supported when the soils passed through and the difficulty of preserving access to the cave is considered, for the more friable and unstable the soils passed through the greater the improvement in appliances and labour.

Minor distinctions in situations favourable to comparison can of course be made.

The behaviour of these caves is somewhat peculiar, and, unless a careful watch is kept on them, results somewhat at variance with our comfort and safety are apt to occur. The habit of digging them is now gone out of fashion; and familiarity with the space excavated below being lessened, too little care is bestowed in filling them up. When a large cave gets filled with anything, whether stone or rubbish, up to the crown of the arch, the shaft being filled with earth, long remains firm, partly from the pressure on the sides and partly from the effort to consolidate the soil by ramming. In time, however, when the rain trickling down between the side and the new material in the shaft, carries with it, first, the supporting cone at the bottom, then, spreading that about, receives more and more from the shaft above,



it will leave only a portion of the hard rammed soil at the top, somewhat resembling a cork, fixed; until excessively dry weather contracts it from the sides (as in spring); or after a heavy rain, when it becomes too heavy for its loosened condition (as in autumn); or until the receipt of a jar, as when one jumps on to the spot, as I once did; or the passage of horses in ploughing, &c.

Deneholes<sup>1</sup> are common in Thanet. The Nash court cave was one.<sup>2</sup> The interior has been adapted to modern uses, and, besides the old well entrance, a sloping one has been made, and four galleries exist, though now disused.

A shaft was described by Mr. Dowker,<sup>3</sup> which, notwithstanding the peculiarity that it penetrated the chalk for 30 feet, probably ended in a cave, from the fact that the workmen, while exploring it, started the soil, which sank down 12 feet.

The caves at Manston were originally deneholes, and caves have been found at Hoo Farm, Callis Court, Dent de Lion, St. Nicholas and Margate. The smugglers undoubtedly improved and extended these caves; yet they are largely credited to the "monks," the "Danes," and even to that ancient Briton, "Vortigern."

Col. Lane-Fox<sup>4</sup> described a pit at Broadstairs whose dimensions were 30 by 40 feet, with sides sloping at an angle of 40° to the lowest bottom, 11 feet below the surface; it penetrated brick earth to the chalk. Col. Lane-Fox says it is somewhat similar to pits at Crayford, Dartford and Tilbury. This, of course, is a mistake,

<sup>1</sup> The names by which they are best known are Dene-holes, or Dane-holes, the last being the ancient manner of pronouncing the A.S. word *Denu*. This word implies a retired dwelling, or den. It is always joined with "hole," and appears very suggestive of the light in which the early English regarded the caves.

*Caves.* This word is also used for them in France. The Cavey spring, or wood-fall of holes, at Bexley, is an ancient mode of pronouncing the word.

*Sound-hole.* The verb to sound, to probe, to try the depth, is at once suggested, and it is possible that the adjective *sound* had formerly a signification of depth.

*Potts.* This word, Mr. Meeson said,

was applied to caves at Darenth in Kent. It is not known to me, however. It can in no case be explained by "t'holt," as he suggests. It appears to be a mistake, and I think is merely the rapid pronunciation of "*the holes*."

*Stankye* is a name given to the little wood full of caves at Bexley; it is also pronounced *Stanka*; it seems to have the signification of *digged holes*. Scott, in a note on Cadyow Castle, quotes an old diary, in which he translates "*Stanka*" as "ditch;" perhaps the A.S. *Stingan* may be the root thereof in this country.

<sup>2</sup> Hasted and "*Archæ. Cantiana*," xii, 419.

<sup>3</sup> "*Archæ. Cantiana*," xi, 127.

<sup>4</sup> "*Journal of Ethnological Society*," N.S., i, 8; also *ib.*, ii, 439.



which the measurements show ; it was perhaps a marl pit.

Camden<sup>1</sup> says, "Juxta Faversham et alibi per hunc agrum, hinc unde putei magnæ profunditas reperiuntur, qui ore augusto sed inferius capaci spatio distinctas habent, quasi cameras cum suis e creta columnis." This is identified by Lewis<sup>2</sup> as Hegdale pit in Preston, and by Hasted<sup>3</sup> as situated in the south-eastern extremity of Faversham parish. After searching for this cave in vain, I applied to Mr. F. F. Girard, who tells me that what he takes to be the site of Hegdale pit is now ploughed over. Hasted<sup>4</sup> mentions several others in Fridwood near Murston.

The country around Sittingbourne affords many examples, and the high chalk hills to the south are plentifully sprinkled : .Wormshill, Bredgar, Stockbury, Rodmersham, &c., all have them. They are very numerous at Binbury, Deptling, Hollingbourne, &c., and the chalk hills around. Since this paper was read a remarkable series of caves have been found between Greenstreet and Teynham railway station. These were small caves of the usual pattern there common, *i.e.*, a double trefoil or quatrefoil in plan, which have been run into and absorbed in one instance by a later reworking, involving three, perhaps four, smaller caves. This larger excavation is quite different in the method of working, and is somewhat straggling in shape. Here sand is penetrated for about 20 feet, but, as usual, the chalk is bare at a short distance. The tool-marks on the later work are short and unsteady, and show a light tool to have been employed to prize, rather than pick the chalk. This reworking of an old site resembles that at Crayford, but is much earlier.<sup>5</sup>

There are traditions of deep caves in Rochester, but on the chalk hills near Rochester are many holes ; they usually enter the chalk immediately, there being no *humus* whatever ; they vary from 15 to 30 feet in depth, the shaft passing sometimes through the chalk for 20 feet

<sup>1</sup> "Britannia," p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis, "History of the Abbey Church of Faversham."

<sup>3</sup> "Kent," ii, 717.

<sup>4</sup> "Kent," ii, 611.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Mr. G. Payne of

Sittingbourne for much assistance in this part of Kent, and to Mr. G. Warren for a bold examination of the Teynham cave at a time when it was nearly 5 feet deep in water (surface drainage).

before the small caverns or bays spread out below. The shafts have been much enlarged by the action of frost, which detaches large blocks of chalk. There are several at Sharsted and at Hempsted, Gillingham, Chatham Lines, &c.

Shafted caves are found on the hills on either side of the Medway valley. Mr. T. Wright<sup>1</sup> says, "Just within the limits of Aylesford Common I found a large flat stone," round which he dug, and found what he thought was a large circular pit filled with flint stones. He enquired, and learnt from the cottagers, "squatters," not natives, that pits of stones with one or two large stones on the top were frequent, and that they were sought after and emptied for road metal; one that was emptied for 10 feet was shown him.

It is much to be regretted that Mr. T. Wright, whose description is very loose, should have neglected to make an examination of his supposed sepulchral caves rather than that he should have amused himself with conjectures and suppositions. There are peculiar geological conditions at the spot mentioned which make me think that the round (?) pit covered with the flat stone was a purely natural deposit, pockets of clean flints being common and large flat stones too. Here and there, however, depressions indicate the possible presence of deneholes, but a lengthened and careful examination of the district on the plateau of Aylesford Common has convinced me that flat stones covering round pits rests on very doubtful evidence.

Around Cobham a few are to be seen, but they are not conspicuous. Mr. Wright<sup>2</sup> described one on the hills to the south overlooking the Medway.

In the cutting of the North Kent Railway one can still be seen in section, about a couple of hundred yards westward of Gravesend station.

In cutting a tramway at the bottom of the Ebbsfleet valley a cave was opened in May, 1881. Its shaft passed through old river deposit for 21 ft. 6 in. to the crown of the arch in the chalk, thence at 12 ft. 9 in. a permanent water level was reached, below which the workmen could not excavate. However, it was ascertained by the use of

<sup>1</sup> "Wanderings of an Antiquary," p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Do., *ib.*

a pitcher that the made soil extended "a good yard" (*i.e.* 3 ft. 4 in.) before anything hard was reached, and this appeared to be only a movable block of chalk and not the true bottom. As the older caves hereabouts are generally 18 to 20 feet in height (never less, that I know of), it is unlikely that the bottom was quite discovered. These measurements are, however, very interesting, especially considering that a permanent water level was reached, below which work could not be carried on without removing the water. This was during the uninterrupted and remarkable drought of the spring of 1881.

Let it not be forgotten too that the tide reached to within 200 yards of the spot on its passage up the Ebbsfleet, before the embankment of the river Thames at Northfleet (a recent event) dammed the water out of the Fleet channel; so that the height to which the water rises in the cave now, low as it is, points to a great change in the condition of the land since the time when the cave was dug; besides which the measurements above given, *viz.*, 37 ft. 6 in., being subtracted from the level above the ordnance datum of the top of the shaft, *viz.*, 40 ft. 4 in.,<sup>1</sup> takes the lowest ascertained part of the cave far below high water mark of the present day. Greatly to my regret the cave was filled and a tramway laid over it before I could take steps to examine it more carefully as it deserved.

The greatest width was 14 ft. 3 in. It did not appear that a very good layer of flint was reached, yet a remarkable feature was the burrowing all round the sides, of thin holes or horizontal ledges as if in search of flint; some were very deep, in one place reaching nearly six feet.

The opening of this cave was within fifty yards of where the chalk is bare. No tool marks were visible on its sides, which, though rough, presented a rather curious appearance of wear.

The material at the bottom of the cave consisted of rubble, mould, &c., silted in by rain, and high up of pottery, Roman and Roman-British, and bones, such as

<sup>1</sup> In order to secure accuracy in this measurement I sought the help of Mr.

W. M. F. Petrie, to whom for this and other assistance I am much indebted.

commonly occur in the upper parts of these caves in the neighbourhood.

Besides this cave in the bottom of the valley are several more on either side of the stream just perceptible, and others which are now invisible will, I expect, be discovered. Higher up the sides of the valley are other and deeper caves, including the Clapper-napper close to the old road, whose great defensive work on Swanscombe Hill and its eastern side did not prevent the Romans using it at least for a time and thickly occupying this fertile valley.

The well-known Clapper-napper's hole is partly fallen in. It is on the east side of Swanscombe Wood. The cave is now outside the wood.<sup>1</sup> It was once supposed to communicate with another four miles distant. The name *Clapper-napper* given to this hole is hard to explain. *Napper*, or *nabber*, is a robber; it occurs in our "kid-napper," and a robber is mentioned as occupying it by Mr. Fussell,<sup>2</sup> though the tradition seems very old. *Clapper* is found again in Clapper-field near Stifford in Essex, a field containing the remains of such caves as we are discussing. I sent the name to Prof. W. W. Skeat, who, very courteously replying to my repeated suggestions, said, "I think of an etymology for clapperfield plausible enough to be worth transmission. A clapper or coney-clapper is the sixteenth century word for a rabbit burrow," and he enjoins caution. I find it in Chaucer's "Romaunt of the Rose"—

"Connis . . . . .  
. . . . . comin out of their clapers."

There are many more caves in Swanscombe parish and some in Darenth Wood, in distinct connexion with ditches and banks. On the edge of the wood, a third of a mile due west of the hamlet of Bean, are several shafts.

These may be found in, or rather by a ditch running over the hill westward for nearly half a mile to the other edge of the wood, until other caves, fallen and open, are met with; from this point, at nearly a right angle, another ditch may be traced to the south, having on one side of it a cave; further on a branch from this ditch at right angles northward leads to a cluster of hut-circles;

<sup>1</sup> "Gent. Mag.," May, 1803.

<sup>2</sup> L. Fussell, "Journey, &c.," p. 32.



the ditch ultimately winds about and joins the main one again at Bean. Signs of other caves are found in its course and about the district.

To the northward of this wood near the high road at Greenhithe a cave was opened in 1879; it has been imperfectly described.<sup>1</sup> The cave was from the surface 35 feet in depth and had a roughly angular figure (Plate II, fig. 9); near one corner, however, a pot-hole or perpendicular pipe of gravel was found to interfere with the excavation in that direction. This pipe was not touched from the inside, but was allowed to project into the cave; so neatly was this done, that in parts not two inches of chalk was left for a casing to the gravel pipe. Had this casing been penetrated the loose gravel would soon have filled the cave, and the drainage in wet weather would have entered and flooded it. Besides this, great care was taken to smooth the floor and sides, and the pick marks were very close and the trimming good, the whole having an air of permanent use and lengthened occupation such as the caves rarely present. I can only consider it an adjunct to the dwellings immediately above, of which there is still abundant evidence in burnt wood, bones, flint flakes, pottery, &c. The burnt human remains thickly bedded in wood ash point to the destruction of the dwelling above by fire, and the casting of the remains down the hole.

A cave may be seen in section at the spot where the railway leaves the cutting to enter the Darent valley, and further west, by the footbridge on the other side of the valley, a very good example, well excavated and cleverly worked, was exposed for a while; it contained no Roman relics, and went down to a layer of flint, which was taken up; its plan was circular and 15 feet in diameter.

The Rev. E. Barrel<sup>2</sup> described a cave which fell in to the depth of 10 feet, from the shock of an earthquake, at Sutton in Hone. This being near the river was very soon partly filled with water.

A series of these caves of the older type seem to have followed the outcrop of the chalk between the brick

<sup>1</sup> *Archæ. Journal*, xxxvii, 193.

<sup>2</sup> "Phil. Trans.," xxxv, 305.



earths on the one hand and the superior strata on the other, which marks the ancient and sometimes buried cliff of the (palæolithic) Thames. Several of them are to be seen at Crayford in the wall of the chalk pit adjoining the great brick pits there. I have described three of them in this Journal<sup>1</sup>: two are figured which were in proximity (Plate II, figs. 7-8); one of them was 36 ft. 6 in. in total depth, and its greatest diameter 18 feet. The floor reached to the layer of flint which all the other caves reached, and part of the flint had been taken up and piled in a heap at one side of the cave. From the floor rose an obtuse cone of sandy clay, very hard, six feet high, washed in very slowly and evenly by the rain. In the cone was found several flakes, worked scrapers, and a "core," but no pottery; above this lay coarser soil, several sorts of pottery, some made with shells, some with chalk, and ornamented by the finger nail; higher still Roman pottery, a fine Samian plate, and bones and rubbish to the surface. The time which has elapsed since the deposit of Roman remains we can calculate. It is well within bounds to date the commencement of the deposit of mud at half that period earlier, and that would not reach the time of its excavation. The sister cave (8), from bad management in the digging, fell in early.

Their proximity did not escape my notice at the time, nor the existence of a small opening of communication between them, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, which greatly puzzled us when excavating the caves.<sup>2</sup> Though these caves were dug without the aid of instruments of metal, for they showed no pick marks, they were well and symmetrically worked, and more time than was necessary was employed in their shaping and in the making of the little hole (3 ft. 3 in. in length). On the sides too, of broad slabs of chalk, which were deeply stained with yellow oxide of iron, white scorings, in a kind of rough circular and crossed pattern, were scrawled with flint chips, like those at Cissbury mentioned by Gen. Pitt-Rivers<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Park Harrison. I therefore think that

<sup>1</sup> *Archæ. Journal*, xxxvii, 333. The title of "mines" which I gave to these pits is a mistake, as they do not appear to have been dug solely for that purpose, but quite otherwise.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this was intended to be enlarged.

<sup>3</sup> "*Journal of Anthropol. Institute*," v, 374, and *ib.* for May, 1878.

these caves may be compared with the Cissbury caves as to some points; but their separation from each other and the absence of galleries point to different objects and uses.

One of these caves, a few yards from the others, had passages. Some have fallen in and others have been excavated away. The cave itself cannot yet be entered, but the passages varied from 3 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. in height and somewhat less in width; they spread in several directions for thirty or forty feet, following the layer of flint. Another further west was worked on a different principle: the centre pit was open to the sky about 10 feet wide and 15 feet deep; the smaller caves around had their vaults on a level with its floor, extending horizontally 12 or 15 feet, and with a depth of 10 feet reached the layer of flint here 25 feet below the surface. In one cave a fire had been lighted; flaking appeared to have been conducted on the upper floor, the bits falling into the lower chambers; pottery, flakes, &c., filled the pit, which is not yet fully explored.

All these caves formed part of a series, the sites of some of which can be detected in the orchards near, and one has been worked for chalk up to within the last fifty years, presenting a very interesting labyrinth of modern galleries, which have united several old shafts once separate; though there was once evidence of small-sized galleries radiating from the old shafts, made without metallic tools, and following the line of flint, which might have been of neolithic age.

The great chalk pit itself was originally a denehole in my recollection. The modern works are for brickmaking purposes. The series may be traced up the little valley running to Caught-leg bottom, and there are many in the woods around.

On the side of the Cray river near Crayford are many holes (fallen in) in the wilderness belonging to the Elms,<sup>1</sup> and others may be seen in Gibbet-Spring, both by the side of the pre-historic roadway, which ultimately became Roman, got the Saxon name of Watling street, and is now the Old Dover road. All these pits are at a low level amongst the brushwood growing in the valley.

<sup>1</sup> I am informed that in the roadway near by a Roman leaden coffin was found,

in what appears to have been one of them, opened when digging a sewer.

I now come to that locality which has always received the greatest attention from writers, and still does so. Lambarde was our first topographer, and made the first mention of the holes in 1570.<sup>1</sup> "There are to be scene as well in the open heath near this town (Crayford) as also in the closed grounds about it, sundry artificiall caves or holes in the earth whereof some have ten, some fifteen and some twenty fathoms in depth; at the mouth and thence downward narrow and like the tunnel of a chimney or passage of a well, but in the bottom large and of great receipt insomuch that some of them have sundry roomes or partitions one within another, strongly vaulted and supported with pillars of chalk," &c.

This is a precise description of those now visible, especially in Stankey wood, and it is likely that they were the ones meant.

Camden<sup>2</sup> (who lived at Camden House, Chislehurst, and who knew the district) describes them, as also do Thomas Pennant<sup>3</sup> and Hasted.<sup>4</sup> Dean Buckland,<sup>5</sup> however, treats them with some disdain. John Dunkin<sup>6</sup> and his son,<sup>7</sup> and "Murray's Guide to Kent," discuss the subject with care. The Rev. S. Denne and many other authors, chiefly compilers of guides, refer to them. They are carefully referred to by King<sup>8</sup> in his "Munimenta," and by the late Mr. E. T. Stevens.<sup>9</sup>

On Crayford and Dartford Heath no caves remain now, as mentioned by Lambarde; the places where they are most abundant is called Jorden's Wood and the copses around it.

The holes hereabout may in a certain sense be taken as the best examples remaining. The wood, which is the centre of it, has been undisturbed ground for an immemorial period, a very large portion of it consisted until lately of barren land, and Dartford Heath, Jordens, Ruxley Heath, with Row Hill, &c., was a spur of wild country extending from the chalk downs. It is on the watershed

<sup>1</sup> M. Lambarde, "Perambulation," p. 401, ed. 1826.

<sup>2</sup> "Britannia." See also Gibson's "Camden," i, 263; and Gough's "Additions."

<sup>3</sup> "Journey from London to Dover," vol. i, pp. 45, 55.

<sup>4</sup> "History of Kent," i, 211.

<sup>5</sup> "Geol. Trans.," iv, 290.

<sup>6</sup> "John Dunkin, "History of Dartford."

<sup>7</sup> A. J. Dunkin, "History of Kent."

<sup>8</sup> King, "Munimenta Antiqua," vol. i, p. 44, &c.

<sup>9</sup> "Flint Chips," p. 58.

See also De Caumont, "Cours d'Antiquité Monumental," i, 167.

between the Darent and the Cray, and small valleys from either stream run up toward each other in the centre of the wood. Plate I. represents a survey of the district, on which arable land is encroaching and obliterating the remains. The caves are represented by round black spots and the ditches by black lines; both are somewhat enlarged, but the centres of the dots and of the lines are the true places required.

In consequence of the return to cultivation going on, many ditches have disappeared, by which some caves were connected with the system, especially at Cavey Spring, yet even round that cluster the remains of ditches can be found, which appear to be prolongations of the rest. Most of the caves here are fallen in. Two at least lie in the centre of the footpath.<sup>1</sup>

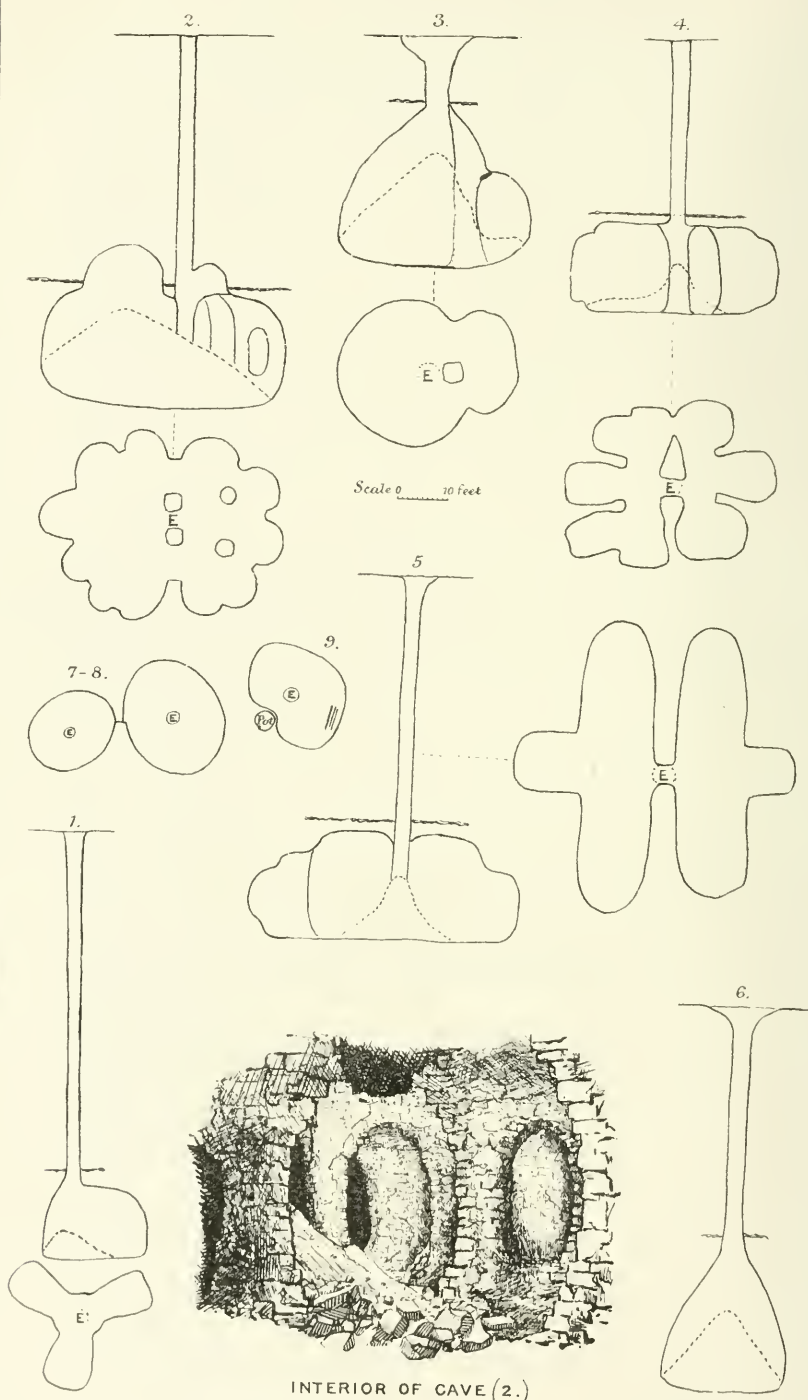
The caves are represented by large black spots, most having fallen in; the larger are those which have utterly collapsed, the smaller are shafts. In the area shewn in the map are between 30 and 40, of which I have descended to the bottom or as far as possible. In my remembrance some have been filled up, and others have been discovered by their sudden subsidence.

At Stankey is a cluster of which 21 shafts and several good caves are open, some of which I have shewn on Plate II. Many caves are circular in plan, one (fig. 3) has one pillar, the pit marked (4) has one pillar, and only wants the thin wall on the other side of the shaft pierced to make a second. This excavation, like many others, is planned on the rule of working the cave in adits at right angles to each other, as in fig. 5, and allowing the central pair of buttresses to remain for access to the bottom, (by footholes) until the adits had proceeded far enough to pierce, thus leaving pillars, which were trimmed round; this plan has reached a further step in pit marked (fig. 2), which has four pillars. The neglect, however, to leave the two pillars eastward of the shaft has caused the falling in of this vault, a neglect which appears to me and to many who are well accustomed to visit this cave, to have resulted from a desire to obtain a large space, less obstructed than the other. The whole cave is embayed, yet rounded and symmetrical,

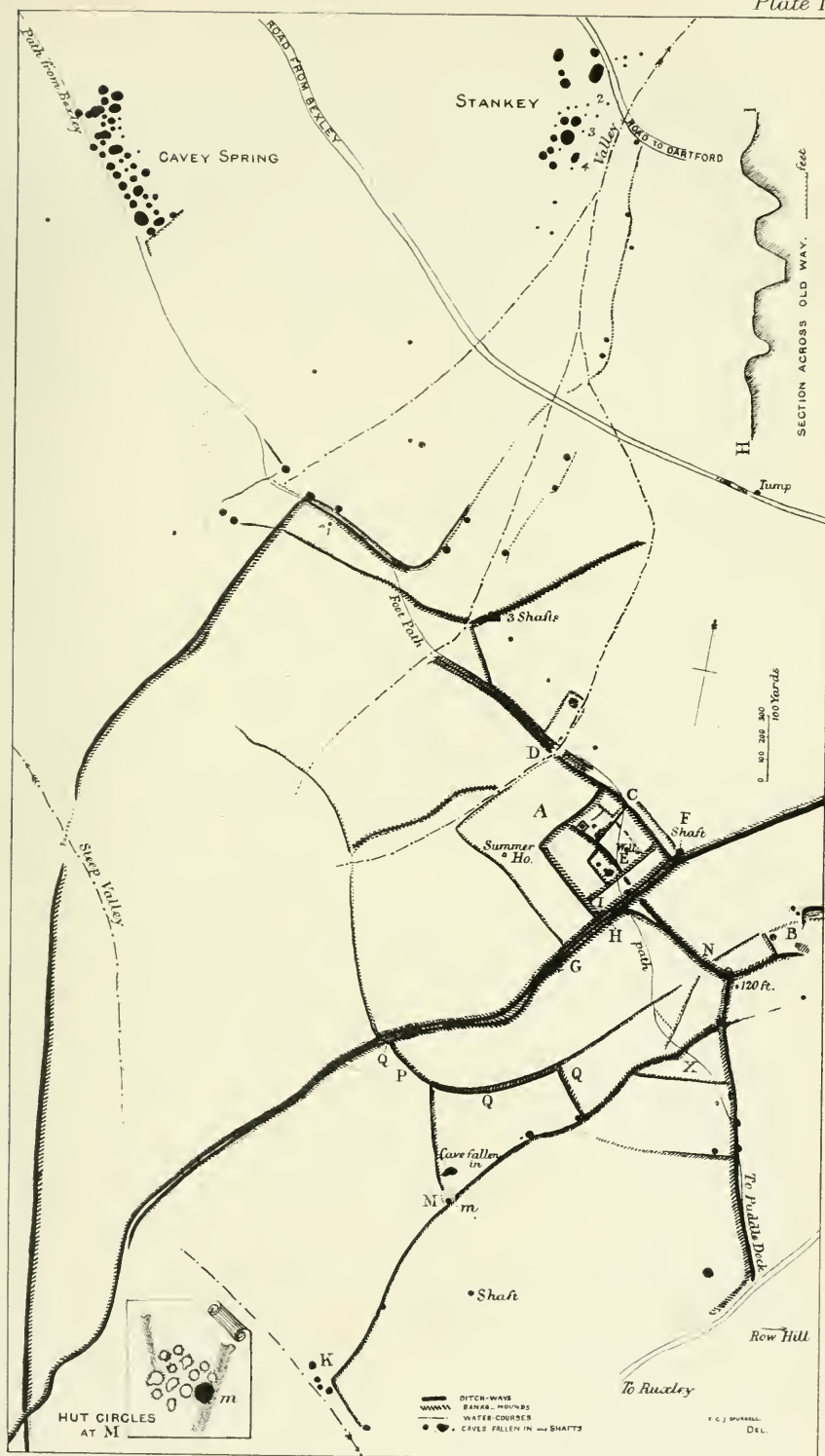
<sup>1</sup> A notice of these has lately appeared, my suggestion. "The Engineer," Mar. 18, 1881.  
Mr. T. V. Holmes having visited them at







FC J SPURRELL  
DEL



JORDENS WOOD, KENT.



all combining to give the idea of an excavation seeking space rather than the material excavated. The nearest cave to it on the west is within 10 feet, yet no effort in this case was made to unite them, though I have when in one cave heard persons knocking in the other.

The access to this cave was until lately practicable from the surface to the bottom, and by this means I and others have gone down it unassisted.<sup>1</sup> These holes are continued down the central pillars; they wind for an eighth of a circle round the shaft.

The plan, which is drawn to scale, is intended to be a sufficient explanation, yet I may mention the greatest diameters to be  $49 \times 38$  ft., and the height about 25 ft. This cave, of which I have attempted a sketch, is very interesting, particularly when illuminated by a few dozen candles.

A cave in Jordens marked (1) is on a different plan, the adits being in three radiations; each of these in another case extends as far as 50 yards, and is of great dimension. At two parts of the wood (see Plate I), at E in the square camp A, and at B, there appear to have been cottages, perhaps mediæval. They were placed by the public footpath winding through the woods. At both places a well was dug, which penetrated the chalk over a hundred feet in each case, and to which no bottom can be discovered; they are partly steined.

The square camp A, which is not a true square, is very interesting, as it enables me to give a relative date to the slight earthworks connected with the caves. It is from wall to wall roughly 400 ft.; the sides are not parallel, all bulge slightly outwards near the middle. The west one is somewhat irregular at its northern part. This camp is Roman in plan; I have found coarse Roman-British pottery of various kinds within its enclosure; some old banks and ditches have been re-arranged to form it. I was kindly assisted in making a careful plan of this camp by Mr. W. M. F. Petrie.

It will readily be perceived that some of the works in the camp are unconformable to the square outline. This arises from the fact of the camp being placed upon and

<sup>1</sup> A photograph shewing a person descending, and another of the interior, have been taken by magnesium light.

over earlier works, apparently those of the boundaries or defensive works and the paths of a "village."<sup>1</sup> From the 120ft. well near B a ditch or path may be traced through (past) a strongly marked earthwork westward into the square camp, thence part branches northwards to C and part continuing westwards turns northwards, constituting part of the western ditch of the square camp, but modifying the symmetry of the square by its presence. That part of the west wall and the whole northern wall of the camp were banks belonging to the old village which, running down to the stream (now dry) at D, protected the way to the water, and crossing the hill descended to the water again, where the complicated paths diverge and are confused.

The well-marked earthwork to which I alluded is locally called the Roman road; it is, however, older than that, the square camp being determined in its site by the road. I have traced this way from within a short distance of Foots Cray as a mere depression in the open fields, or deeper as a boundary ditch, until, on entering Jordens, its double and triple character slowly appears. Near G it becomes suddenly a hollow way with steep banks more than 10ft. in depth and of defined outline. High up on its banks on each side ditches which have been removed to form the great hollow may be perceived these become more marked until at H the section represented at H I is reached. While passing the camp a branch is sent to the east, and its main line is diverted slightly by the shaft F previously existing. It can thence be traced over Dartford Heath by Leyton Cross towards Dartford.

Of this ditchway Hasted<sup>2</sup> (Ed. 1796) says, "In Jordens Wood, on the western side of this parish (Wilmington) is a hollow way formerly a high road which has not been made use of for more than a hundred years as such," and I suggest that a thousand more might be added.

The deneholes to the south of the camp appear to be the oldest, the ditches of communication between them appearing to be of a date anterior to the village works on which the square camp stands.

For it will be seen that the ditchway which comes

<sup>1</sup> Compare Cæsar De Bell. Gall., Lib. iii, ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "History of Kent," i, 234.



from K at the extreme south of the map, passes by M, with the pit (*m*) which I excavated for 15ft., and joins the "village" works in a somewhat uneven manner at X, is suggestive of accommodation with a different plan.

At M, around the pit (*m*), is a cluster of hut circles, part of which fills up and obliterates the older ditch K-M. These circles are connected with a ditch which, running north-westwards, joins another at right angles, coming from the great road, then turning and passing up to and under the ditch at N on which the square camp stands, it may be traced on its other side towards B: Thus there can be little doubt that the ditchway K-M is older than N-P. A later and stronger bank and ditch Q has been made on part of the ditch N-P, and somewhat obscured it.

Throughout the area above described the direction of the surface works appears in general to have been determined by the situations of the caves.

The whole of the area in this map and its neighbourhood is covered with flint chips, arrow heads, and implements, some large ones having formerly been found here.

These caves at the south, frequently enter the chalk immediately, which comes to the surface there. The character of the flint chips which cover the surface in this neighbourhood, whether chalk or sand, is different, having a thick white coating of changed flint; while the majority of the chips northward have only reached that lesser stage of exposure which give them a grey or bluish tinge. As, geologically speaking, the flints employed for chipping must have come from the same veins, which are without difference here, this affords additional evidence of a considerable diversity of age in the works of the settlement.

I have said that the valleys lead to the Darent and Cray, but they are dry now-a-days. The soils lying on the chalk in the wood are Thanet sand, Woolwich, and Oldhaven beds and old river gravels.<sup>1</sup>

In Camden Park chalk mine, now fallen in, caves were frequently met with and carefully avoided by the workmen. I once saw five in the works, one of which was

<sup>1</sup> By way of guide to visitors, I should say that a public path runs from Bexley, through Cavey Spring, the Square Camp over Row Hill to Dartford.

that described by Mr. R. B. Latter.<sup>1</sup> This contained much Romano-British pottery, bones, &c. The shaft, which was 13 feet deep, penetrated the chalk almost immediately. The sides of the cave were carefully worked. Mr. Latter informed me that he found several flint knives in it.<sup>2</sup>

These caves are remarkably frequent on the Cray, a river like the Darent, running in the bare chalk. At Arpington and St. Mary Cray they are particularly common, Mr. Latter mentioning several shafted chambers as occurring in the railway cutting west of St. Mary Cray station. Shafts are found at Halstead, Knockholt, Cudham, &c.

At Eltham, on the estate of Mr. Jackson, by whose invitation I examined it, a very deep hole was found. Mr. Petrie described it,<sup>3</sup> and his drawing has been reproduced by Mr. T. V. Holmes.<sup>4</sup> This is a very deep cave of 140 feet, having three pillars, and the open area is wholly on one side of the shaft. The shaft has been steined with brick (of the early part of the sixteenth century) and chalk. The single opening from the shaft into the cave was concealed by a curtain, and the iron pins holding it are still visible; a candle scone for thrusting into the crevices of the chalk was found in it. Evidently this cave was even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (though of much older date) a place of refuge.

Caves exist at intervals along the river Thames between Crayford and Woolwich, one is known in the grounds of Walnut Tree house, Erith, and several between that and Abbeywood, where one fell in to a depth of sixty feet in the roadway leading from Bostol Heath to the railway station.

In the parish of Kidbrooke I have known shafts to subside into caves, and several instances are recorded in local prints.

The *Times* and local prints contain particulars of holes dropping in recently on Blackheath. They are discussed by Mr. De Rance,<sup>5</sup> Mr. T. V. Holmes,<sup>6</sup> and Mr. Lemon<sup>7</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> "Archæ. Cantiana," i, 137.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sælgende*, or Swallow, of the Saxon Charter, mentioned by Mr. Latter as the cave described by him, rests on a mistranslation of "haga," which does not mean "dwelling."

<sup>3</sup> *Archæological Journal* xxxv, 179.

<sup>4</sup> "The Engineer," 18th March, 1881.

<sup>5</sup> "Nature," xxiii, 365.

<sup>6</sup> "The Engineer," 18th March, 1881.

<sup>7</sup> Proc. Blackheath Nat. Hist. Soc. for 1881.

three of them being partly visible in 1879. I can remember others, however, on the heath behaving in a similar way; one of them was near "Washerwoman's Hole." Some have been slipping gently for many years in the gravel pit near Whitfield's mound, and I could point to several spots where others may probably "subside."

In the direction of Charlton are some. The late Sir T. M. Wilson told me of several, and that one which fell in at the east end of his avenue was examined by him. He mentioned several which once existed at Hangingwood and between the south lodge and Blackheath. He understood them well, and assisted me in taking photographs of them both above and below ground. I find an interesting notice of a subsidence on Blackheath in the old "Gentleman's Magazine," for November 9th, 1798.

*(To be continued).*



## INAUGURAL ADDRESS TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE HELD AT BEDFORD.<sup>1</sup>

By C. MAGNIAC, M.P.

On this occasion it is not a lecture that I should like to give, or you would wish, to hear from me, but I am entitled almost to claim to be a fellow worker in the field in which you are engaged. For many years I have been an ardent lover of objects of art, illustrating, different times and the progress which the world and man have made, and it gives us, I am sure, great satisfaction that your visit should be paid to this county, because we want you to dig up the dry bones and clothe them with flesh, so that we may know what we have beneath our soil.

We have a great deal to learn in this county. It has been said with truth that we have no county history. There are some scattered essays about different edifices and different parts of this county, but undoubtedly they require to be worked up into one whole, so that the student of Midland county life may have laid before him a book to which he can refer as illustrating the progress which we have made from the times of those who went before us. Now in saying that I am, perhaps, rather begging the question. We are very apt in these days to talk of progress, and I think we do not sufficiently acknowledge and remember—it is because we are not sufficiently aware of—the position and condition of those who inhabited these islands before we came here. I think it is probable, I may say certain with respect to every other county that has been thoroughly and carefully examined, that you will find a high state of civilization in places, and under conditions where it would have been thought impossible that it should have ever existed.

Now of our county, in the time of the British owners of it, absolutely nothing is specifically known; all I believe we do know of solid and substantial fact is this—there are two great roads in this country, Watling-street, and Icknield-way, which have been and are popularly claimed, or rather assumed to be, Roman, but which I believe from evidence I have seen, are no doubt British. Now it is not reasonable to suppose that two great roads of that kind can have been isolated instances of the condition of the people, without the accompanying civilising results from such means of communication. These roads lead directly through this county—I won't go into their history now because there are gentlemen here who are more competent to enter into the subject than I am—they lead right through the county, and indicate, as I have said,

<sup>1</sup> Delivered July 26th, 1881.

traffic and inter communication, the result of which would be certainly civilisation, and which could only result from civilisation.

As regards Roman times we know very little. In the county there are some Roman remains, but I fancy they have been very imperfectly examined, but they must be of considerable importance, because certainly the Romans inhabited no country in the world for two or three hundred years without leaving behind them striking marks of their knowledge of art, of their knowledge of science, and of all that renders life agreeable, not to say useful.

Then again, following this we had the Saxons, we had the Danes, we had the old British nation, living side by side with each other, not always the best of friends, as this town itself is a striking proof, because one of the greatest battles of those times which gave the whole country to the victor, was fought in the town of Bedford. We have a record in Luton itself of the man whose name is attached to Luton, Robert Hoo. He was a great man, and a well-considered man, in the time of King Canute. These seem to us to be very old and very remote times, and there are many of us who know very little about them. It would be of passing and of striking interest that we should have fuller information. I think, as I said at the outset, if these things were unveiled, they would point out to us a condition of things under our feet and before our eyes of which we have very little knowledge, very little perception, and perhaps very little idea.

From these British, Danes, and Saxons, we come down to the times of the Normans who left us visible proof of their existence and of their knowledge of the arts, in the magnificent churches, and chapels, and abbeys, with which this county is endowed. We have them before us, but I venture to say that we know very little about them. It is exceedingly doubtful, I believe, who was really the architect of the noble parish churches which exist in my own neighbourhood. I have been told this and I have been told the other, but I have never seen the statements corroborated by any reasonable and fair amount of proof, and yet that these proofs exist I have not the slightest doubt whatever, in some unlooked-for records which might be found. In illustration of that I will beg leave to mention a case which has occurred to me within the last few days.

I happened to be in Spain last Easter, when I found accidentally in an old house a picture which appeared to me to be of surprising interest, and I managed to acquire it and brought it over to London. I have shown it to some ten or twelve gentlemen well acquainted with the works of painters, with the manner of painting, with all that appertains to the knowledge of who a picture is painted by, and not three of those authorities agree as to the painter of my picture. They all assume it to be the work of a great painter, but they most of them differ, by two's or by three's. I happened in the course of my enquiry and search for a competent person to assist me, to find an art student who has made it the object of his life to study the pictures of that time, that is to say from about 1450 to 1550. This gentleman unfolded to my astonished eyes records of painters of whom, in this country, and even in Germany, where they painted, absolutely no public knowledge exists. He ascertained the names of works, he ascertained the prices which were paid, he ascertained the names of the wives and the families of these painters, solely from the records of a town in Germany like this



town of Bedford. The records of these paintings appear to have been kept as a matter of course in the archives of the different town councils. This knowledge will appear interesting mainly to those who have studied that particular subject, but I mention it as an indication of what has been existing for three or four hundred years without the persons in whose care and custody it was being aware of its existence. The painters of the pictures of that time have been described as Holbein, and if not Holbein, Van Eyk, and if not these then some unknown master of the school of Van Eyk, and all the time the knowledge of the men who painted these pictures, and descriptions of them, existed in those records.

I have no manner of doubt whatever that if the records of this county and other counties were searched we should find most interesting information with regard to the works of those great Normans who beautified our land. I won't allude to the details connected with the churches which you are about to visit. There is Dunstable Church, of which I find a description in the paper of proceedings; Felmersham Church, Elstow, and other places where you will be taken, and we hope you will give us information in regard to them.

I would like to say a word on the general principals of these meetings. What I particularly hate is that Archaeology should be looked upon as a sport and not as a serious subject, in fact a subject of science. We do not want to make these meetings a gigantic picnic; that is not the object with which we have met together, and I beg leave to say that it would be very ill-requiting the labours of the secretaries and other gentlemen who have taken the trouble to organise these expeditions, who have taken the trouble to procure information and to have it ready for those who choose to profit by it, if it is merely to be a summer outing of three or four days, to enjoy the fresh air and the singing of the birds, and make believe that Archaeology was being talked about—that is not what these meetings are for. The days of ridicule of Archaeologists are long gone by. I suppose everybody here has read of the sort of Archaeological meeting described in Dickens' first work; it was undoubtedly, and unfortunately, a very true picture of what went on in many of the so-called Archaeological meetings in those days. I am happy to say that we have recovered from that malady, we are ready to take Archaeology as it ought to be taken, in a serious way, and, what is more, Archaeologists are entitled to claim that the deeds they have done justify the claims they set up to be looked upon as serious people doing a great work for their country.

Is it possible—I believe it is impossible—for any age to have shown in this particular class of work such results as have been produced in the last 50 years? All London went to stare at Cleopatra's Needle. It does not seem to be known that it is not fifty years ago that the writing on Cleopatra's Needle was a sealed book. Champollion, a Frenchman, and Young, our own countryman, within the last fifty years succeeded in deciphering the key to that language, and what is the result of it? It unfolded the history of six thousand years. I am quite aware that it is rather dangerous for Archaeologists to talk of time. There was a time when certain people attempted to fix even to a day or an hour, from Bible history, the day when the world was made, and out of their own consciousness the hour at which it would terminate, but I think what has been discovered has shown the futility and foolishness, resulting from absolute ignorance, of such surmises, for if one thing more than another has resulted from

archæological efforts—if one thing more than another has justified the attempts that have been made to fix with precision the great events of the world—it has been the absolute confirmation of the Bible, not only in what was clear but in illustrating points which were abstruse. When we are told to an hour when an event happened something has been shown to exist which shows it was merely our foolishness and ignorance which prevented us from understanding what we were told. I say that those six thousand years of the world's history which the knowledge of the deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphics has enabled us to read, has strengthened the position of all those who love the Bible. Instead of, as was supposed, making it dangerous and shaking our faith it does more to confirm it and strengthen it than anything else.

I do not wish to go further with this line of argument. I wish to confine myself to the scientific and practical part of the subject ; I do not want to infringe upon faith. What I want to insist upon is this, that as far as the knowledge of the facts of history go, everything that we have found or discovered absolutely confirms the Bible narration, and therefore it is surely to our advantage to continue to open the uncut leaves of the Book of History. It is very true that sometimes people say, in Egypt you have got the whole thing before you. You see inscriptions on the monuments, pyramids and pillars over the whole country. What so natural that people should have tried to decipher them. But certainly that was not the case of Babylon and Nineveh. The great plains on which they are situated were sometimes inundated with floods for months in the year, and sometimes they were so dry that everything green perished and nothing was left but a dead uniformity of brown earth. The river wandered from place to place, making a marsh here and a dry place there ; a few mounds almost insignificant were left by the side of that river, and that was the field Layard began to work upon when he took up the idea of discovering the site of ancient Nineveh. I need not say what extraordinary results have followed these discoveries. It is almost impossible to fathom the amount of information which has been found buried beneath that place. The efforts of Sir Henry Rawlinson in deciphering that extraordinary language have been most successful. It should be remembered that the records were found in buildings, the roofs of which had fallen in, and can only be likened to petrified books in a library. These records were written in an alphabet and language which were unknown, and it has been worked out by comparison with those things that were known, by the patient working of such men as Layard, Rawlinson, and other workers in the same field, until at the present moment many of the most minute facts connected with the history of the inhabitants of Babylon and Nineveh are as plain before us as an open book. Even lately I was shown a most curious cylinder of that kind which related to a very simple matter in private life, and it showed how very much in advance of us those Babylonians and Ninevites were in practical matters, upon which we pride ourselves so much. This was a conveyance of a field by one man to another. The record was written, I presume, not at the rate of 3s. 4d. a line, it was written in the briefest possible terms consistent with clearness, and at the foot was a small plan beautifully incised, so clear and so simple as to boundaries that the man who had it could carry the title deed in his hand and there could be no mistake about it. I admit that such a system would be attended by in-

conveniences; there would be no room for chancery suits, for Sir Roger Tichborne's, and for questions of that kind which may last out of a lifetime, and wear out the hearts and minds of the unfortunate people who have to suffer from them. But it certainly has its advantages, and I am inclined to think the advantages on their side will rather outweigh those on ours. So in these things we have certainly something to learn from those who went before us.

Everyone has read of those wonderful discoveries of Dr. Schliemann on the site of Troy. I think the most extraordinary point connected with his discovery is this: he found at that particular place no less than four cities, one superimposed upon the other, the builders of which were evidently absolutely ignorant that they were building upon other towns the knowledge of which was entirely lost. We may congratulate ourselves that we live in times when we can profit by the labours of such workers as these.

Then, Palestine, what has been done there? Only during the last fortnight, in the famous pool at Siloam, an inscription has been discovered of the time of Solomon: I have no doubt whatever it is the oldest authentic inscription of that kind in the world. That has been lying under the feet and before the eyes of thousands of wayfarers, and it was not until an accidental explorer went into the conduit a little further than usual that he came across this living evidence of the times of which we read in the Bible.

We have a great deal still to do. There is Mexico, Peru, and the Etruscans, the most wonderful nation, looked at from an artistic point of view, that ever inhabited the earth. I believe all the principles of fine art were derived from the Etruscans. I believe that from them the Greeks, and Romans, and certainly the Italians of more modern times, found instruction in science and in art, and that we might also do so if we chose to follow their example. If you examine those recovered pictures from the times of the Etruscans, you will find face after face which might have been taken for a picture by Raphael. I believe that Raphael must have studied from them. Finer models, more useful, more pure, more simple, it is utterly impossible to conceive. They are evidently the work of a nation in the highest condition of civilization. About that nation, of their language, their history, their origin we know not a single word.

Then among ourselves we have got in this country a number of those most remarkable constructions which go by the name of Stone Monuments. I hardly like to touch upon this matter here, because I believe there is no subject which has been the cause of so much difference of opinion as that has been. The explanation simply lies in our own ignorance. We are obliged to evolve out of our own consciousness some theory that fits in with a particular fact that we happen to be aware of. I believe that that book will not always be a sealed one. It is not many years ago when a King of England, happening to see one of the most remarkable of these monuments we possess, sent an architect down specially to enquire, examine, and let him know who built it. He went down and remained there a week or ten days, and returned with the extraordinary intelligence that this was a Roman temple of the Tuscan order, built by some one to whom he gave a Roman name which he had evidently discovered in the first Latin Grammar he came across. That was the report he

gave of Stonehenge. I do hope and trust and believe that we shall not always remain in a state of ignorance with reference to these monuments. They must have been built by a nation well skilled in the mechanical arts, who never could have had the intention of erecting extraordinary monuments of that kind without having in their mind some idea of which they were the embodiment and which we at any rate should be no worse to be made acquainted with. Undoubtedly there was an idea underlying these different monuments, and I hope and trust that the reproach of ignorance on those points will be removed before long from Archæologists.

As to our own county there are plenty of facts we should like to know ; plenty of things for observation and investigation. Sometimes people say, what is the use of all this ? We think there is a very present and great use. There is no use in admiring a thing because it is old. That hateful word "curiosity," I am glad to say, is being eliminated from Archæological language. Nothing makes me so ill and sick when receiving people at my house, as I sometimes do, for them to tell me in a vapid way, that they have come to see my curiosities. I tell them I have no curiosities. I have nothing in my house but that which the mind of man evolved, having been educated up to the point which enabled him to do so. I believe to-day, with ourselves, that is the *cui bono* of our purpose. We want to cultivate our knowledge and bring it to such a point that we may use it as Owen did, when he saw the fragment of a bone, and read off, like as from a book, that the animal to whom it had once belonged was an amphibious animal, with a long tail, a large mouth, and a certain number of teeth ; that it ate certain things, and had lived a certain number of years. From that he was able to deduce the kind of country it lived in, the kind of climate it lived in ; he was also able to deduce that the position in which it was found in all respects differed essentially and materially from the necessary conditions which were required to enable it to live. He was consequently able to deduce that an enormous and great change had come over the country in which the animal was found ; and he was able to come to some conclusion as to whence and what was the cause of those changes. From these and other reasons he was able to infer the period when those changes took place, and the result was that he was able to form within reasonable limits a fair opinion as to the time when such animals existed. And all that was derived from the splinter of a broken bone. That is the way in which we want to apply our archæological knowledge. We want to make use of it in order that when we find the fragment of a pinnacle of a church, or the fragment of a stone, or the fragment of a brick, we may be able to say— as many gentlemen here can say—that brick was of the time of Cæsar, that stone was quarried in the time of Titus, or that carving may have been designed by the architect of one of our own churches.

These are the principles upon which we desire to study Archæology, and that is one of the reasons why we recommend it to your notice. It unfolds to us the history of the world ; it unfolds to us the greatest of all histories, the history of man, with which animals are woven so inextricably up to a certain point, and we hope to go beyond that point. The hope, expectation, and belief that traces of man will still be found beyond and above a certain time is always, I believe, in the minds of every Archæologist. It is something like the blue rose of the gardener, or



the valuable and beautiful picture which some lover of pictures expects to find for 5s. in a broker's shop, and lives to the end of his life without finding it. The life of one Archæologist may be short, but the life of all Archæologists is long. Societies live, and I hope will live for many many years—at any rate long enough to elucidate some of these problems.

There is one argument in favour of our aspirations upon which I should like to say a word or two.

We hear very often of the Augustan age, the Elizabethan age, and the Cinque Cento period. Does it always occur to us that these ages did not spring full-armed from the particular period in which they flourished? They must have had a commencement. The foundation and the cause of the superiority of those ages must have been laid in preceding years from preceding causes. I venture to hope and believe that what we are doing now is laying the foundation of an age which will have its name. I say the history of those great ages has never been properly written. There must have been causes at work which conduced to bring those great men of culture into the world almost, one may say, simultaneously. Take for instance that Cinque Cento period—1450 to 1550—when you can name almost all the great painters of the world. It is not merely copying that makes a painter; it is the knowledge of history, the knowledge of ideas, the knowledge of learning, single-mindedness of purpose, extraordinary catholicity of mind, and above all, what we find in all great painters, the extraordinary religious tone of their minds, which enabled them to press their whole convictions, the whole of their capacities upon the objects they had before them. There must have been something preceding that time to have caused that galaxy of talent. I hope we may lay the foundation of a revival. I hardly like to say "revival;" I would prefer to say "a new birth," because I have no faith in revivals. I have very little faith in copies, which may serve their object for a moment. I have no faith in imitations whatever. I believe the great secret of art to be originality, and unless it is original it is nothing. If you cannot apply the principles of Archæology as you would the principles of Euclid to the science of art, I believe we shall come to nothing. I believe copying for a student, up to a certain point, may be good, but beyond that imitation is worse than useless. I would, therefore, express an earnest hope that we are laying the foundations, not of a revival, but of a new birth in art and architecture.

I should like to enlist your sympathies for a cause I have very much at heart. We have in this country three of the grandest museums of the world—the British Museum, the National Gallery, and the museum at South Kensington, and half-a-dozen or a dozen others scattered about London. Everyone of those different museums is under a governing body, and I do not hesitate to say that not one of those museums is under the proper governing body. For the British Museum we have fifty trustees, representatives of families that have contributed liberally to its formation, and great men of the day. The Archbishop of Canterbury is, by right of being Archbishop of Canterbury, the leading spirit of that body, and he happens to be a very capable and very competent man. But I hardly need say that a body chosen, not elected, under such conditions, is likely to be rather Conservative than otherwise. I do not think there is any particular division of art which has been furthered by the British Museum, without their own walls, they having been content and anxious



to keep the whole thing to themselves. The National Gallery is in much the same condition. The South Kensington is a much younger museum, having only been established since 1851, and is willing to do all it can, but what we want is all these great museums joined together under one competent and authoritative head, and to be applied, not to the conservation in locked cases in dusty rooms of objects of invaluable art, but to be made subservient to art and Archæology all over the country. Every Archæologist should endeavour to help forward this movement. We want to see these art treasures and these Archæological treasures, now within these walls and distributed in these cases, so situated as to be available to places like Bedford which are willing from time to time to receive them and get instruction from them.

I must apologize for having detained you so long. I am certain I may confidently say that the county of Bedford will give a hearty welcome to this Archæological Institute. We all feel our deficiencies in our knowledge of art: we all have something to learn, even the gentlemen who have come to teach us may possibly learn something from us. I feel sure the examination of the objects in the county, whether of art or nature, or of something between the two, will be of great interest, and that our knowledge of them will receive an extraordinary accretion from the visit which is being paid to us this year. I am sure everyone in the county will be ready to place at the disposal of the visitors everything in his power. I for one, in my humble way, shall be only too glad to do so, and I am confident I may say the same for everybody else.

What we have to show, I think, of the greatest interest in the county is the extraordinary church architecture. I think it would be difficult to over-estimate, and it is difficult sometimes to appreciate, the value of these edifices, and the best way to appreciate them is to bear one of them in one's mind and to compare it with something new—something that is being built at the present time. Without any disparagement to architects, I think they have still got to have "a new birth." We want to have a national architecture for this country; we want such an architecture as shall have the stamp of individuality and originality upon it. We do not want to have bad imitations of beautiful buildings; we do not want servile copies of those buildings; what we want is a national architecture which shall be a glory and pride to the country; and if the edifices of our county contribute in, however small a degree, to that end, we shall feel with pride that our labours on this occasion will have been well repaid.

## THE CASTLE AND KEEP OF DURHAM.

By GEO. T. CLARK.

In a recent volume of the publications of the Surtees Society Mr. James Raine, the worthy son of a distinguished sire, has given to the archaeological world a very curious poem, now first printed, entitled "*Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis Monachi ac Prioris*," a work of the time, and which records the intrusion of William Cumin into the See of Durham. This was a period of extreme interest in that important See, once including the city of Carlisle and the territory of Teviotdale, and at the date of the poem still holding the Castles of Durham and Norham, fortresses of the first rank, even in a district which contained Bamborough.

The strife between Stephen and Maud, severe all over England, was nowhere conducted with greater severity than upon the Tyne, the Tees, and the Wear. David of Scotland, Maud's uncle and active supporter, unsubdued by his defeat at Northallerton, claimed the earldom of Cumberland in his own right, and that of Northumberland in right of his wife. Durham alone stood in his path, and its Bishop, Geoffrey Rufus, strong in his impregnable castle, steadfastly adhered to Stephen. His death in 1140-1 enabled a certain William Cumin, an adherent of David, to obtain by force and fraud possession of the castle and the temporalities of the See, although he failed to secure his election to the Bishopric. The result was a severe contest between Cumin and the lawful Bishop, William de St. Barbe, in the course of which the cathedral was occupied by soldiery, and its monks were ill-treated and slain. It was not till 1144 that Cumin was put down and peace restored to the house and patrimony of St. Cuthbert.

Laurence, who was born at Waltham and brought up in its holy house, came to Durham during the episcopate of Flambard, who probably completed the castle, the masonry of which, at least, was begun during the reign of the Conqueror. As an ordinary monk he was celebrated for his facility in metrical composition. He became first precentor and then a chaplain to the Bishop. The episcopal seat and church of Durham has been described as

"Half church of God, half fortress 'gainst the Scot,"  
and the Bishops themselves partook largely of this double character. In the Bishop's household Laurence saw much of secular life. He became a hunter of the wolf and boar, a fisherman, and a judge of horse flesh; and, if not actually a warrior, he certainly understood the principles of military defences. At the death of Bishop Rufus his connection with the episcopal household ended, and he took an active part against the

intrusion of Cumin and in the election of St. Barbe. He was for some time expelled the monastery; but after his return became Prior in 1149. On St. Barbe's death, in 1152, he led the election of de Puiset, Stephen's nephew, and supported him against the Archbishop of York, by whom he was excommunicated and sentenced to a penitential flagellation at the door of Beverley. Nevertheless, he stood firm to the election, and was one of those who accompanied de Puiset to Rome, and witnessed his consecration by the Pope. He did not, however, live to return to England, but died in France; and his bones only were laid at Durham.

The dialogues are but one of several of his poems. They may be referred to the first half of the twelfth century, when their author was probably resident within the castle with Bishop Rufus, and must have been very familiar with that nearly completed structure.

The castle still retains many of the features and some of the buildings described in the poem. The ditch which cut off the fortress from the cathedral is, it is true, filled up, and the pasture ward to the east is built over and obscured, but the south gate, though rebuilt, stands on the old site and is still the main entrance; and the wall on the right on entering still extends towards the keep. The keep itself is a late work; but the mound upon which it stands is a part of the original fortress, and the masonry is laid on the old lines, and in outline the tower no doubt represent pretty clearly the work of Flambard. A strong wall still connects the keep with the lodgings of the castle and forms the front towards the river. The chapel also remains but little altered, and the walls and arches of the dormitory are original. The well is still seen in the open court, and is, or was recently, in use. Notwithstanding various repairs, rebuildings and additions, there can be but little doubt that the Castle of Durham resembles in its general aspect the fortress of the Conqueror and of Flambard; nor is there in England any more perfect or more remarkable example of a Norman castle of the shell-keep type. The publication of the description of it by Laurence possesses, therefore, a peculiar charm; and this must be the excuse for the following attempt at its translation. The poem is here and there very obscure and occasionally scratches Priscian's head; and it may be that I have misapprehended one or two lines in the original:—

*Descriptio Arcis Dunelmensis, Laur. Dunelm., I.L., 367.*

Arx in eo regina sedens sublime minatur,  
 Quodque videt totum judicat esse suum.  
 Murus et a porta tumulo surgente severus  
 Surgit, et exsurgens arcis amœna petit.  
 Arx autem tenues condensa resurgit in auras,  
 Intus sive foris fortis et apta satis.  
 Intus enim cubitis tribus altius arca surgit,  
 Area de solida facta fidelis humo.  
 Desuper hanc solidata domus sublimior arce  
 Eminent insigni tota decore nitens.  
 Postibus inniti bis cernitur ipsa duobus,  
 Postem quippe potens angulus omnis habet.  
 Cingitur et pulchra paries sibi quilibet ala,  
 Omnis et in muro desinit ala fero.  
 At pons emergens ad propugnacula promptos

Et scandi faciles præbet ab æde gradus.  
 Cumque venit eo via lata cacumina muri  
 Ambit, et arcis ita sæpe meatur apex.  
 Arx vero formam prætendit amœna rotundam,  
 Arte, nitore, statu, fortis, amœna, placens.  
 Hinc in castellum pons despicit, atque recursus  
 Huc et eo faciles pons adhibere solet :  
 Largus enim gradibus spatiatur ubique minutis,  
 Nec se præcipitat sed procul ima petit.  
 At prope murus eum descendit ab arce reflectens  
 In zephyrum faciem flumen ad usque suam.  
 Cujus ab æria largo sinuamine ripa  
 Se referens arvum grande recurvus obit.  
 Oblitus et siccis aquilonis hiatibus arcem  
 Exurgens repetit fortis ubique feram.  
 Nec sterilis vacat eade locus quem circumat alti  
 Ambitus hic muri ; tecta decora tenet.  
 Consita porticibus duo magna palatia præfert  
 In quibus artifices ars satis ipsa probat,  
 Fulget et hic senis suffulta capella columnis,  
 Non spatiosa nimis, sed speciosa satis.  
 Hic thalami thalamis sociantur, et aedibus aedes,  
 Et datur officio quælibet apta suo.  
 Hic vestes, ibi vasa nitent, hic arma coruscant,  
 Hic (*sic*) æra latent, hic caro, panis ibi.  
 Hic fruges, ibi vina jacent, hic potus avenæ,  
 Hic et habet propriam munda farina domum.  
 Cumque sic hinc domus atque domus jungantur, et aedes  
 Ædibus, inde tamen pars ibi nulla vacat.  
 Castelli medium vacat æde, sed exhibet altum  
 Ille locus puteum sufficientis aquæ.

Queen-like the castle sits sublime, and frowns  
 O'er all she sees, and deems the whole her own.  
 Straight from the gate the gloomy wall ascends  
 The mound, and thus the stately keep attains.  
 A close-built citadel, piercing the clear air,  
 Outside and inside strong, well fitted to its use.  
 Its base, of heaped up earth three cubits raised,  
 Solid and firm, the floor does thus support ;  
 On which firm base the supereminent keep  
 Rises, unrivalled in its glittering sheen.  
 On twice two timbers stayed, are seen to rest  
 The buildings there, for each main angle one :  
 While round each half circumference are wings,  
 Each ending in a formidable wall.  
 Springing from these a bridge, by easy steps,  
 To the high battlements an access forms.  
 Where the broad wall all round gives ample path,  
 And thus the summit of the keep is gained.  
 Stately that keep ! a circle in its form,  
 Splendid and strong by art, and by position fair.

Thence, downward to the castle, leads the bridge,  
And offers easy access to and fro ;  
For broad its path with many a shallow step,  
The base attaining by a gradual slope.  
Hard by, the wall, thrown backwards from the keep,  
Faces the west towards th' encircling stream,  
On whose high bank continued, it enfolds  
With a bold sweep an ample pasture there ;  
From parching northern blasts protected thus,  
And so curves round to the stern keep again.  
Nor does the space within the wall embraced  
Stand without buildings: such there are, and good,  
Two porches to two palaces belong,  
Of which the work to th' artist brings no shame.  
Here too a chapel fair six columns boasts.  
Nor large, nor small, but fitted to its needs.  
Here beds lie near to beds, and halls to halls,  
Each for its province suitably disposed :  
Robes here, bright vessels there, here glittering arms,  
Here bread, there flesh, and tempting coin concealed,  
And corn and wine laid down, and barley beer,  
And the clear flour here finds its proper bin.  
Thus on one side house joins to house, and hall  
To hall. The other too is occupied.  
The court alone is free, and there is seen  
The well, full deep, with water well supplied.



## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 2, 1881.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

The Rev. W. J. LOFTIE read "Some Notes on Recent Discoveries among the Egyptian Pyramids." They were mainly the same as those contained in his letter published in the *Athenæum* of 23rd April, but were prefaced by an earnest appeal on behalf of the science of Egyptology, which, as the speaker asserted, lies at the root of classical learning. One sentence of Mr. Loftie's deserves notice—"There are no Universities in Europe of any importance without Egyptian teachers except those of England." A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Loftie whose paper is printed at p. 329.

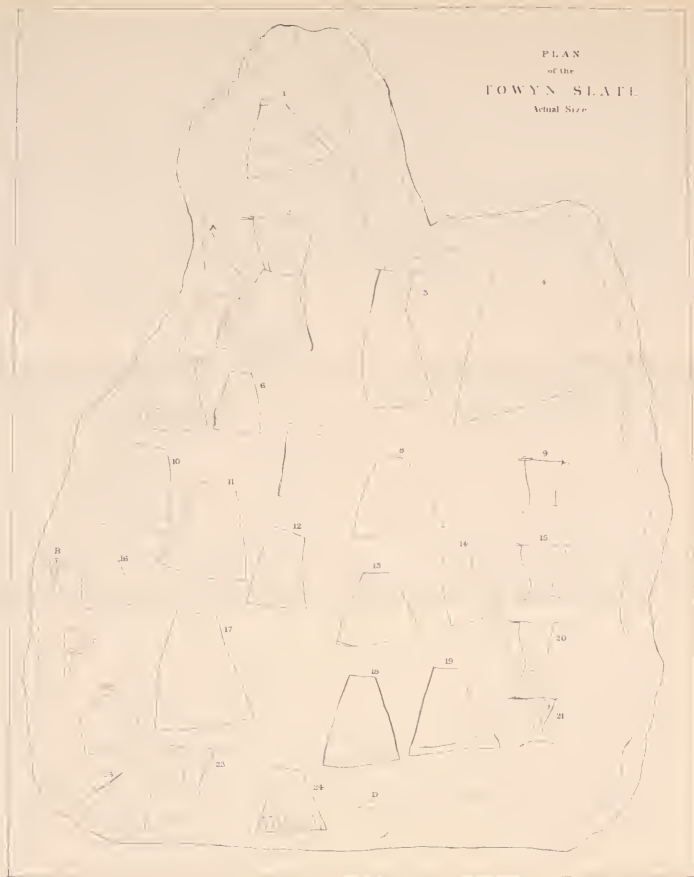
Mr. J. PARK HARRISON read a paper "On an Incised Slate Tablet and other remains, discovered at Towyn,"<sup>1</sup> and has been kind enough to send the following abstract:—

"The very curious tablet described in this communication was found in the autumn of 1879, whilst levelling some rough land, about 250 yards from the sea-wall at Towyn, Merionethshire, by Mr. Humphrey Williams, of Plâs Edwards. It was lying flat on the ground in a bed of consolidated peat ashes, covered with about three feet of drift sand in what was subsequently ascertained to be the north-east corner of the western, and smaller chamber of an old rectangular structure built of shingles and rough stones. On clearing out the sand the following objects were obtained:—Forty small white pebbles, discovered close to the north wall of the building; a fragment of water-worn slate of oval form with incised marks on both faces; a bronze buckle; stones (apparently taken from the beach), some of which appeared to have been used; several fragments of oxidised iron; potsherds, of uncertain date, with greenish glaze on the inner faces; a slate hand shovel; three engraved fragments of counters (found on the floor near the tablet); two iron dart heads, much oxidised, with portions of wood shafts attached; and a small spoon-shaped implement of slate, like some shewn in Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Dublin Academy. There were also several objects of more modern date, viz., a three-handled cup, or tyg, covered with a thick dark brown glaze; the neck of a green glass vessel; and a pipe with a small bowl and thick stem—all probably of seventeenth century manufacture.

<sup>1</sup> It has since been published by and other illustrations, of which the Quaritch, Piccadilly, with an autotype annexed Plate forms one.



PLAN  
of the  
TOWYN SLATE  
Actual Size



"The three-handled cup appears to mark the date of a subsequent occupation. It was found behind a fire-place, the dry stones of which stood upon several layers of peat and sand, quite four inches above the level of the original floor; a fact of much importance as indicating a partial clearance of the chamber, after it had become filled with sand. As the stones at the back of the fire-place were but slightly burnt, the chamber, when reoccupied, may have been used merely as a temporary refuge. Human bones were discovered in April last by Mr. Humphrey Williams, whilst making further excavations on the North side of the building, in an annex, which it should be mentioned had a separate entrance to it on the west side. The remains point to two distinct periods, separated by many hundreds of years. But there is little guide to the date of the earlier period except the figures on the slate.

"Referring to the plan of the principal face of the tablet, it will be seen that there are twenty-five figures, besides four minor engravings, one of which is imperfect, being situated on the broken side of the slate, and another near the bottom, which is very indistinct. These minor figures are distinguished by capital letters. The other figures have been numbered from the top, or narrow end of the tablet, as far as possible in regular order, from left to right. The objects resemble more or less closely the outlines of arms, habits and articles of domestic use, some of which are in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, or have been described by Sir W. Wilde and Sullivan as peculiar to the Irish. The objects supposed to be represented are as follows:—

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Head of an iron battle-axe.                   | 17. Hatchet head.                      |
| 2. Sleeveless tunic (or <i>lena</i> , Sullivan). | 18. Urn.                               |
| 3. Chiton, or shirt.                             | 19. No identification.                 |
| 4. Three-cornered plaid, or brat.                | 20. Wickerwork object.                 |
| 5. Urn, or pot (reversed.)                       | 21. Wickerwork trap?                   |
| 6. Identification doubtful, possibly a shield.   | 22. Casque or helmet.                  |
| 7. Drinking-cup?                                 | 23. Vase.                              |
| 8. Head of timber axe.                           | 24. Urn.                               |
| 9. Basket.                                       | 25. Celt or hatchet, sparthe shaped.   |
| 10. Ornamental celt.                             |  |
| 11. Flanged celt?                                |  |
| 12. Hatchet head.                                | A. Imperfect figure.                   |
| 13. Celt.  | B. Scutcher, or flail (Suiste, Irish.) |
| 14. Hatchet head.                                | C. Club, or sling?                     |
| 15. Wickerwork corselet?                         | D. Superficial lines.                  |
| 16. Cap (or barr, Irish.)                        |  |

"Interlacing lines form involved patterns on all the figures engraved on the slate. They appear in the majority of instances to be simply ornamental; in some cases, however, they seem adapted to the objects supposed to be represented; and no two of them are alike.

"In the case of the first figure, which is assumed to be the head of a battle-axe, and in one or two other figures, the character of the pattern approaches closely to that of the *Opus Hibernicum* met with in early illuminations, allowing for differences due to material, and the fact that the use of a graver in place of a style or pencil tended to the formation of angles in place of curves, and precluded free-hand treatment when incisions were not merely superficial. In the lower part of the design in

Fig. 1 there appears to be an eye, with other lines, indicating a rude effigy like some on early British coins.

"The waterworn piece of slate and the three fragments of counters possess an interest of their own, apart from the circumstance that they appear to be of the same age as the tablet. There are marks upon them that may be letters and monograms.

"If, as is possible, the figures engraved on the tablet form a pictorial catalogue of objects intended for a funeral offering, it would suppose a late period in Celtic paganism, when the old custom of burying objects valued by the deceased had degenerated, inferior articles and miniature imitations having been first substituted, and then still cheaper representations of needful articles on a tablet, broken perhaps on purpose, to symbolise once for all the operation of fitting the figures for another state.

"The main reason for doubt regarding the use of the Towyn structure as the tomb, for the owner, was the absence of any skeleton. The discovery of bones in the adjoining annex, however, to a great extent meets the difficulty—if difficulty it really is. The same objection was made to the little oval pits at Cissbury being graves, though the objects found in them were precisely what usually accompany interments. The fact of the total disappearance of *human* bones, when buried in a material that admits the passage of air and water, seems now to be perfectly established by the explorations of Mr. Rooke Pennington, in a number of barrows in which no trace but black mould remained of interments, which the objects he found satisfied him must, nevertheless, have occurred.

"On the back of the tablet there are two figures only, one of which may be a mask and the other the ground plan of a house."

In conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Park Harrison for the pains he had taken with his subject, the noble CHAIRMAN remarked upon its great obscurity and expressed a hope that further light might be thrown upon it. The incised markings in question, although extremely difficult to decipher, certainly appeared to contain some definite meaning.

Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN sent a paper on "Britanno Roman Inscriptions Discovered in 1880" (printed at p. 277). This formed the author's eighth supplement to Dr. Hübner's volume of "Britanno Roman Inscriptions" and his fifth annual list.

Captain E. HOARE read the following paper "On some early Tiles, from Stanhoe, and the ruined Church of Barwick in the Brakes, near King's Lynn, Norfolk."

"Through the kindness of a near relative, the Rev. E. H. Newenham, of Coolmore, in the county of Cork, who is now on a visit at Stanhoe rectory, near King's Lynn, I am enabled to lay before the meeting some interesting early tiles, and to give some information regarding them, which I hope may prove acceptable to the members and visitors of our Society.

"The large red terra cotta tile, which is nine inches square, was built into an old garden wall, surrounding the house of Mr. Reeve, a tenant on the estate of Stanhoe, *i.e.*, the Stony Hill, of which Mrs. Seymour, of Barwick House, widow of the late Vice-Admiral H. G. Seymour, C.B., and M.P. for the co. Antrim, next brother of the present Marquis of Hertford, is the lady and lord of the manor, together with that of Barwick adjoining it. Mrs. Seymour is the heiress of the Hoste family, formerly of Sandringham Hall, now the country residence of



His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and the presentation to the living of Stanhoe-cum-Barwick, is also in her gift. The Hoste family are of Flemish and Dutch extraction; formerly of Middleburgh, Zealand, in the Netherlands. They came over to London from Bruges in 1569, being persecuted by the Duke of Alva for their religious views, and one lady of the family being burned to death as a heretic (of which there was formerly a curious picture at Sandringham); they became extensive and rich merchants in London, and, after a period, finally settled in Norfolk, where they had purchased large estates. In Blomefield's 'History of Norfolk' mention is frequently made of James Hoste, Theodore Hoste, Susan Hoste, and many other influential members of that family. Mr. Hartshorne kindly informs me that James Hoste, Theodore Hoste, and Dixon Hoste were constant correspondents of his maternal great grandfather, the Rev. Samuel Kerrich, D.D., rector of Wolferton and Dersingham, in Norfolk, presented to such by James Hoste, and that he possesses a number of letters from them, written during the greater portion of the last century, from 1720 to 1780. I am indebted to Mrs. Seymour for a copy of the pedigree of the Hoste family.

"Having stated thus much as to where the tiles come from, nearly all such having been communicated to me by Mr. Newenham, I may say that I requested him to get me drawings or rubbings of them, and that a few days afterwards he wrote me word that he would send me the tiles themselves, as Mrs. Seymour had most kindly given them to him for that purpose, as well as much information regarding them.

"The large tile, now taken out of the old garden wall, bears, as will be seen, the royal arms of the Plantagenets, viz.:—Quarterly, 1 and 4, three leopards, passant, per pale, to the right, and regarding the left, for England; 2 and 3, three fleurs de lis, two and one for France; the motto of the Garter, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense.' surrounds the shield, which is crowned. The supporters are, dexter: a lion rampant; sinister: a dragon winged, with a long curling tail winding between its hind legs. These are the arms of Henry the Seventh, who was the first of the Tudor kings who bore the same arms as the Plantagenets, but took the dragon as the sinister supporter. The supporters of the royal arms previously (see Boutell's 'Heraldry,' third edition, 1864, page 302) were: A lion and an antelope, or two antelopes; or a lion and a bull; or a lion and a boar; or a lion and a hart; and many other devices, &c. The unicorn did not become a supporter of the royal arms till the reign of James I, in 1602; two silver unicorns had been previously the supporters of the royal arms of Scotland, but on the union of the Kingdoms, James I changed the supporters of the royal arms of Great Britain to dexter, the golden lion of England; sinister, the silver unicorn of Scotland; and they have so continued to the present day, and I hope they may long continue the same. I should also state that Henry VIII first added the harp for Ireland to the royal arms.

"In Benjamin Mackarell's 'History and Antiquities of King's Lynn,' London, 1738, 8vo,—a very rare work, of which a copy is in the British Museum Library, highly illustrated with everything to be then had, by a Mr. Edward Clarke, to whom it once belonged—under Lynn Regis (*i.e.* the King's Marsh), at page 226 there is a very curious plate of the

King's arms, in which the sinister supporter is certainly a ram with a collar round his neck, and in the letterpress adjoining it the following : '1541. The King's arms, new carved in stone and set up at the Eastgate, were this year repaired.' I cannot find elsewhere as a supporter of the royal arms a ram collared. In his 'Heraldry' Boutell says heraldic rams are always collared. In this plate the dexter supporter of the royal arms is a winged dragon, exactly as on the tile exhibited.

"I think a question now arises, where did this tile come from and when was it built into the old garden wall at Stanhoe? I find that Edward IV in his nineteenth year (1479), February 14th, granted to Anne, late wife of Sir William Bouchier, Knt., and sister of Elizabeth, Queen Consort, and the heirs male of their body, to be held in soccage, at 8 shillings and 3 pence rent per annum, 80 acres of marsh and 140 acres of pasture, with messuages, pasture lands, and marshes in Clenchwarton, a ferry right in Len Bishops, a messuage and two gardens in South Len, parcel of the possession of Robert Gitton, attainted. Sir William died before his father, Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, and left, by Anne his wife, Henry his son and heir, Earl of Essex. The lady afterwards remarried with George, Earl of Kent, and again subsequently with Sir Edward Wingfield. The Bouchier family were long connected with Norfolk as well as with Essex, and had large possessions there, and being so closely allied with the Plantagenets by several marriages, and with the Tudors also, it is possible, nay probable, that this tile belonged to or in some manner adorned their residence, as it could hardly have been a pavement tile, being in such very high relief. The Hoste family also afterwards intermarried with the Hatmores, possessors in later times of the lands of Clenchwarton, mentioned in the foregoing grant.

"The four small tiles are from the chancel of the ancient ruined Church of Barwick in the Brakes, situated in the demesne of Barwick House. This church was formerly dedicated to Saint Mary, and the living is now a discharged vicarage in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk, of the value only of thirty pounds per annum ; the population of the entire parish amounts at present to only 58 souls, and fifty years since it was only 29. It has, therefore, been amalgamated with the adjoining parish of Stanhoe. The church has been long desecrated and destroyed, though many of the powerful and feudal chiefs, the brave and great men of former days, the De Stoes, the De Stannows, and others, who took their names from their lands and possessions, lie buried within its precincts. Alas ! poor Humanity !

"*'Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.'*

"These tiles are glazed encaustic pavement tiles of the commencement of the fourteenth century. One bears the arms of the Beauchamps, of the same family as the ancestors of the subsequent great Earls of Warwick : viz., a fesse between six cross crosslets, 2 and 1, 2 and 1. The others I have not yet been able to appropriate during the few days which have elapsed since they came into my possession, but they appear to be of historic interest, and as such are undoubtedly both rare and valuable.

"I have also to mention that all the interments in this old church and its burial ground have been north and south—the head to the north, the feet to the south—and none east and west, as was and is the usual custom."

The noble CHAIRMAN remarked upon the interest of the objects which

Captain Hoare had thus rescued from oblivion. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Watkin and Captain Hoare.

Mr. W. GAIN contributed the following remarks on "The Earthworks at Laxton and Egmonton, Nottinghamshire."

"These earthworks are scattered over a considerable area. Commencing near Laxton church, the most striking object is the large moated mound, with a smaller mound on the top, which can be seen from a great distance. This is 816 feet in circumference at the base and 426 feet at the top, having a slant height of 71 feet, and is surmounted by a ditch and ring of earth; the small mound on the top is 147 feet in circumference and 8 feet in perpendicular height. This structure stands near the middle of the northern boundary of an oblong enclosure, having a deep moat on the farther side, as shown in the plan. Other parts of this moat have probably been filled in. To the south and east a much larger piece of ground has been enclosed by embankments, which appear from what now remain to have been of less height than those employed for the inner enclosure, and have no moat on the outside. In the large outer enclosure, south-east from the large mound, there is a small circular mound slightly raised above the surface, now called the 'Mushroom Hill.' This has somewhat the appearance of a burial-place. I have obtained leave to examine it, and intend to do so this summer. To the north is a very steep descent, and below this a series of earthworks extending as far as the village of Egmonton. These are popularly called the 'Fishponds,' and are supposed to have been made to supply with fish the Lexingtons, who inhabited an old hall formerly situated to the south of the great mound, and within the outer range of earthworks. Of this hall no vestige remains, unless a small space where the turf is abundantly mixed with pieces of coal be considered as marking the site of the fuel department. That these earthworks were *not* designed for the purpose just mentioned I consider proved by the facts of the large extent of ground enclosed by them, and that the small quantity of water running through the valley would be quite insufficient to keep even a small pond from becoming stagnant. I may mention the fact that there are remains of artificial fishponds about a quarter of a mile to the south of the mound; these were of small size, and fed by a rather larger stream.

"Near Egmonton church, and some distance to the north-east of the last earthwork extending across the valley, here very narrow, there is another moated mound. This is commonly called 'Gaddick Hill' and was probably higher than at present. It is 460 feet in circumference at the base, 198 feet at top, and about 50 feet in slant height, this height being unequal in different places; the top appears worn down. It has been from time immemorial a custom of the young folks of the village to make the mound a 'rollicking' place every Shrove Tuesday. There is an absurd tradition that these two mounds, which are visible one from the other, were raised by the orders of two sisters, who used to mount them every morning to look at each other. Near 'Gaddick Hill' is a small irregularly-shaped enclosure; an old lane, worn in one part six or seven feet deep, has apparently cut through this. The ends of the long earthen mounds come quite up to this lane, but cannot be traced on the opposite side.

"At Bothamsall, a few miles off, there is another of these conical

mounds, called 'Castle Hill,' but the moat is obliterated, and the general contour of it has not been so well preserved as in the other two. All these remains are in old grass fields; much may have been destroyed in the neighbouring ploughed land.

"Several Roman coins have been found both at Laxton and Egmonton. A denarius of Trojan, now in my possession, was found at the former place, and I have seen a second brass, but I do not remember of what emperor. A few third brass, principally of Constantine, have been found at Egmonton.

"My own idea is that the moated mounds are of Celtic origin; but for what purpose? They are very large for sepulchral uses, and we could not expect to find two 'Moot Hills' so near each other.

"The enclosures at the top of the hill at Laxton surrounding the large moated mound may I think undoubtedly be put down as a Roman camp, and the lines across the valley between this and Egmonton were perhaps additional defences placed across what may have been, from the then wooded state of the country, the only road accessible for a large body of men.

"The use of the large enclosure below the hill, to the north or north-west of the large Laxton mound is I think doubtful. Could it have been formed to accommodate additions to the army, too numerous to be located within the original camp?"

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Gain.

Mr. E. WALFORD read a letter from himself, addressed to Lord Talbot de Malahide, as President of the Institute, calling attention to the destruction now being carried out on the west front of St. Alban's Abbey. It appeared that Abbot Wheathampstead's Perpendicular window was to be superseded by a novel Decorated design by Sir Edmund Beckett, who had obtained a 'faculty' of so general a character that this amateur architect could commit so very unnecessary an act of vandalism, the whole nave of the abbey being, in fact, now at his mercy. Mr. Walford suggested that the Bishop of St. Alban's might be questioned as to the terms on which the 'faculty' had been granted.

A considerable discussion arose. Mr. J. H. PARKER thought the Perpendicular window was in a bad state, but might have been repaired; the style of the new window, however, was not like any thing that had been there before, and there was no kind of evidence for any part of it. He believed that the Early English window might have been recovered, if necessary.

The noble CHAIRMAN was afraid that the work of destruction had gone so far that it could not now be prevented. If any good could be thereby done he would gladly co-operate with the presidents of the Society of Antiquaries and of the British Archaeological Association. He was not himself well-informed upon the subject and had not been to St. Alban's for many years.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, than whom no one, perhaps, is better informed upon this particular point, said that the Perpendicular window was distinctly not in a bad state and could have been repaired, but it was now too late; the mischief was done and the window was a thing of the past.

Professor DONALDSON said that the Perpendicular window was not



worth preserving, and that Sir Edmund Beckett was doing much good in abolishing it.<sup>1</sup>

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE.—A nearly complete collection of scarabs and other amulets bearing the ovals of Egyptian kings from Semempses of the First Dynasty to Acchoris, one of the last native Pharaohs who attempted to resist the Persians.

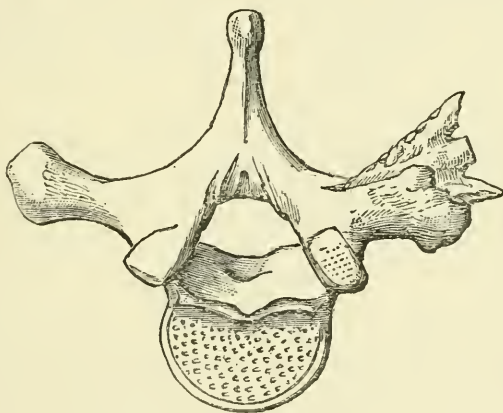
By Mr. J. PARK HARRISON.—Incised slate tablets and antiquities of various kinds from Towyn.

By Mr. W. T. WATKIN.—Photograph of the great Roman statue lately discovered at York (see pp. 107, 287.)

By Capt. E. HOARE.—A terra-cotta tile, bearing the arms of Henry VII, and examples of fourteenth century encaustic tiles from the ruined church of Barwick, Norfolk.

By Mr. W. GAIN.—Plans of Laxton and Egmonton earthworks.

By Mr. F. W. RUDLER.—Flint arrow-head embedded in a human vertebra, here engraved real size. This highly interesting relic was found by Mr. Madge in a burial mound near Copiapo, Chili.



By Mr. J. H. PARKER.—A series of photographs of the wood carving, dated 1560, in Trull church, near Taunton. These rude works appeared to exhibit certain peculiarities in ecclesiastical costume of church dignitaries and officials, indicating the relapse to "the True Faith" in the reign of Queen Mary.

By Mr. O. MORGAN.—Drawings of a Roman tessellated pavement lately found at Caerwent. The noticeable features of this pavement are the representations of different kinds of fish of the district upon it, the eel and

<sup>1</sup> At the meeting of the Council of the Institute, held on the 29th June, the following resolution, proposed by Sir Sibbald Scott, Bt., and seconded by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, was unanimously agreed to—"That the Council of the Royal Archaeological Institute desire to place on record the expression of their great regret at

what they believe to be the unnecessary destruction of a large portion of the West front of St. Alban's Abbey, which has lately been carried out."

Copies of this resolution were ordered to be sent to the Chairman of the Restoration Committee and to the Rector of St. Alban's.



the salmon being conspicuous. Mr. Morgan also exhibited a seventeenth century *couteau de chase*, 19½ inches long, washed up by the Usk near Abergavenny during the flood of 1877.

By Mr. G. JOSLIN.—A rubbing from an inscription on a Roman altar, about 50 inches high, 23 inches wide, and 20 inches from back to front, lately found at Colchester during the operations for the sewage works. The top of the altar is mutilated so that its original form is lost, but the base is in fair condition with four panelled side, on one side of which is the inscription :—

MATRIBVS  
SVLEVIS  
SIMILIS.ATTI.F.  
CI.CANT.  
V.L.S.

Mr. W. T. Watkin was kind enough to send the following note upon this inscription :—

"The only difficulty in reading it is in the name of the father of the dedicator, the peculiar form of the letter which follows the A is puzzling. I incline to think that it should be read AETHI or AETEI, both being *nomina*.

"The whole is, Matribus Sulevis Similis Aetii (or Aeteii or Afiti) F(ilius) Ci(vis) Cant(abriæ) or (Cantabrensis). V(otum) L(ibens) S(olvit.)

"To the Matres Sulevæ Similis, the son of Æteius, a Cantabrian citizen, performs (his) vow willingly.

"It is not exactly known who the *Sulevæ* were. They seem to be different to (or a branch of only) the *Dæe Matres*.

"The only other example of a dedication to them, found in Britain, occurs at Bath, where an altar dedicated

SVLEVIS  
SVLINVS  
SCVLTOR  
&c., &c.

was found.

"I am not aware that *Matres* has previously been found to precede the word *Sulevæ*, though it may be inferred.

"*Cantabria* was the northern part of Spain on the Bay of Biscay, and adjoined the country of the *Astures*, several regiments of which people were in Britain, and from a Continental inscription it appears that some of them were at Colchester (*Camalodunum*)."

This has been read by Mr. Roach Smith as follows :—

"The Altar is dedicated by SIMILIS, the F(ILIUS) (Son) of ATTUS or ATTI(US), to the mothers, the SULEVÆ, who, I believe, are represented by the mediæval Sylphs. He declares himself to be of the CI(VITAS) either of the CANT(ABRI) of Spain, or of the CANT(Æ) of the North of Britain, or of the CANT(U) of Kent; I select Kent. V(OTUM).L(UBENS).S(OLVIT), Willingly discharges his vow."

By the Rev. J. F. RUSSELL.—Autograph letter from William Cowper to George Colman, December 27, 1785, and Cowper's "Northampton Dirge," for 1789. Though not yet archæological, it may be convenient to mention that the celebrated Northampton Tables, the foundations of all the Life Insurance calculations, were framed by Dr. Price on the Bills of Mortality kept in the parish of All Saints. It was the custom of

the clerk of the parish, when delivering the Bills yearly to the Mayor and others, to accompany them with a copy of mortuary verses. This practice went on for some years, until in 1787 the muse of John Cox failed him, and he applied for assistance to Cowper, then staying with Hervey, at Weston Favell. The poet came to the rescue, and for seven successive years the mortuary verses were supplied by this "delicate wit and trembling pietist." Mr. Russell also exhibited an autograph letter of condolence from Charles James Fox to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Erskine, Dec. 31, 1806.

By the Rev. A. S. PORTER.—A cameo, an Indian sard-onyx (set in a modern ring) found in 1835, in the garden of the late Mr. R. Davies, just outside the Roman wall at York, a little to the north of the so-called Multangular Tower. This cameo has been pronounced by Mr. King to be an undoubted antique of the best age, and it derives additional interest from the fact that the finding of an antique cameo in Britain is of very rare occurrence. The subject represented is a youthful Faun wearing a wreath of ivy, and a sheepskin over the shoulder. Mr. Porter also exhibited a silver ring, late fifteenth century, bearing on a heater-shaped shield the following arms—Per fess, impaling an annulet.

By Miss FFARINGTON.—Two carved conical snuff-boxes of Coquillanut, Dutch work, Stuart period.

It was announced that Mr. C. Magniac, M.P., had accepted the presidency of the meeting of the Institute at Bedford.

July 3, 1881,

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the chair.

On opening the meeting, the noble PRESIDENT said it had again become his mournful duty to give expression, on the part of the members of the Institute, to their sorrow on the death of two old and valued friends. Mr. C. S. Greaves and Mr. F. Ouvry had passed away. Mr. Greaves, highly distinguished as a scholar, a lawyer, and an antiquary, had been a familiar figure among them since the foundation of the Society, and his presence in those rooms, where he had so long been a punctual attendant, would be greatly missed. The council of the Institute had the advantage of the advice and assistance of Mr. Ouvry for many years, and his loss was one that would be widely felt in the archæological world. The noble Chairman then proposed that letters expressing the sympathy of the meeting should be transmitted by the Secretary of the Institute to the representatives of Mr. Greaves and Mr. Ouvry.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on "The Antiquities of Constantinople," in which he noticed the walls of that city, the inscriptions upon them, the Greek churches, and the Imperial Museum of the Ottoman Government.

After calling attention to the results of Dr. Paspati's investigations, published in his "Byzantine Studies," Mr. Lewis pointed out that the inscriptions on the Land Walls are peculiarly interesting, because they extend over a period of more than a thousand years, give exact dates, reckoned from the creation of the world, in which sometimes even the month is specified, and record many important facts connected with the building or repair of these wonderful fortifications.

The churches of Chora (Kakrieh Jamisi) and Saints Sergius and Bacchus (Kutchuk Aya Sophia), were described at some length. The

porches of the former contain mosaics, which, on account of their animation and variety, differ widely from the stiff and dry style which usually characterises Byzantine art. They represent scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin, and also exhibit many figures of Jewish kings and prophets, with names appended. There is also here a curious bas-relief of the column of Symeon Stylites, in which an apartment at the top is clearly indicated. Till within the last few years a colossal figure of our Lord was to be seen amongst the mosaics in the interior, with the words, "Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," inscribed underneath. It was destroyed in an outbreak of Mussulman fanaticism. The church of Sergius and Bacchus is now in a most dilapidated condition, partly from neglect, partly from occupation by Bulgarian refugees. For various reasons it seems highly probable that it furnished the model imitated in San Vitale at Ravenna.

The Museum of Constantinople was spoken of as possessing many treasures of classical art. The following appear to be the most important:—1. A colossal figure, which has been called the Phœnician Hercules, but Dr. Birch considers it to be the god Bes, imported by the Phœnicians into Cyprus. 2. Two statues of Roman ladies, improperly named *Diva Claudia* and *Poppæa*. The head dress of one of them evidently belongs to the Flavian period: it reminds us of *Domitia* as seen in her coins, and *Julia Titi* in the gem of *Evodus*. 3. A statue which has been assigned by some to *Caracalla*, by others to *Hadrian*. Perhaps the head does not belong to the body. The cuirass is remarkably fine, and bears some resemblance to a torso from *Cyrene* in the British Museum. 4. A female in the style of the later Attic school, which has been supposed to represent the province *Cyrenaica*, advancing to greet *Hadrian* as a benefactor. 5. A sarcophagus containing two scenes in the story of *Meleager*: the Fates predicting his death and his return from the boar hunt at *Calydon*. 6. A battle of Amazons and the death of *Neoptolemus*, so called. The latter attribution seems to be a mistake. Mr. Lewis pointed out that Professor Percy Gardner has remarked that the treatment of the subject is not of an heroic character, as the group consists of a man attacked by armed assailants, against whom he is hurling a stool in self defence.

The noble CHAIRMAN said that the meeting had heard a most eloquent and instructive address upon a subject that, until lately, had been but little cultivated, and their best thanks were due to Professor Lewis, who were always most kind in bringing before them the results of his extensive enquiries. He had himself seen Constantinople and its works of art, and he well remembered its magnificent and picturesque walls, which he trusted the Turks would not destroy, and the ancient breach in them, through which the Turks first entered the city, still remaining intact. The coins were interesting, and they showed that the Turks borrowed the symbol of the crescent from the Greeks as they did so many other things.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lewis for this paper, which will appear in a future Journal.

Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN sent the following communications:—

"In May last, during excavations for the new club, beneath the site of the ancient Church of St. Martins le Grand, at Dover, dating from Saxon times, the concrete floor of a range of Roman baths was come upon. On this floor was found the statue of a female about half the size of life

Both arms are wanting, and also the feet, with the base upon which the statue stood. The head is wreathed. The top and back of the head with the wreath, are in fair preservation, but the features are very much worn away. The statue has been deposited in the Dover Museum by directions of the Rev. Canon Puckle, upon an artificial base. Those who have seen it declare it to be undoubtedly Roman.

"At Fifehead Neville, about three miles south-west of Sturminster Newton, the remains of a Roman villa have lately been excavated by Mr. J. H. Middleton. The most interesting feature of the villa was a tessellated pavement having a representation of a vase in the centre, and bands round it, in which fishes were represented, as in the example at Caerwent. Great quantities of broken pottery, tiles with and without flanges, and a large number of stone roofing tiles occurred, the latter nearly all having the iron nails in them, by which they were attached to the roof.

"A number of coins were found of the Constantine family, and a quantity of small objects in iron, bronze, bone, and Kimmeridge clay."

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Professor BUNNELL LEWIS.—Photographs and illustrations having reference to his paper, and copies of three inscriptions.

By the Rev. S. S. LEWIS.—Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Coins.

By the Lord CALTHORPE.—Painted glass of the early part of the seventeenth century, put together in the form of a small window, and containing 42 coats of arms (numbered up to 52, ten being missing), of Calthorpe alliances and others, in diamond quarries. This glass was set up by that staunch Norfolk royalist James Calthorp of Cockthorp—who married Mary daughter of William Fermor, of East Barsham, and died in 1562,—in the now ruined Wolferton manor-house at East Barsham, and formed part of a series of achievements in an oriel window. It came into the hands of Sir John Fenn, and subsequently passed to Mr. William Frere, by whom it was given to the third Lord Calthorp.<sup>1</sup>

By Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—Roman coins from the hoard found at Baconsthorpe, Norfolk, in 1878. Mr. Spurrell was kind enough to send the following notes :—

"Though noticed in Vol. ix, Part I, of the Journal of the Norfolk Archæological Society a few supplementary words may still be said concerning the coins found at Baconsthorpe.

"First, it is very noticeable, that when first discovered by a labourer, the 'green buttons,' as he called them, on examination by his wife, were at once identified as Roman coins. This was in consequence of an acquaintance with Noel Humphrey's popular volume, and truly to some purpose.

"As to the hoard—it was found in one large earthen pot, which was barely below the soil, and was broken by the plough. On a careful examination I estimate that there could not have been less than seventeen thousand exhumed. Many, it may be surmised, took wing in all directions, and they were heard of in Norwich and London before the owner of the land, Mr. Mott, was able to rescue any. I believe he finally obtained a

<sup>1</sup> For the Calthorpes of Calthorp see "Original Papers" Norfolk and Norwich

Archæological Society. Article by the Rev. H. J. Lee Warner, vol. ix, p. 153.



proportion of about one half. The coins are 'brass,' and *billon* as usual, tinned and silvered, there are some of both kinds. They were easily cleaned. I was able to buy up a few from the men around at high prices.

"The spot where the urn was found was in a field about half a mile to the east of Baconsthorpe Hall, in which I could find no bricks or Roman relics at all, except a coin or two. There were, however, flint chippings in plenty. The site of Baconsthorpe Hall, now a ruin standing in a moat, was once doubtless a small Roman Camp, and I have picked up the remains of permanent Roman occupation in the shape of bricks, sherds, bits of querns, &c., in it, around it, and about Baconsthorpe generally.

"No well marked Roman road passes near, unless that be one which goes from North Walsham to Holt.

"With others who assisted Mr. Mott I cleaned a large number of them, though all the coins cleaned by me were not sorted for want of the time required. Such as I was able to tabulate are given below. They are taken at haphazard, and must thus serve as a sample of the proportion in which they were associated before sorting. This will also indicate the nature of the entire hoard, as they appear to have been well mixed, in default of a complete register of the 'find,' which could never be accomplished now.

"Thus of 3,674 coins the proportions are—

Gordianus Pius	...	10	Saloninus	...	...	82
Philip and Son	...	11	Salonina	...	...	109
Trajanus Decius	...	4	Postumus	...	...	1785
Herennius	...	1	Lælianus	...	...	1
Etruscilla	...	3	Victorinus	...	...	1125
Trebonianus	...	10	Marius...	...	...	22
Volusianus	...	17	Claudius Gothicus	...	...	69
Æmilianus	...	3	Quintillus	...	...	9
Valerianus	...	113	Tetricus and Son	...	...	2
Marinina	...	2				
Gallienus	...	296				3674

"But selected from the *whole* hoard are a few only of other emperors:—Nerva, 1; M. Aurelius Antoninus, 1; Macrinus, 1; Julia Mæsa, 1. These four are not in Miss Hogg's list.

Otacilia	...	...	...	...	1
Quietus	...	...	...	...	1
Aurelian	...	...	...	...	2

These are in Miss Hogg's list, who also gives Posthumus, the son.

"Thus there are four names earlier than those given in the Norfolk Society's account—in all 31.

"The reverses are very various. I have seen at least a hundred different ones of Postumus, all of whose coins are apparently good portraits, and, with the exception of three, have good reverses. These three coins have been copied the one from the other, and the best from a better—they have:—

Obv. Rayed head to R.

Rev. Four standards with 'Spes exercitus.'

The third represents a sad decay of art, and the portrait and standards are without definite meaning."

By Mr. M. H. BLOXAM.—Fourteen horse-shoes found at Brinklow in



Warwickshire, about twelve feet below the surface, apparently of the period of the Roman occupation, and a horse-shoe from Little Lawford in the same county; an iron fetter-lock from Combe Abbey; and two long-necked spurs and an anelace or dagger found at Coventry, which presumably belonged to the army of Henry VI., which marched from Coventry to Northampton, previous to the King's disastrous defeat in the battle of Northampton in 1460. Mr. Bloxam also sent a dagger *temp.* Henry VII., found at Brailes in Warwickshire; a leaden object found with Roman remains near the ancient church of Smite, near Combe Abbey, and two leaden vessels found many years ago near Ellesmere.

By Sir H. E. L. DRYDEN, BART.—Several examples of early horse-shoes of the same general character as those sent by Mr. Bloxam.

By Mr. R. BLAIR.—A photograph of a Roman tombstone, about two feet square, lately found within the area of the *castrum* at South Shields, and containing the following inscription:—

D M S  
AV[GEN]DVS  
VIXIT ANNO  
S V[III MEN]SES VIII  
LARRVNTIVS SAL  
VIANVS FILIO  
B M PIISIMO

This may be read:—D[iis] M[anibus] S[acrum]. Au[gen]dus vix[it] annos V[III.] [men]ses VIII. L[ucius] Arruntius Salvianus filio b[ene] m[erito] piisimo. The letters in brackets are not legible on the stone.

By Mr. J. DALLAS-YORK.—The silver matrix of the Privy Seal of James II for Scotland. This very beautiful example of die sinking is not included in Laing's Scottish seals. It has been purposely defaced by blows from a hammer. This would have been done on the king's departure from England in 1688, in accordance with the same principle upon which the great seal of his daughter Mary, representing her jointly with William of Orange, was destroyed immediately on her death, 28 December, 1694, by order of the Lord Chancellor, and a new great seal made with the head of William III alone upon it.

By Mr. S. DODD.—A printed book of the statutes of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, illustrated by copper-plate engravings within woodcut borders, the latter having been printed first, and dated 1588.

The Rev. J. F. RUSSELL exhibited a somewhat finer copy in its original binding dated 1586.

## ANNUAL MEETING AT BEDFORD.

July 26th to August 1st, 1881.

Tuesday, July 26th.

The Mayor of Bedford (J. T. Hobson, Esq.), and the members of the Corporation assembled shortly after noon, on the platform in the New Corn Exchange, and received the noble President of the Institute, the Rev. Sir Talbot H. B. Baker, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. J. H. Parker, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, the Rev. C. R. Manning, Mr. E. Peacock, the Rev. H. Addington, Mr. R. P. Pullan, the Rev. Canon Bingham, Mr. J. Hilton, Mr. J. N. Foster, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Mr. C. T. Gostenhoper and many other members of the Institute. There were also present Mr. C. Magniac, Mr. F. J. Thynne, Mr. L. Higgins, the Mayor of Luton, the Mayor of Dunstable, Mr. G. Hurst, Dr. Prior, the Rev. Canon Haddock, Dr. Coombs, Major Cooper-Cooper, Mr. D. G. Cary Elwes, the Rev. Canon Warmoll, Mr. C. Pole Stuart, and a large number of the clergy and gentry from the town and neighbourhood. The President of the Institute having been placed in the chair the Mayor of Bedford called upon the Deputy Town Clerk, in the absence of Mr. T. W. Pearce, the Town Clerk, to read the following address:—

“To the Right Honourable the President and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“The Mayor and Corporation of this Borough have great pleasure in meeting you here to-day, and, for ourselves and on behalf of the inhabitants generally, we offer you a sincere and hearty welcome to Bedford.

“We readily recognise the great value of your researches in many other parts of the country, and therefore very highly appreciate the distinction you confer on us by selecting our ancient and historic town as the place of your annual meeting for this year.

“We need scarcely remind you that in Bedford and its environs there is much to interest the archæologist, a fact which we trust will fully justify your selection, and to some extent reward your investigations.

“The ancient charters and records of our Borough, with some important architectural remains and personal relics, will afford scope for the due exercise of those qualities which so eminently distinguish your Institute among the learned societies of our country.

“We entertain a confident hope that the result of your visit to this neighbourhood will be both to its residents and to yourselves equally advantageous and pleasurable.

“Given under our common seal this 26th day of July, 1881.

“(Signed) J. T. HOBSON, Mayor.

THEOD. WM. PEARSE, Town Clerk.”

In offering the address to Lord Talbot de Malahide, the Mayor spoke a few words of welcome, to which the noble President of the Institute replied:—

“On the part of the Royal Archæological Institute I return you our

best thanks for the very cordial address which you have presented to us. On occasions like this we have generally met with some such a welcome, and it has always been a great source of gratification to us to find that the people who have charge of these towns feel so much interest in their antiquities. It certainly gives a different tone to a city or a town when there are some ancient buildings left. I cannot say that I am sufficiently acquainted with the history of the county to enter into a detailed account of those objects which will be submitted to our observation. There are, I have no doubt, many gentlemen here present who are fully competent to guide us, and I feel sure that we shall not leave Bedford without being not only pleased but very much instructed. I shall not detain you any longer at the present moment. I believe there some other addresses to be presented, and I shall wait until those are read before I leave the chair."

The Rev. Canon HADDOCK now read the following address:—

"To the Right Honourable the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—In giving you a cordial welcome to Bedford the President, Patron, Vice-Presidents, Officers, and Members of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society desire to express their deep sense of the unexpected honour conferred upon this neighbourhood by your choice.

"Knowing full well how far less inducement it can offer to you than the more famous and attractive localities in which your meetings are usually held, we should not have presumed even to suggest Bedford to your consideration; but after the decision of your Council had been taken upon the advice of some among your own members, and our worthy Mayor had formally invited you to our town, the local Committee appointed to work in conjunction with your indefatigable Secretary proceeded at once to point out the objects most worthy in our estimation of your notice and to select the best routes for your excursions.

"We earnestly hope to profit by the light which we feel sure will be thrown upon our path by your superior knowledge, keener discernment, and well-practised observation.

"We cannot but regret the absence from the lists of visitors of some well-known members of the Institute who have been accustomed to take a prominent part on these occasions.

"If this visit of your distinguished body should tend, as we may surely trust it will, to awaken among us a more appreciative taste in these matters, a more zealous care to preserve, and a stronger desire to study, the architectural and other monuments of earlier days (alas! too few) which are still left to us, and to strengthen the association of those who feel a common interest in archaeological research, we shall owe a lasting debt of gratitude to those who have been the means of introducing your Institute into Bedfordshire.

Signed, on behalf of the Society,

J. W. HADDOCK,  
One of the Hon. Secretaries."

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE replied: Gentlemen of the Bedfordshire Archaeological Society, on behalf of the Royal Archaeological Institute, I give you our best thanks. It is very cheering to come to places and find that there have been such societies established. It shows that they already

take an interest in these objects. They are most useful in promoting the preservation of, and watching over, the ancient remains which still exist in the country and in investigating their history. There are also many objects to which the attention of such societies can be directed, and I believe one of the most useful means by which they can promote the interests of archæology, and increase the interest of the public in these subjects, is by attending to the county antiquities. England is celebrated for its county histories, and there are many counties that have just reason to be proud of the excellence of their county histories, some of which are standard works and in great request not only in this country but in America and our Colonies, and if I were to give any advice to the county society as to one of the most valuable means by which they could assist, it would be in this direction. Bedfordshire, I believe, has not a complete county history, and it would be very desirable if the gentlemen who take an interest in these objects would combine so as to produce a good work of this kind. It is, of course, a very laborious undertaking, and the only practical and satisfactory mode of doing it is by a division of that labour. If one or two gentlemen were to take the different Hundreds and work together, it would not be long before you had a really satisfactory County History, and I beg respectfully to direct your attention to this subject."

With a few prefatory remarks, Mr. Alderman COOMBS then read and handed to Lord Talbot de Malahide the following address :—

"To the Right Honourable the President and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

"As President of the Bedford Literary Institute and Library, it is my high privilege, in its name, to offer you a word of hearty welcome to our town.

"We of the Bedford Institute have a special pride and pleasure in your visit, inasmuch as its earliest and most earnest promoters are members of our own Committee, whose well known zeal in archæology prompted them to take the initiative in reference to your meeting here.

"Our Library contains some rare and valuable books and manuscripts which will doubtless interest many of our visitors, but probably the most interesting, and certainly most valuable antiquarian possession of our town is the noble structure whose foundations were laid by a great and wise benefactor in this his native place, more than 300 years ago; and we have the greatest satisfaction at this moment in knowing that its grand and rich remains continue, by their high educational influence, to attract visitors and permanent residents from all parts of the world. I refer to the public schools of Bedford, founded and endowed by Sir William Harpur and Dame Alice, his wife.

"(Signed), JAMES COOMBS, President."

The PRESIDENT of the Institute said : I am sure we are very much gratified by this address, and I cannot pass without alluding to it in a few words. It is very satisfactory to find a large and prosperous town like Bedford not only taking the lead in industrial pursuits, but having such excellent means of education. I am well aware of the high reputation which the schools of Bedford enjoy, and of the great benefit they confer not only to the town, but to the families who avail themselves of these institutions. A good public library is also a most valuable thing for a town to possess. I



have every reason to believe that your library is one which contains not only novels, but a good collection of standard works, which will encourage people in obtaining solid and useful learning. I beg leave to thank you on the part of the Royal Archaeological Institute, and, now, I have a very pleasing duty to perform. I am about to leave the chair, which is always a pleasant thing to do, and particularly as I am on the point of introducing to you as my successor a gentleman whom you all know and respect, and who, I am sure, will fulfil his duties in an exemplary manner. I beg leave to introduce Mr. Charles Magniac, as President of this meeting. He is a man of high distinction and of high position in this County, a man celebrated for his valuable collections, and in every way disposed to forward that which is useful.

Mr. MAGNIAC then took the chair, and delivered his inaugural address, which is printed at p. 410.

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, in offering the cordial thanks of the meeting to Mr. Magniac for his remarkable and eloquent address, alluded to the number and great value of the subjects of which it treated, and expressed a hope that Mr. Magniac would allow it to be published in the Transactions of the Institute.

Mr. MAGNIAC having returned thanks, the Mayor of Bedford invited the members of the Institute and a large number of guests to luncheon in the New Corn Exchange, in which they were then assembled.

The toast of the Queen having been duly honoured, Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE proposed the health of the Mayor of Bedford, and begged him to accept their warmest thanks for his most hospitable entertainment. The MAYOR returned thanks in a few words and the proceedings were brought to a close.

Complete programmes of the proceedings of the meeting, hour by hour, during the week, including Extended Notes, by Mr. A. Hartshorne, on the places visited on Wednesday, were given to each ticket holder.

The members of the Institute and the visitors were highly indebted to Mr. D. G. Cary Elwes, who had been at the pains to compile specially for the Meeting—in addition to his other labours in connection with it—an Illustrated Guide Book of Bedford and its Neighbourhood, an admirable work of its kind, as was, indeed, to be expected from so accomplished an antiquary.

A large party then proceeded to St. Paul's church, which was explained by Mr. J. Day. From hence the site of Bedford castle, together with the Mound, were visited. St. Mary's church was then described by the Rev. Canon Brereton; the remains of the Monastery of the Grey Friars were next seen under the able guidance of the Rev. Canon Warmoll; Mr. J. P. St. Aubyn took the party in hand at the interesting church of St. Peter, and the perambulation concluded by an examination of the Old George Inn, a remarkable building, first recorded as belonging to Newenham Priory in 1476, and of which the scanty history seems to have been systematically brought together for the first time by Mr. Elwes.

The Antiquarian Section opened at 8 p.m., in the Bedford Rooms, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Vice-President, in the chair, in the absence of the President of the Section, Sir Charles Anderson. Mr. M. H. Bloxam read a paper on Chaucer's Monument in Westminster Abbey which is printed at p. 361.

The Architectural Section then opened, under the presidency of Mr.



M. H. Bloxam. Mr. G. Hurst read a long and careful paper on the church of St. Mary. Mr. J. Day then read a paper on St. Paul's, the mother church of Bedford, and illustrated his remarks with numerous plans. Cordial votes of thanks to Mr. Hurst and Mr. Day brought the meeting to a close.

Wednesday, July 27.

At 8.55 a.m. a large party went by rail from Bedford to Leighton. Carriages were waiting here, and the antiquaries proceeded at once to Leighton church, where they were received by the Rev. F. W. Richards. Dr. Lawford offered some observations on the ironwork of the south door made at the end of the thirteenth century by John de Leighton, the artificer of the grille which protects the tomb of Eleanor of Castille in Westminster Abbey. The interior of the church was then seen, and after a few observations from Mr. Parker, who called attention to the noble proportions of the building and the fine stalls and sedilia, the party resumed the carriages, and, passing the "restored" Market Cross, drove by hill and dale to Stukeley church, where they were received by the Rev. C. L. Alexander.

In his "Notes," Mr. Hartshorne says :—

"This is a fine and complete Late Norman church, consisting of a vaulted chancel, a low and massive central tower, and a nave. It is the rival of Ilfley, but not so rich in ornament, and it seems that both churches were given to Kenilworth Priory in 1170. This may account in a great measure for the strong resemblance which exists between the two buildings. But whether this resemblance may be attributed to the fact of the designs of both churches having been given by an ecclesiastic of Kenilworth, and carried out by the same band of workmen, or simply to the general impetus which architecture received at this period throughout the country, may perhaps be an open question. It is certainly apparent that the whole church was carried out at one time and from one design. A double indented moulding goes round the whole of the interior of the building, breaking only at the responds of the tower arches. The west sides of these arches are very richly decorated with double zigzags and beak-heads, and the whole of the windows are ornamented inside in the same way. The upper portion of the tower verges upon the Transition, and exhibits intersecting arcades, the parapets and pinnacles being Edwardian. The east front consists simply of a central window flanked by blind arches. The exterior of the church is plastered, and, as this was in all probability its original treatment, it is satisfactory to find that the 'restoration' which the building underwent a few years ago, under the direction of a most able hand, has spared what appears to be the evidences of its ancient condition on portions of the south wall of the chancel." Mr. Parker made some general remarks upon this interesting church, and, after some light refreshments in the vicarage garden, the party went on to Wing church.

Of this church Mr. Hartshorne says in his "Notes":—"With the knowledge that a treatise on the architecture in this country, from Roman to Norman times, will before long be given to the public from the hand of an acknowledged master, and that Mr. Parker himself will be present on the occasion of the visit of the Institute to this very remarkable church, it would savour of presumption to do any more now than say a very few words by way of preparing strangers for what they will see at

Wing. And first, with regard to the early work here, no one will doubt that in the story of Anglo-Saxon architecture this building must have a very important place. It is, in fact, in some respects, the best of the churches of this particular Romanesque character that we have remaining in England.

"The vastness and plan of the nave somewhat recall Brixworth, while the form and character of the chancel seem to suggest a different and a later period, such as has been attributed to Bradford. From the character of the nave piers, and the rude style of the crypt, these portions may be as early as the time of the revival of the church under Alfred in the ninth century. The crypt certainly has the appearance, from its form and rudeness (it being of course understood that rudeness is of itself no special criterion of antiquity), of being the earliest portion of the church. It may be an open question whether this crypt was ever anything more than a mere substructure for giving an elevation to the east end. Its resemblance, in its extreme rudeness and arrangement, to the crypt under the circular church at Fulda, in Hesse Cassel—a church of the eleventh century—is worthy of note, because this crypt also has the appearance of a much higher antiquity than can possibly be claimed for it. Though it may well be, as is perhaps the case at Wing, a century or two earlier than the church which is over it. The chancel at Wing may, indeed, possibly be as late as the revival of the church under Canute.

"It will be at once observed that we have here none of the usually acknowledged distinctive Anglo-Saxon features, such as arches with continuous impostes and windows splayed equally inside and out. There are no turned balusters supporting triangular-headed openings, as at Deerhurst; no carpentry-like strip-work as at Earls Barton, save plain vertical strips at the angles of the polygonal ended chancel, and hood-moulds to the arches; and there is no appearance of any long-and-short work, though it may exist under the plaster. Long-and-short work, however, is not necessarily an Anglo-Saxon feature. The mediæval arches at the east end of the nave perhaps replace early transepts, and these features would seem, together with the apsidal chancel, to indicate a late character of Saxon work. The idea of a central tower at this period of such a size would be almost out of the question.

"Coming to later work in Wing church, it will be seen that everything is extremely good of its kind and plainly tells its own story. We may certainly justly admire the lofty and noble tower arch, the admirable Perpendicular roof of the nave, the great rood-screen, the parclose, the massive doors, the chests, the painted glass, and the old seating throughout the church which is devoid of carved panels, according to the custom of the district. The Elizabethan monuments with their effigies, all in their original positions and condition, and replete with the manifold quarterings of the Dormers, add considerably to the striking picture which the interior of the church presents.

"The tomb of William Dormer is enclosed by original iron railing on the north side of the chancel, and sustains the effigies of the knight and his wife. Upon the canopy and tomb, on eight shields, ninety-eight quarterings are marshalled, the whole forming a sumptuous memorial. On the opposite side, similarly enclosed, are the kneeling figures of Robert Dormer and his wife. The delicacy and beauty of the countenances of the six kneeling children are well worthy of

study.<sup>1</sup> In the north aisle is a stately and remarkable Italian monument to Robert Dormer and his wife, 1541-1552. It consists of a wide entablature surmounted by a carved wooden shield and two funeral helmets with crests. This is supported by Corinthian columns on carved surbases, and shelters an elaborately sculptured altar tomb, which sustains a plain Sussex marble slab. On the wall above are shields of arms in brass, with the tinctures indicated by white metal and coloured pigments. The contrasts between carved and plain work are evidences of a refined taste and feeling, while the extreme beauty of the sculpture about this monument leaves nothing to be desired.

"The brass of 'Honest old Thomas Cotes,' dated 1648, in the south aisle, has the following quaint and picturesque inscription:—

"'Honest old Thomas Cotes that sometime was  
Porter at Ascot Hall, hath now (alas)  
Left his key, lodg, fyre, friends and all to have  
A roome in Heaven. This is that good man's grave.  
Reader, prepare for thine, for none can tell  
But that you two may meete to night. Farewell.'"

Mr. Parker made some general observations upon the church, and has been kind enough to send some notes, from which the following is extracted:—

"The crypt is unmistakably Saxon and of very rude construction, chiefly rubble with a few Roman bricks used in the customary manner and patched with modern brick. The outer wall is evidently built up against it, and this supports a polygonal apse of distinctly Saxon character, and which cannot be later than the eleventh century; it follows that the crypt itself must be earlier.

"The plan of the chancel is a half decagon ending in one longitudinal bay. On each of the bays there is an arch in the outer wall with the small square moulding that is peculiarly Saxon. This does not go through the rubble wall, and is either intended simply for ornament, or perhaps partly to bind the rubble wall together. These arches were originally concealed by plaster, which has been partially stripped off. The joints are not very wide, but not fine, some are only half an inch, or less.

"The centre of the crypt is a rudely formed hollow octagon, with a narrow passage round it, generally following the plan of the apse above. The vaulting is also very rudely formed of rough stones, uncut, but built with mortar. The passage runs a short distance westwards beyond the crypt on both sides, and may possibly have gone further originally, ending with steps up to the church, but this part has not been thoroughly excavated.

"The nave has three arches on each side, of a character usually called Saxon, similar to St. Michael's at St. Alban's, and cut through a thick wall with massive square piers left between them. The arches are round with a flat soffit, square edged, and with square impost mouldings. The eastern arch on each side of the nave has been altered, made higher and pointed, the edges chamfered and mutilated."

A long drive brought the antiquaries to Eddlesborough, where a plain and sufficient luncheon was arranged at a little inn hard by the great

<sup>1</sup> This monument is, no doubt, the work of the sculptor of that choice memorial in Charwelton Church, Northamptonshire, to Thomas Andrew, who died

1590. When shall we have a comprehensive and systematic history of the despised monuments of this period?

“borough” upon which the church stands. The church was subsequently examined, and it at once became evident that the thorough “restoration” which it has undergone made it somewhat difficult to say immediately how much of the stone work is old and what portions are modern. But it was clear that the church was originally Early English; and that being the case, the best work was almost naturally found in the chancel, which contains a fine developed Early English east window. Mr. Parker pointed out that the western tower was an intrusion into the nave, and had swallowed up the greater part of the westernmost bays of the arcades. Of later work, the rood screen, with its canopy and doors complete, and the wooden pulpit, also retaining its canopy, and recalling the pulpit at Fotheringhay, were seen to be of great excellence. Generally speaking, the interior of the church is striking enough; but it was amazing to see that the plaster had been recklessly stripped off the walls and the rude stone-work carefully pointed,—a feature of latter day “conservative restoration” which the members of the Institute did not fail to condemn. A large and ancient half-timber barn was seen on leaving Eddlesborough, and the church of Eaton Bray, where the party was received by the Rev. J. H. Doe, was next reached. In his “Notes,” Mr. Hartshorne says:—

“This is, in its origin, a complete Early English church of the best period of the style. The chancel, restored in the present year, contains an Early English piscina and locker. The rest of the chancel is Perpendicular, and this has been conscientiously rebuilt in part, and in part repaired, the old tool-marks on the stone having been very carefully preserved. This is a style of restoration one often hears about but very seldom sees. For ‘restoration’ is disposed to be conservative in theory but destructive in practice. There is a very lanky late Perpendicular wooden rood screen.

“The whole church has somewhat suffered from insufficiency of foundations—a common Middle Age failing. We are told that the old men built ‘in faith;’ and we know that their successors, following in their steps, frequently piled up enormous loads in the shape of clerestories, &c., on the top of walls and arcades that would occasionally barely stand of themselves. Thus it happens at Eaton Bray that some of the walls must presently be rebuilt. The tower, originally Perpendicular, has had vast loads of ill-constructed masonry put upon it and against it in bell-ringing days, and its original square plan was changed, about 1750, to an oblong, running with the axis of the nave. Some of this building has been taken down, some has fallen, and much more will probably follow.

“But the glory of the church is its rich Early English north arcade. Very carefully and delicately moulded arches are supported by shafted piers, and these are, or were originally, further supported in the following manner, that is to say:—

“From just above the Early English cap springs a *moulded* segmental arch, somewhat after the manner of a strainer arch—like the later example at Rushden; this abutted against a *chamfered* arch, which, springing from the aisle wall and carrying its own masonry, was in its turn supported by external buttresses, the whole system forming a crafty contrivance for preventing the buckling of the piers of the nave arcade, and supporting the nave roof. This probably did its work sufficiently well until the Perpendicular men piled on their clerestory and abolished



the high-pitched nave roof, which also included the aisle in its slope; then the foundations, such as they were, gave way under the additional weight and altered circumstances. The arcades sank down, and dislocation of the *strainer* arch and its *counter-strainer* followed, and it became necessary to do away with these picturesque and formerly practical features. The north wall was, in its turn, together with the external buttresses, pushed over by the aisle roof, and the result is only too apparent at the present day.

"This church therefore becomes a very interesting example of more than one thing:

"I. We have the Early English men very cleverly adapting constructional features for a certain end.

"II. Perpendicular men, without the same kind of common sense—or, perhaps, any sense at all—rudely changing the old system of building, and importing into it no *method* of construction, and thereby revealing and intensifying the only imperfections of their predecessors, viz.: the bad foundations which the old men had counteracted by scientific means.

"III. We see how the science of construction, so conspicuous in the Early English period, was, in a way, neglected here in Perpendicular times, and how the later men caused the work of their predecessors to become almost ruinous by their recklessness.

"IV. We have evidence how firmly the successive mediæval builders relied upon their powers to do better than had been done before; they scorned the idea of being mere vulgar copiers, and believed that they did advance and improve—and they generally did so, but every now and then we have manifest evidences to the contrary—as at Eaton Bray.

"The church has become, however, ten times more interesting than if it had never been altered, for it has an *architectural history* plainly written upon its stones; and it is greatly to be hoped that when the time comes for this part of the building to be 'restored' no attempt will be made to reproduce the Early English constructional features that are gone. Such a course would falsify the church's history, or, speaking more strictly, wipe a great part of it away altogether. For the history of the thing lies in its condition as it has come down to us—not in the late, or the early or the incidental portions of it.

"The splendid ironwork on the south door—so like the work of John de Leighton at Westminster, and the hinges at Turvey—seems to point to the same facile hand. For the ecclesiologist the highest interest attaches to the two original stone reredoses over the two chantry altars. So charmingly unlike many modern monstrosities in streaky alabaster with their stained and blotched saints and angels.

"Better examples of simple reredoses in a country church there could not be, and modern architects would do well to consider them. There are certainly few churches in England of this size which contain two such original fittings. The old steps to the altar in the south aisle remain."

The journey was continued to Dunstable priory church. The members were received by the Rev. F. Hose, the venerable rector, who gave a short description of the church and its monastic remains. The following account is extracted from Mr. Hartshorne's "Notes."

"This is a noble nave of a very considerable Norman church, and Norman of the best kind, for there is none of the crudeness that dis-



tinguishes the works that are early in this style, like the crypt and transept at Winchester, nor the wonderful variety of Late Norman decorative features, such as may be seen at Ifley. Here all is very dignified and impressive. It seems that the nave, no doubt on account of its great span, was neither intended from the first, or subsequently attempted, to be vaulted; we have it, indeed, stated by a high authority that no such width was vaulted in stone, either in England or France, before 1150. In all probability there was a flat painted ceiling like the nave of Peterboro', and possibly the designers and constructors of both buildings were identical, or at all events drew their inspiration from the same sources.

"The south aisle is vaulted throughout, and the greater part of this vaulting is *copied* from the two original bays at the east end; this has been one of the results of the late restoration.

"The view of the interior of the church, seen from the east end of the south aisle is very striking and not without much of the solemnity of Tewkesbury. The north aisle has a Perpendicular wooden roof, and is itself now mainly of this period. The nave has a good new oak roof of Early Perpendicular character, and is supported on old wall figures standing on corbels.

"It is worthy of notice, as well as of imitation, that the seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments, some of which are fairly good, have been very properly retained in their original positions and not, as is usually the case in 'restorations,' relegated to out-of-the-way holes and corners, as not being in harmony with the lines and style of the building. The gain to a building of so large a size, which is provided with monuments of the kind in question, can hardly be doubted, since they, of all things, with their delicate classic details, most tend to give scale to such a Romanesque church as this, not to mention the far higher considerations of these 'chapters of history' being left to tell their own story and not utterly wiped out, as has been and unfortunately still is the wont of restorers. The pulpit cloth is a good example of a bad style—1730.

"The whole of the nave and aisles have lately undergone a very necessary reparation, in some cases amounting to actual rebuilding, at the hand of Mr. Somers Clarke. We may justly commend the judgment and care that have been exercised as to the fabric, but the apparent re-tooling of the old stone work would not be quite so satisfactory if it were not obvious that the perishing nature of the Totternhoe stone has necessitated this treatment. The rood-screen, of a most coarse and ponderous kind, is Early Perpendicular.

"The west front is a remarkable and irregular composition of two distinct periods, but not very distant from each other in point of time.

"We have here Late Transition and Early English work. The Transition work contains certain details of intersecting banded arches—such as may be seen at St. Alban's Abbey—and the Early English work was no doubt the work of the same school of men who built the choir and chevet of Westminster, or was a direct copy. The diapered surface over the rich doorway into the north aisle or belfry is very admirable, as are also the arcades and other Early English work in their vicinity. The lofty arcading inside is very striking and beautiful. The Priory House, now in appearance a George III house, encloses a large vaulted

chamber, evidently the *substructure* of a considerable building and probably of the Hospitium. This work is plain Early English, late in the style.

"With regard to the written history of Dunstable Priory, Dugdale tells us that Henry I<sup>1</sup> built and endowed at Dunstable, towards the latter end of his reign, a Priory of Black Canons to the honour of St. Peter. The internal evidence of the foundation Charter shows that this document was certainly drawn up after 1131, and the Norman work at Dunstable is plainly not earlier than this date.

"This is an important fact, as well as the starting-point in the history of this church. For Professor Willis, who first opened the volume of 'Architectural History,' has shown many times, and in the most masterly manner, that, in order to properly understand a building, the written document must be applied to the stones themselves; and that the one may be made most convincingly to explain the other, has been well evidenced, for instance, by his elucidation of Canterbury Cathedral, and by that of Carnarvon Castle by another able writer.

"Although a large portion of Dunstable church has unfortunately vanished, we may yet, with the famous Chronicle of Dunstable<sup>2</sup> in our hand, identify and date many portions of it. The Norman church no doubt included a choir—in the Latin of the twelfth century, the *ecclesia* proper—and other buildings at the east end. These had evidently been taken down, or had become ruinous before 1213, for in that year we find in the Chronicle the following entry:—

'In festo Sancti Lucæ dedicata est ecclesia de Dunstaple præsentibus 'comitibus et baronibus, abbatibus et prioribus et nobilibus multis, et 'plebe ejus non erat numerus.'

"On this occasion, as was customary, the relics of many saints, acquired by the Prior from various friends, were reposed on the high altar. Nevertheless, and in spite of these precautions, the times were evil for this church.

'1221. Mense Junii, corruit tectum presbyterii de Dunnestaple quod 'ante autumnum sequentem fuerat reparatum. Et mense Decembri 'corruerunt duæ turres in fronte ecclesiæ de Dunnestaple quarum altera 'cecidit super aulam prioris, et confregit magnam partem ipsius; altera 'vero cecidit super ecclesiam et locum in quo cecidit conquassavit.'

"The positions of these two towers (especially of that at the north-west angle), which must have formed the chief features of the original Norman front, may be identified by the portions of Norman work enclosed in the Early English work which replaced them. From the character of this Early English work we may assume that the rebuilding took place very soon after 1221. But it was not until 1250 that the new works to the Prior's hall, spoken of as 'Curia de Dunnestaple,' were begun and finished.

"The absence at the present day of any Norman vaulting in the north aisle may, perhaps, be somewhat accounted for by the 'conquassatio' from which this part of the church suffered in 1221. The progress of the

<sup>1</sup> Henry I had a palace at Dunstable, which John made over to the Prior and Convent in 1204.

<sup>2</sup> First begun by Prior Richard de Morins in 1202, and carried on by his successors. In this valuable record we

have notices of the principal events that happened in respect of Dunstable church, many entries being of the highest interest as regards the existing remains of the building.

late restorations has revealed a Norman doorway built up in this aisle with later work. Much of the early buildings at Dunstable must, in fact, have been very badly constructed, and we find, for instance, the following entry.—

'1252. Fecimus privatum dormitorium novum propter timorem ruinæ 'veteris dormitorii.'

"This old dormitory could not have stood more than 120 years, yet it was already dangerous. In short, the Chronicle shows us that the chief troubles the House of St. Peter had to perpetually contend against were the falling down or the burning of their church buildings, farm homesteads, dovecotes and barns. So it happened that, even at this early time, 'restorations' were carried on to a rather alarming extent, for instance:—

'1273. Sumptibus parochianorum renovatus fuit cumulus ecclesiæ 'nostræ de Dunnstaple; scilicet ab altari ad crucem, usque ad ostium 'occidentale versus le North. Henricus Chadde majores expensas 'apposuit circa illud.'

"Again, in 1289, we find that the people of Dunstable were as ready as they have shown themselves to be in our time, to come to the rescue of the great church:—

'Eodem anno duo pinnacula in fronte ecclesiæ versus le North perfec- 'runt parochiani de Dunnstaple et cælaturam lapideam undique ruinosam 'in porticu aquilonari, similiter repararunt, ad quæ omnia Johannes 'Durant senior medietatem dedit expensarum.'

"This 'cælaturam lapideam' is a very interesting entry, and it can refer to no other work than the beautiful flat diaper carving over and about the north-west doorway of the west front. A careful examination might, perhaps, reveal the fact that these features are inserted work. In 1293 the great cross and the images of the saints were taken in hand:—

'Sumptibus J. Burgeys de Dunstaple magna crux in ecclesia cum 'imaginibus Marie et Johanni novitur depinguntur. Plures etiam 'imagines sanctorum in ipsa ecclesia similiter renovantur.'

"In 1324 the brethren were as busy as ever, pulling down, building up, and restoring:—

'Prostravimus veterem capellam Beatæ Mariæ (quia ruinosâ erat) per 'priorem Riccardum hujus ecclesiæ quartum fundatum; et a fundamentis 'reparavimus illam.'

"This prior was Richard de Morins, in whose time the *ecclesia* was, as we have seen, founded with much pomp and circumstance, in 1213. Here is, therefore, another instance of bad construction. In a little more than a hundred years the Lady Chapel is simply declared 'ruinosa,' and taken down accordingly. No doubt the rottenness of the Totternhoe stone contributed to some extent to the constant ruin of different portions of the church, as is, indeed, evidenced at the present day.

"In 1277 'Magister Michael fuit nobis duas campanas grandiores.' Henry, his son, gave another on the death of his father.

'1283. Fecimus horologium quod est supra pulpitem collocatum.'

'1349. Tempore pestilentie parochiana de Dunstaple fecerunt sibi unam campanam et vocabant eam Mariam et prior Rogerus commodavit

<sup>1</sup> It seems evident from a subsequent examination that these decorations are inserted work.

plumbum ad cooperiendum campanile.' This was probably a wooden belfry distinct from the church.

"In 1247, Henry III, the Queen, the Princess Margaret, and Prince Edward came to Dunstable, and received and gave valuable gifts; and in 1275, the great Edward I and Queen Eleanor were specially entertained here. Long after, in the time of Gervase Markham, the last Prior, a queen of a very different stamp refused to come to Dunstable, and sentence of divorce was pronounced by Crammer against Catherine of Arragon in 1533, in the Lady Chapel of this ancient foundation,—a fitting prelude to its dissolution, which took place thirty years later."

The Dunstable Pall was seen in the north aisle; and after the remains of the Hospitium had been inspected, the train was again taken, and Bedford was reached at seven o'clock. Thus a memorable and successful excursion was brought to an end.

At 9 p.m. a *conversazione* was given by the noble President and the members of the Institute, in the Bedford Rooms. This was largely attended, and in the course of the evening, the Rev. J. Brown read an eloquent paper on "The Relics of Bunyan," Mr. M. H. Bloxam occupying the chair.

#### Thursday, July 28.

At ten a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the Members of the Institute was held in the library of the Bedford Rooms, the Lord Talbot de Malahide in the chair.

Mr. Hartshorne read the balance sheet for the past year (printed at p. 325). He then read the following—

#### "REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1880-81.

"In laying before the Members of the Institute the Report for the past year, the Council would, in the first place, recall with satisfaction the meeting held last year at Lincoln after an interval of thirty-two years.

"The cordiality of the second reception on the old ground of Roman Lindum, though, indeed, it certainly, so far, fully equalled the first, was naturally tempered by the feeling that many eminent members had in the interval passed away. But the evidences of their teaching was conspicuously shown by the character of the admirable papers which the second Lincoln Meeting produced, many of which have since appeared in the pages of the *Journal*. For nothing could more clearly show than those papers, not only upon what admirable lines the founders of the Society worked, but also how surely progressive the labours of the Institute have been.

"And, though, in this respect the Council observe with great pleasure that the places of many of the masters in the different sections of archaeology have been, and are still being ably filled by their pupils, yet it would take occasion specially to impress upon the young and rising members of the Institute not only that its future success is in their hands, but the desirableness of their fully and painfully exerting themselves for completely occupying the positions which the course of time, alas! too rapidly lays open to them. And, with special regard to this society, the Council are convinced that no scientific body has had more thoughtful, more earnest, more faithful, or more reliable teachers. With such



leaders and teachers, for instance, as Way, Willis, and Guest, the Council feel that the Institute would be sadly untrue to itself if its members did not constantly strive after such high models.

"With regard to current archaeological events the Council would allude to the action it has lately taken in respect of an archaeological subject of the highest, and even of national importance. A movement locally set on foot for the readjustment of certain stones at Stonehenge has been brought before the Council for its consideration and sanction. This matter has received its most serious and anxious attention, the inclination of the feeling of the Council at first being that nothing of any kind should be done to this wonderful monument. For the Council felt that the true history of Stonehenge consists in its condition as it has come down to us.

"On the other hand has been attempted to be shown that certain stones at Stonehenge are in a threatening, tottering, or falling state, and that, by some timely care, much destruction might be averted.

"The wide question then arising whether it were better to allow Stonehenge to become an absolute ruin of stones, broken by falling one upon the other, thus certainly adding chapters to its history—it being of course understood that fallen stones may tell us something by the way in which they fall—or to support gradually failing stones, or set them upright by scientific means, such work possibly extending to actually prostrate stones, the Council were unwilling to pronounce an opinion off the spot.

"Accordingly, through the medium of a Sub-Committee, a communication was opened upon the merits of the whole question with the Council of the Society of Antiquaries who appointed a most influential Committee of Inspection to visit Stonehenge and report upon it. A survey has been made by this Committee and the Council of the Institute has no hesitation in believing that the matter is in safe hands.

"The Council has not failed to enter its protest against the destruction that has lately taken place at the west front of St. Alban's Abbey.

"The long lists of deaths of influential members of the Institute since the last meeting is very melancholy and depressing.

"The Council record with sorrow that the active mind of Mr. Fairless Barber is at rest, and the members of the Institute will not soon forget his cordial co-operation in their pursuits, and specially at the great meeting at Ripon which he so admirably organised.

"A still greater loss fell upon the Society when Mr. W. Burges passed away, in the prime of life, and when on the point of receiving his well-deserved honours. As a most kind and faithful friend of the Institute for 30 years Mr Burges will long be recollected. The evidences of his taste and genius remain, for instance, at Studley Royal, Cork, Cardiff, and in his own house in London, while how truly great his powers were was shown by his designs for the new Law Courts and his splendid scheme for the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral. Only a short time before his death Mr. Burges had finally corrected the proofs of his portion of the Catalogue of Helmets and Mail which will probably be considered one of his principal literary and technical works and which will shortly be in the hands of the members of the Institute. This will indicate, perhaps as well as anything, how thoroughly and conscientiously he went to work and how great is the loss which the sad event of his death has occasioned.



"Sir Philip Grey Egerton, the Antiquary to the Royal Academy and a member of the Institute since 1845, has passed away full of years. The Geological Society had certainly higher claims on him than had the Institute; but Sir Philip Egerton's interest in our proceedings was evidenced from time to time, and not long ago he laid before a monthly meeting the splendid pedigree of the Egertons, a noble record of the ancient families he so well represented.

"Mr. C. S. Greaves, after a long and honourable and useful career, has departed at the age of eighty. A worthy descendant of a good old Derbyshire family, and an antiquary who worked most ably in the highest branches of the science, the familiar figure of Mr. Greaves will be greatly missed. His profound legal attainments and his ripe scholarship and learning were always at the disposal of those who, like himself, had the prosperity of the Institute at heart, while his friendship for all who were honoured with his esteem was active, untiring, and faithful, and his ready and reliable assistance will be sorely missed in time to come.

"The death of Dr. Guest, one of the greatest intellects of the Institute, is a loss indeed. But it is a satisfaction to believe that the scattered papers from the master hand of the author of 'English Rythms' will, before long, be given to the world as a separate publication.

"The death of Mr. Bernhard Smith, so long an active supporter of the Institute, has removed another well-known figure from among us. He was no mere collector of 'profitless relics,' but an antiquary of the best type and had been long recognised as a skilful interpreter of objects and subjects of uncommon kinds. Much curious learning has passed away with the life of this aimable and genial man.

"The loss of Mr. F. Ouvry, one of the earliest members of the Institute, is one that will be widely felt. He brought to the Council of the Institute—of which he was for many years an active member, advice and assistance of the highest quality. In later years, another Society for whom he had most assiduously laboured, elected him their President; but it will be as Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries that his name will long be borne in esteem.

"The death of Mr. Coxe, the highly esteemed chief of Bodley's Library, will be deeply felt, and that of the Dean of Westminster, another early member and warm supporter of the Institute, cannot be alluded to but with the greatest regret. He was ever ready to assist in the cause of archaeology, and the part he took during the meeting of the Institute in London will not readily be forgotten.

"In addition to the above serious losses the Council have further to record the deaths of the Rev. W. Dyke, an early member and constant attendant at the annual meetings; Mr. Buxton Whalley, a member of the Council; the Rev. W. Thornton, Mr. C. D. Bedford, Mr. W. Miles, the Rev. J. Brook, Mr. J. H. Hakewill, and Major Luard Selby, of Ightham.

"The members of the Council to retire by rotation are as follows:—Vice-President, Sir John Maclean, and the following members of the Council:—Mr. F. Newton, Mr. G. L. Watson, Sir W. V. Guise, Bt., the Rev. W. J. Loftie, and Mr. H. Vaughan.

"The Council has provisionally appointed the Rev. H. Addington in the place of the late Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, and the Baron de Cosson in

the room of the late Mr. W. Burges on the Council, and submits these appointments for the confirmation of the members.

"It would recommend the appointment of Sir W. V. Guise, Bt., as Vice-President in the place of Sir J. Maclean; and the re-election of the latter, Mr. C. T. Newton and the Rev. W. J. Loftie on the Council.

"It would further recommend the election of the Rev. Precentor Venables, the Rev. F. Spurrell and Mr. T. H. Baylis (the retiring Auditor) to the vacant seats on the Council.

"It would also recommend the election of the Rev. H. J. Bigge as Auditor in the room of Mr. Baylis."

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM spoke in feeling terms of the sad losses that the Institute had sustained during the past year, and proposed the adoption of the Report. This was seconded by Mr. M. H. BLOXAM, and carried unanimously.

Mr. BAYLIS then gave a general explanation of the financial condition of the Institute, and the Balance Sheet was passed.

Mr. HARTSHORNE then read a most cordial letter of invitation from the Town Council of Carlisle inviting the Institute to visit that city in 1882 or 1883. He also read letters from the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, and from the Chairman of the Council of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, expressing in the kindest manner their wish that the Institute should again visit the Border City and offering the heartiest welcome and assistance.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON spoke at some length and with much cordiality upon the prospects of such a visit, and the impetus which archæology had received in Cumberland since the Institute's former meeting in 1859. He had reason to assure the members of a most friendly reception on all sides whenever they came to the north.

The Noble PRESIDENT, in proposing that the invitations thus kindly sent be accepted for 1882, spoke of the warmth of the former meeting in Carlisle and of the cheering prospects again held forth to them by their friends in Cumberland.

This was seconded by Mr. PARKER, supported by Mr. BLOXAM, and carried with acclamation.

A vote of thanks to the noble Chairman brought the meeting to a close.

At 11 a.m. carriages left Bedford-Bridge for Cardington church, a building with a central tower and a double-aisled chancel. Close at hand was seen the house once inhabited by Howard, the philanthropist. The journey was continued to Cople church, of which the chief interest centres in the chancel, and the two chapels opening out of it through good Perpendicular arches. Mr. Elwes informs us that the corbels to the south arch bear the arms of Thomas Gray and those of the family of his wife, a Launcelyn. The corbels on the north side exhibit the device of Sir Walter Luke, a hat with *ley* beneath it, in allusion to a privilege granted to him by Henry VIII to stand covered in the presence of the King, Sir Walter Luke having married Ann Launcelyn, nurse to Henry VIII. It will be remembered that a certain "Mother Jak" was nurse to Henry's successor, Edward VI, and that this person was also well esteemed; her portrait was drawn in profile to the left, in a plain close cap, by Holbein, and may be seen among the priceless collection of "Holbein's Heads," in the Royal Library at Windsor.

The sepulchral brasses of the families of Launcelyn, Roland, Luke, Grey,

Bulkeley, and Spencer, and the fine old seats and screens in the chancel add considerably to the interest of the church, and of which the different portions throughout clearly show their respective dates. The use of a large opening, now blocked up, above the belfry window on the east face of the tower, does not appear clear. Mr. Elwes has conjectured that it was formed during the Civil Wars for a look-out by Sir Samuel Luke, when "scout-master" for the Parliament in this district. The interest of Cople does not end with the church. The famous Samuel Butler, who yet lives in the traditions of the place, is said to have written *Hudibras* in the old house of the Lukes, now destroyed, and to have taken as his hero his patron Sir Samuel Luke.

Willington was the next place visited. The Rev. A. Orlebar received the members at the church and read a short paper upon this fine example of Late Perpendicular work. The interesting account of the descent of the manor of Willington has been well and succinctly set forth by Mr. Elwes in his Guide Book, and it will only be desirable to mention now that it passed from the Beauchamp family, who had held it since the Conquest, to that of Mowbray, in the early part of the fourteenth century, by the marriage of Maud de Beauchamp with Roger de Mowbray. A partition of the Mowbray estates took place on the death of Ann, heir of John Mowbray, fourth and last Duke of Norfolk of that name, and the property was divided between the heirs of Ann's great-great-aunts, and went to Margaret and Isabel Mowbray, who married respectively Sir Robert Howard and James, Lord Berkeley. A second partition of the Mowbray lands that had descended to them, was made between Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, of that name, and Maurice Berkeley, in 1499 and Willington fell, in this way, to the lot of Thomas Howard.

A family of Gostwick had already been settled here for 400 years, when, in 1529, John Gostwick bought the manor of Willington from the Duke of Norfolk. Then continued a long succession of this stock until 1731, when the last Sir William Gostwick, Bart., impoverished by the folly of political contests, sold Willington in 1731 to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, whose descendant, in 1774, sold it to Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford, and it now forms part of the Russell property.

It appears from the "*Laborieuse Journey and Serche*" of that early and industrious antiquary, John Leland—begun about 1538 and finished in 1548—that "Mr. Gostewik," the purchaser of the manor "hath made a sumptuous new Building of Brike and Tymbre à *fundamentis*." The whole of this great house appears to have now vanished, unless some portions may be enclosed in the farm-house now occupying its site. But there still remains a most interesting and picturesque pigeon-house and a building said to be a stable, or grooms' lodgings; it probably was used for both purposes.

Within living memory were three other brick and timber buildings, one of vast size, called a barn, was perhaps originally a riding school. Every vestige of these last-named structures, which formed, as may be judged from drawings, the greater part of a group of buildings of singular variety and value has succumbed to the relentless hand of the improver. And this is the more to be regretted because Sir John Gostwick became Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., and, as Mr. Elwes suggests, it is not unlikely that they were built by Gostwick to enable him to stable the

King's horses, of which he probably had many under his direct supervision. Here, indeed, on this flat ground, many a "great horse," such as Albert Durer has engraved, may have been trained to his business in the tournament or specially prepared for the use of the King at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, where Gostwick was in attendance in his official capacity. We may, therefore, lament the loss of what must have been a highly interesting and complete series of the minor and stable buildings of a great, though late, mediæval house. It may be observed that many of the stone details of the pigeon-house have the appearance of having formed part of an earlier structure, and to the re-use of these stones may be partly attributed the very quaint and unusual form which the gables present. Leland tells us that the "Old Manor Place" of the Mowbrays was "clene doune, but the Place is notabely scene wher it was." Probably Gostwick pulled down this old Mowbray house and re-used the materials.

With regard to the church, it is a complete and beautiful example of Late Perpendicular work, and was no doubt built soon after the second division of the Mowbray lands, when Willington passed to Thomas Howard. It would thus have been finished about twenty years when John Gostwick became possessed of the manor.

In the north aisle of the Chancel, called the Gostwick chapel, is an altar tomb of the Master of the Horse near which is hung his real tilting helm;<sup>1</sup> an effigy of Sir William Gostwick who died in 1615 and a mural monument of Sir Edward Gostwick who departed in 1630. A real helmet of his period,<sup>2</sup> and a heraldic tabard of linen, a mere funeral trophy, are preserved in the church, as is also a bavier or chin-piece of the early part of the sixteenth century. The ancient character of the church was somewhat modified in 1877 by a very thorough "restoration" when the old tiles in the floor were reproduced with indifferent success. There are several brasses to the Gostwicks, the earliest being dated 1325. The antiquaries inspected the pigeon-house and grooms' lodgings, and, after halting for a few minutes at the site of the old Mowbray house,—now, as in Leland's time, "notabely scene" by its conspicuous earth-works,—proceeded on their journey to Sandy, the *Salinæ* of the Romans.

At Sandy luncheon was provided at the Greyhound Hotel and the party proceeded to Cæsar's Camp, which was pronounced to be "British," and from thence to Galley Hill Camp where they were met by Mr. A. W. Peel, who in the kindest manner took charge of the antiquaries and pointed out the chief features of this strongly-defended and picturesque spot. The Rev. R. S. Baker here read so much of a paper by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin as related to the subject in hand, and the party then broke up and made its way to Sandy Place, a seat of the ancient and extinct family of Monnoux, where Mr. Foster was kind enough to offer tea to the members in this his hospitable house, on the bank of the Ivel.

The return journey was made by way of Howbury Camp, the form of which Mr. R. S. Ferguson said was familiar to him in his own country of Cumberland; he was disposed to think it a British work and not improbably for the protection of cattle from sudden raids, a work, in fact, of a kind which in Cumberland would have been thrown up as

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, v. 37, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Do. *ib.*



much for protection against wolves as Scotchmen. Risinghoe Castle a great "bulw" on the right hand of the Ouse was the last halting place, and Bedford was again reached at 6.30.

The Historical Section opened at 8.30. The Very Rev. the Dean of Ely occupied the chair as President, and gave his Opening Address which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Rev. Sir TALBOT BAKER conveyed the thanks of the meeting to the Dean of Ely for his able and valuable address, and the CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. Canon Warmoll to read a paper on "The Friars Minors of Bedford." A vote of thanks having been passed to Canon Warmoll, the Rev. J. Copner read a paper on "The Connection of John Bunyan with Elstow."

The Rev. J. BROWN, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Copner, said he should like to elicit the opinion of Mr. Peacock upon the point as to whether Bunyan was in the Parliamentary or Royalist Army. From his investigations he had come to the conclusion that Bunyan was simply drafted amongst the levies which were raised in the associated counties to the garrison of Newport Pagnell. He could not have been drafted into the army until after he was 16, and could only have been in the army seven months, and then he was in by compulsion and not by choice, so that it was impossible to say absolutely which side he was upon.

Mr. PEACOCK said as far as his knowledge went it was a mere toss up, one was as likely as the other. He had never met with the name of Bunyan in the army lists of the period. He did not think that those expressions of loyalty given by Mr. Copner could be taken in any way as a settlement of the point in dispute, as 99 out of every 100 men of that period would have made use of the same expressions, the only point in dispute being the doctrine of hereditary right.

Mr. CORNER said his view was supported by several modern historians, including Froude, and he would leave it to his hearers to decide.

The Antiquarian Section met, for the second time, in the Library of the Bedford Rooms, Mr. R. S. Ferguson in the chair. The Rev. H. Addington read a paper on "The Brasses of Bedfordshire," which will be printed in the *Journal*. A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Bloxam, the Rev. C. R. Manning and Dr. Prior took part, and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Addington, whose magnificent collection, now nearly complete, of rubbings from brasses throughout the whole of England, entitles him to the thanks of all students of genealogy and costume.

The Rev. R. S. Baker then read a paper on "The Earthworks at Yelden," which will appear in a future *Journal*. Mr. Bloxam agreed with Mr. Baker that Yelden was thoroughly British in its character, but he thought that the battle with which Mr. Baker had dealt took place at Borough Hill, near Daventry. A vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Baker, the Architectural Section now met for the third time, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, President, in the chair. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite read a paper to a most sympathetic audience on "The Treatment of Ancient Architectural Remains." A vote of thanks to Mr. Micklethwaite, whose paper is printed at page 352, brought this long and varied day to a close.



Friday, July 29.

The members left Bedford station at 9 a.m. for St. Alban's and proceeded directly to the Abbey. Assembling in the choir the party was taken in hand by Mr. Micklethwaite, who gave a lucid and valuable account of the architectural history of this great church. The shrine of St. Alban and the Lady Chapel were afterwards seen, and the party then inspected the nave, or rather so much of it as was not boarded off at the west end and barred to the inspection of antiquaries and men of discernment. A near approach to the west end, even from the outside, was, with singular taste, similarly prevented, but distance truly lent no enchantment, and it really needed no very close inspection to become thoroughly aware of the vagaries of the amateur architect of St. Alban's. Mr. J. H. Parker and Mr. E. Peacock made a few remarks upon the disastrous policy which had brought about a "restoration" of this kind, and the party then adjourned to luncheon at the Peahen Hotel. A certain number of the members visited the extensive earthworks at Bernard's Heath, making their way afterwards to St. Michael's church and the remains of Old Verulam; the rest of the party went direct to the last named places, and all meeting at the station at 4.10, Luton was reached at 5.15. The members were received at Luton station in the most friendly manner by the Deputy-Mayor, Mr. Councillor Wright (in the unavoidable absence of the Mayor, Mr. J. Cotchin), Mr. Alderman Gilder, Mr. C. Cotchin, and several other gentlemen of the town, and proceeded at once to the fine cruciform church of St. Mary where they were met by the Rev. Dr. Morris, in the absence of the vicar. The church, which has been much restored, contains many objects of interest. Such are the unique early fourteenth century stone font canopy; the wooden screen work, formerly in the south, now removed to the north transept; and the tomb on the north side of the chancel sustaining the fine effigy of William Wenlock, a canon of St. Paul's, London, who died in 1392. This ecclesiastic is represented in his ordinary habit; his cassock has a row of buttons up the front, and his choir cope is fastened with buttons on the right shoulder. Against the wall of the south aisle of the nave is the effigy of a priest in eucharistic vestments. It has no great artistic merits, but it is notable as showing very clearly, as Mr. Micklethwaite pointed out, the cutting away of the sides of the chasuble which became common in secular churches towards the end of the fifteenth century. The Mayor was kind enough to offer the members some light refreshment at the station, and Bedford was again reached at 7 p.m.

The Antiquarian Section met for the third time, in the Library, at 8.30, Mr. R. S. Ferguson in the chair. Dr. Prior read a paper on "The Earthworks of Bedfordshire." Mr. Bloxam spoke upon this subject, differing in certain respects from Dr. Prior's conclusions. After a vote of thanks to Dr. Prior, Mr. R. R. Lloyd read a paper on "The Wall Paintings in St. Alban's Abbey," which will appear in the *Journal*. A vote of thanks to Mr. Lloyd brought the proceedings in this Section to an end.

The Architectural Section met, for the third time, in the Bedford Rooms, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite in the chair. The Rev. A. J. Foster read a paper on "Certain Peculiarities in Bedfordshire Churches." The Chairman made some remarks upon the interest of the subject which had been dealt with and proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Foster, whose

paper will appear in a future *Journal*. Mr. D. G. C. Elwes then read a paper by Mr. T. North on "The Bells of Bedfordshire," which will be printed in a future *Journal*. Some observations by Mr. Peacock and Mr. Foster, and a vote of thanks to Mr. North and Mr. Elwes concluded the proceedings in this Section.

Saturday, July 30.

At 10 a.m. carriages left Bedford Bridge for Clapham church, the well-known example of Saxon work. What the actual date of this tower is it would be very difficult to say, and the question of its age has been, as at Brixworth, to a certain extent, prejudiced by the fact of simplicity and rudeness having been too much taken as evidences of antiquity. It is perhaps of the early part of the tenth century, and in indicating such a date the narrow semi-circular-headed windows splayed equally inside and out, and the tower diminishing in stages have been taken into consideration. The upper story is manifestly Early Norman work, and the parapet dates from the seventeenth century. The remainder of the church was entirely rebuilt in 1861.

The journey was continued to Colworth where the party was received and hospitably entertained at luncheon by Mr. Magniac. Some considerable time was most profitably spent in inspecting the remarkable collection of antiquities and works of art of the finest kind with which the house is replete. Among the priceless treasure here assembled may be specially mentioned the Henri II. vase, the splendid early enamels, the pictures—specially that admirable work, *Christ Mocked*, lately acquired in Spain, and of which the painter is at present unknown—the ivories, the armour, and, not least, the charming gallery of small portraits by Holbein, Clouet, and other masters of their time and after.

The beautiful church of Felmersham was the next point reached. The Rev. H. Addington was kind enough to draw up the following Notes upon it :

"This is a church of great interest. It is of the Early English period, perhaps late in the style, and of a character verging to the Decorated. The plan embraces chancel, nave, and transepts, the latter are shallow, and yet all the features of a cruciform church are preserved, and, owing to its great size, the common objections to a central tower, in a church of this form, are obviated.

"The church suffered restoration in the year 1853, under the auspices of the late Mr. J. A. Green, when new windows, in imitation of those already existing, were inserted east and west of the chancel door, and the celebrated and interesting Roed Loft, which, until that time, had preserved its original position, was removed, leaving only the screen beneath.

"In the chancel, the east window is a modern insertion in the Decorated style, replacing an Early English triplet, the original side windows are simple lancets, and are singularly beautiful examples of the work of the thirteenth century, and, it is needless to say, do not suffer by comparison with the modern imitations. The priest's door appears to be original, with good mouldings and shafts, the arch being enriched with the flower ornament. The tower stands upon four excellent and beautiful arches, with deeply undercut mouldings.

"The nave arcade is of four arches, the two to the east being more widely spread than the others, the mouldings are clear, and die away into

points at the intersections, without heads or masks. The piers are alternately cylindrical and octagonal in form, counterchanging again with those opposite, the bases are not identical, some having deeper and some shallower mouldings: the brackets supporting the roof springers at the angles of the nave have the evangelistic symbols. The inserted windows in the aisles, and those in the clerestory point to two distinct periods of Perpendicular alterations, the latter being very late and poor. The doorways throughout the church are very fine: by the side of the south door, in the interior, is a stoup, and over it, on the exterior, a niche.

“‘The west front,’ says Rickman, ‘forms a composition very beautiful, and not very common.’ There is a richly-moulded west doorway, on either side of which is a panelled arch enclosing two others, with a quatrefoil in the head. Above is an arcade of Early English arches, with slender detached shafts, and, above this, a triplet of the same period with good banded shafts. The tower has a fine arcade, in the centre of which are two lancets for the belfry lights, and, above, is a cornice of masks. The upper story is a Perpendicular addition, with a cornice, and a turret at the south-east angle.

“The absence of foliated decoration throughout the church is worthy of notice, as is also the quantity of masks and buckles of a distinctly Edwardian type. The position of the church, overhanging the river Ouse, is all that can be desired. There are engravings of it in Lysons’ *Bedfordshire*, and also in *Brandon’s Parish Churches*.”

The party went on to Stevington Church a good early Decorated building with the aisles enclosing a western tower. Here are certain grotesque oak carvings, apparently formerly belonging to the nave seat ends. One of them represents two kneeling figures drinking out of one bowl, probably referring to the drinking of church ale, for the maintenance of which refreshment in this parish seven acres of land were, as we learn from Mr. Elwes’ *Note Book*, bequeathed. With reference to the Low Side Window in the chancel, Mr. Harvey in his “*History of the Hundred of Willey*” quotes the well-known letter from Bedyll to Lord Cromwell:—“We think it best that the place wher thes freres have been wont to hear outward confession of all commers at certen times of the yere be walled up and that use to be fordoen for ever.” Whether this advice referred directly to those features which, for want of a better name, are now usually called Low Side Windows, and, if it did, whether the use in question was the *original* one, has not, and probably never will be exactly determined. For it may be observed that there appears to be a certain amount of evidence of the employment of these windows for other uses.

Though some are too high and some too low for the purpose, it has been supposed that many of these windows were set up to enable lepers to take part in the services of the church. This favorite and somewhat wild theory would certainly require the direct corroboration of documentary evidence which has not, hitherto, been forthcoming. It may be borne in mind that these unfortunate lepers were so numerous in this country in the Middle Ages that hospitals were specially established for their reception. There were, for instance, nine leper hospitals in Essex. It is difficult to imagine why these hospitals did not possess and make use of their own private chapels rather than nullify their efficiency by letting

loose upon the world, at regular intervals, the very persons for whose retirement they were founded.

The party went on to Oakley. Here, at last, was an unrestored church containing many objects of interest, chief among which was the rood screen formerly extending entirely across the church after the manner of screens in the west of England. The greater part of this screen still remains *in situ* in the aisles, other portions have been utilised in forming a monstrous pew. Here are also good remains of old seats showing their original arrangements as to passages. Bromham bridge, a narrow and lengthy structure of arches innumerable, perhaps of the seventeenth century, over the Ouse, was crossed on the way to Bedford where the party arrived at 6.30.

The Historical Section met, for the second time, in the Bedford Rooms at 8.30 p.m., Mr. R. S. Ferguson in the chair. Mr. S. I. Tucker (Somerset) read a paper "On the Families and Heraldry of Bedfordshire." A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Tucker for this valuable contribution to the history of the county. Mr. Elwes then spoke upon the Analysis of the Domesday of Bedfordshire which had been prepared, in an exhaustive manner, for the press by the late Rev. W. Airy. Mr. Elwes read the author's Preface which explained his motives for entering into the work, and which pointed out the need that existed for bringing the Great Survey out of the obscurity in which its mensuration and technicalities no less than its phraseology had involved it. Mr. Elwes then read extracts from Mr. Airy's Introduction showing the general nature of the work and explained the arrangements that had been made for placing a very limited edition within the reach of subscribers.<sup>1</sup>

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Elwes the Chairman assured him that if such a book was proposed to be issued by subscription in Cumberland the list would be filled up in a week. The business in this Section was thus brought to an end.

On Sunday the Right Rev. the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham preached at St. Paul's Church from 1 Kings, iii. 4.

#### Monday, August 1.

At 10 a.m. carriages left Bedford Bridge for Elstow Church where the party was met by Mr. S. Whithead, M.P. A very thorough "restoration" was being here carried out nearly the whole of the outer walls having been already rebuilt, the nave itself standing roofless. This nave was in its origin that of the old nunnery church founded in 1078 by Judith, niece of the Conqueror, the eastern portion being Norman of an early type and that to the west consisting of two bays of good Early English. Mr. Mickelthwaite pointed out that the part of the nunnery church now remaining probably owed its preservation, as in many other instances, to the fact that the parishioners always had rights in it, and that on the demolition of the choir and transepts it appeared that three Perpendicular windows were taken from them and inserted in the wall then built up to form the east end of the parish church. There seems to have been a screen at the first pair of pillars from the east end, and on the north-east face of the south pillar is a fifteenth century niche with a cresset or cup to hold a light. Of the conventual buildings nothing remains but an

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæological Intelligence*, p. 466.



early fourteenth century chamber of great beauty, vaulted from a central pillar. A massive Perpendicular tower, the scene of many of Bunyan's struggles with his conscience, standing apparently where it ought not, and entirely detached from the church, seems to suggest a dispute between the ecclesiastics and the parishioners, such as occurred at Wymondham in the beginning of the fifteenth century with a somewhat similar architectural result.

There is an interesting Norman doorway, not in its original position, forming the north entrance to the church; on the south side, and occupying the site of the monastic buildings, are the remains of a good Elizabethan house, doubtless built by Sir Edward Radcliffe, a descendant of Sir Humphrey, the "Dissolution" grantee. These remains, half hidden by the vampire ivy, are naturally being surely pulled to pieces by this curse of architectural antiquities, and their condition calls to remembrance the lines which Lamartine wrote upon a far statelier structure:

"Déjà l'herbe qui croît sur les dalles antiques  
Efface autour des murs les sentiers domestiques.  
Et le lierre flottant comme un manteau de deuil,  
Cache à-demi la porte, et rampe jusqu'au seuil."

To the kindness of Mr. Whitbread and the obliging exertions of Mr. T. J. Jackson, the members were enabled to see to what extent the church was originally prolonged to the east. The foundations, which had been uncovered under Mr. Jackson's direction, showed that there was an apsidal termination some sixty feet from the present east wall, and apparently a Lady Chapel further on.

The Moot Hall on the green near the church, a picturesque brick and timber building of the latter part of the sixteenth century, was inspected, and the journey was continued to Houghton Conquest Church, which underwent a complete and costly restoration in 1870 at the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott. The mural paintings, the brasses of members of the ancient Bedfordshire family of Conquest, the rood screen, the remains of the old seats, and the old painted glass were here the objects of interest.

"Houghton Ruins," properly called Dame Ellensbury Park, was the next place visited. Mr. Elwes has shown the descent of this property from the baronial family of St. Amand to the time of Mary Countess of Pembroke, "Sidney's Sister." There can be little doubt that this once fine but now tottering house was built upon this—for Bedfordshire—important site by Philip Earl of Montgomery, the second son of "Pembroke's mother;" his monogram appears, with other Sidney devices, upon a frieze of the western front. It is a pleasing rather than a stately building, and if it could be shown to be the work of Inigo Jones it must still be confessed that it is unworthy of his high genius.

The antiquaries went on to Ampthill and had luncheon at the White Hart Hotel. The church and adjoining Church House were then visited and the party proceeded to Flitton church, where the mausoleum containing a most interesting series of seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments of the Earls of Kent and other members of the De Grey family were seen. Here are many recumbent effigies, two of them, those of Henry Earl of Kent, died 1614, and of Mary his wife are doubtless from the hand of Nicholas Stone. A cumbersome monument, with full-sized standing figures, in Roman costume, to the memory of Henry, Duke of Kent, died 1740, and his only son Anthony, Earl of



Harold, died 1723, are evidently by that undistinguished sculptor, Francis Bird. By the kindness of Lord Cowper the party were allowed to see the pictures at Wrest Park, and, continuing the journey to the extensive earthworks of Cainhoe Castle, which were explained by Dr. Prior, a long drive brought the members again to Bedford.

The General Concluding Meeting was held at 9 p.m. in the Bedford Rooms, Mr. S. I. Tucker (Somerset) in the chair.

Mr. TUCKER said it had devolved upon him as the senior member of the Council of the Institute now left in Bedford to take the chair, and direct the proceedings of the final meeting, and in doing so he had to speak of the pleasure which they had experienced during the visit of the Institute to this town, and the pain with which they now had to leave it. It was no exaggeration to say that they had seldom had so agreeable a meeting, and it would be extremely ungracious if they were to go away without acknowledging the generous hospitality that had been shewn to them, and the very great treat which the many objects of interest they had seen had afforded them. They had also to thank all who had assisted them in any way whatever. Personally, he had attended a great many meetings of the Institute, and he found that year by year they proved of increasing interest to him. Old friends were met and new friendships established, and these recurring meetings helped to create and keep up intimate and agreeable associations which grew closer on each successive occasion.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE moved, "That the best thanks of the Royal Archaeological Institute be given to Charles Magniac, Esq., M.P., for his able and suggestive address, for the obliging manner in which he gave access to his magnificent collection, and extended his graceful hospitality to its members." In moving this he ventured to say that during the whole of his experience in his various wanderings he never remembered to have seen in one house such a collection of objects of interest as were accumulated at Colworth. The objects were tastefully arranged and some of the works of art were absolutely unique. He could not say they were all entirely new to them, because some of them had been exhibited in London in special collections, and many were engraved in standard art works. It was a great treat to them all, not only to see that collection but to have such a kind reception, and he was convinced that they would all agree with the resolution which he had the privilege to propose.

This was warmly seconded by Mr. E. PEACOCK and carried with acclamation.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON then moved: "That the best thanks of the Institute be given to his Worship the Mayor of Bedford, to whose zealous co-operation and personal courtesies and hospitality we account ourselves much indebted." Mr. Ferguson said that he had, as a member of the Institute, sufficient experience to know that the first thing such a society had to do when it wished to visit a place and successfully carry out its objects was to secure the co-operation of the Mayor, because without that co-operation they could not really proceed at all. On this occasion the smoothness with which the meetings had worked, and the happiness with which everything had gone off showed that though the Mayor's efforts might not have appeared much above the surface, yet it was mainly due to him that everything had gone on so well. No hitch whatever had occurred in their proceedings. He was sure they

had given the Mayor a vast amount of trouble of which those assembled had heard very little, and he had the greatest pleasure in moving the resolution which had been placed in his hands. This was seconded by Mr. E. WALFORD, and carried with much cordiality, and responded to by the MAYOR in a most kind manner.

Mr. J. HILTON proposed: "That the best thanks of the Institute be further accorded to those gentlemen who, by acting as local secretaries, by lending objects of interest and value to the Museums, and in various other ways have contributed to the success of this meeting."

This was seconded by Mr. W. E. HOWLETT and cordially carried.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed in flattering terms a vote of thanks to Mr. Hartshorne which was heartily received, and acknowledged.

In closing the business of the meeting the CHAIRMAN alluded to the cheering prospects of the meeting in Carlisle in 1882 under the genial auspices of their friend Mr. Ferguson. A vote of thanks to Mr. Tucker, proposed by Mr. Alderman HURST, and seconded by the MAYOR, brought the Bedford Meeting to an end.

#### The Museum.

This was formed in the Bedford Rooms under the direction of Mr. T. G. Elger and Dr. Prior, and included a considerable number of early Bedfordshire antiquities. Conspicuous among these may be mentioned Major Cooper-Cooper's numerous collections from Toddington, a spot which has surrendered to the excavator antiquities of almost every period and which have fortunately fallen under the protecting care of so good an antiquary. The Duke of Bedford sent a British urn with burnt bones; portions of another vessel of pyramidal form, and two early fourteenth century stone corbel heads, all found in the fen near Croyland. Mr. W. F. Higgins exhibited a painted terra-cotta Etruscan cist, showing in front a nude figure fighting against four other armed men, a recumbent effigy on the top and an inscription on the edge. The Rev. W. J. Loftie sent a collection of antiquities from Egypt. The Hon. Miss Rice Trevor exhibited Romano-British vases and other antiquities of the same period from a well at Biddenham. Mr. C. L. Higgins sent a Romano-British vase from Harold; a hoard of 238 silver coins chiefly of Charles I.; a Salisbury missal, 1555; Caxton's "Livre Royal," 1484; Pynson's "Assertio septum Sacramentorum," &c., 1521, with Cranmer's autograph; Pynson's "Dives and Pauper," 1493, and Wynkyn de Worde's "Vitae Patrum," 1495. Sir Henry Dryden exhibited a stone celt; two iron cells of quadrangular truncated pyramidal form; some early horse-shoes; plain tiles of various forms from Warden Abbey, and a silver ferule of a hunting horn. From the Duke of Manchester came a grand black jack, 1ft. 7½ins. high, and perhaps the finest in existence. This vessel has a deep gadrooned silver edge at the top inscribed "Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland," and a silver plate in front with the Royal arms; portraits of Henry VIII and Catherine of Arragon by Holbein, and busts in marble (Italian work) of Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester. The Rev. H. Addington contributed a large number of rubbings of brasses; two beautifully embroidered silk dresses *temp.* George I.; a quantity of Queen Ann plate; examples of early binding; a fourteenth century leather ink bottle; and many other objects. Mr. Addington also sent a noble volume of great size forming a portion of his collection

of rubbings from monumental brasses throughout England, a collection of which the value to students of heraldry, genealogy, and costume cannot be too highly estimated. Mr. J. N. Foster sent a collection of Lowestoft china; various examples of lace; objects in silver; weapons from Northern India, and a large portrait of Cromwell, formerly in Lord Torrington's collection at Southill House and sold therefrom in 1780. Mr. F. A. Blaydes exhibited "A baite for Momus," 1589, and some of Buck's views of Bedfordshire Priors. The Rev. T. M. Berry contributed some interesting fragments of carvings in alabaster (early fifteenth century) from Blunham Church. The Rev. A. Whitmarsh sent two panel pictures in tempera from Kempston Church. The Rev. F. Pott exhibited various Roman antiquities from the parish of Northill, and two sundials from Northill Rectory painted on glass by J. Oliver, 1664, and decorated with flies and gnats, well calculated to deceive. Dr. Lawford sent some early books; a grey-beard, &c. Mr. E. T. Leeds-Smith exhibited Roman and other antiquities found at Sandy. Mr. L. Jarvis sent several examples of silver plate, and Chinese and Persian bronzes. Mr. E. Norman lent a collection of English china. The Rev. W. H. Wood sent the altar cloth of Biddenham church. Captain Cotton exhibited a grant, Letters Patent, from Henry VIII, dealing with some of the confiscated lands of the Priory of Wygmore and the Abbey of Evesham. The Rev. H. Kempson exhibited the chalice of the church of St. Cuthbert dated 1570, and a most choice and delicate pomander opening out in segments each inscribed for different scents, the whole forming a very perfect example of these objects once so inseparable from the costume of a lady. Mr. J. S. Philpotts exhibited several early editions of the classics. Mr. F. J. Thynne exhibited the celebrated Essex Ring and a beautifully enamelled memorial ring of Lord Harley. The Trustees of the Bunyan Meeting exhibited, through the Rev. J. Brown various relics of the "Patron Saint of Bedford." The Mayor and Corporation exhibited four Charters, viz., of Henry II, Richard II, Henry VI, and Charles II, and many other Corporation records and books. Mr. T. Hockliffe sent a collection of drawings from Bedfordshire tombs, books, &c.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Bedford Meeting and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Duke of Bedford, 10*l.*; W. C. Cooper, 3*l.* 3*s.*; E. Norman, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mrs. Welby, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mrs. Lennon, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Major White, 1*l.* 1*s.*; F. Howard, 5*l.*; T. Barnard, 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. F. Higgins, 2*l.* 7*s.*; W. F. Higgins, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. F. Hose, 1*l.* 1*s.*; F. S. Carpenter, 1*l.* 1*s.*; L. Cherry, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. F. Pott, 5*s.*; T. J. Phillpotts, 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. Howard, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Capt. Browning, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. W. H. Smith, 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. W. Franks, 2*l.* 2*s.*; E. S. Wiles, 2*l.* 2*s.*

## Archæological Intelligence.

PROPOSAL TO PRINT JOHN SMYTH'S BERKELEY MSS.—The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society announces that Lord Fitzhardinge has given his consent to the valuable MSS. of John Smyth, the Antiquary, written in the early part of the seventeenth century, and the ancient MS. Register of the Abbey of St. Augustine at Bristol, which are preserved at Berkeley Castle, being printed by the Society for its Members.

It may be mentioned that these MSS. have hitherto been carefully withheld from public inspection or literary use; and although Bigland and Fosbroke had certain access to them, they made but little use of their valuable contents. The following is the description of the first part of Smyth's MSS.—namely, the "Lives of the Berkeleys"—by Mr. J. H. Cooke, who has for many years had the custody of them at Berkeley:—"In this work he (Smyth) gives a complete biography of every Lord of Berkeley from Robert Fitzhardinge down to his own time, twenty-one in number. The events and transactions of each lord's life are given, with some variations, under the following heads: 1. His birth and course of youth; 2. His husbandries and hospitalities; 3. His foreign employments; 4. His recreations and delights; 5. His purchases and sales of land; 6. His law suits; 7. His alms and devotions; 8. His miscellanies; 9. His wife; 10. His issue; 11. His seals of arms; 12. His death and place of burial; 13. The lands of which he died seized. The statements under each of these titles are verified by marginal references to the documents and authorities from which they were taken. The first heading contains particulars of each lord's place and date of birth, and the manner of his education and bringing up to man's estate. The second, third, and fourth describe his habits and amusements, and his military and other public services at home and abroad. The fifth and sixth detail his dealings with his estate. The seventh was always a long one with the Berkeleys, who were in all their generations, remarkable for their benefactions to, and endowment of, the Church, and monastic and other charitable institutions. The eighth contains such events and transactions as do not come under any other heading. The ninth and tenth state full particulars of the lady he married, her family and dower, and also of their issue, including the descendants of former branches, down to the latest period. Besides the pedigrees of the various branches of the Berkeleys, Smyth also gives those of no fewer than 232 other families connected, directly or indirectly, with them. Under the eleventh head are described the seals of arms and other devices used by each lord, with drawings of many of them, cleverly done with the pen. The twelfth, 'last scene of all,' gives the



date and circumstances of his death and place of burial, and is followed by a schedule of the lands of which he died seized; taken, in most instances, from the 'Inquisitiones Post Mortem.'

The second part contains a descriptive account of the Hundred of Berkeley with all the Manors, Lands, and Advowsons thereto pertaining, with their devolution, respectively, from the date of the Domesday Survey to Smyth's own time: and inasmuch as the Hundred of Berkeley was anciently accounted one-fourth in extent, and one-third in value, of the whole County, the topographical value of this part can scarcely be over-estimated. To this description is appended a very remarkable collection of Old Gloucestershire proverbs and folk lore.

The Council of the Gloucestershire Society is to be congratulated upon having obtained permission to print these interesting records, and the thanks of all antiquaries are certainly due to Lord Fitzhardinge for so generously throwing open so much valuable historical, genealogical, and topographical information. The resources and energies of country Archaeological Societies cannot be better employed than in thus bringing to light the hidden literary treasures which each county possesses equally with its more strictly archaeological or its architectural remains; and, having regard to the slender precautions that are usually taken against the perils of fire in old country houses, the sooner such things are made available for study the better. In this spirit the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society, for instance, have printed the Nicolson MS. and the Gilpin Memoirs; and it is to be hoped that the day will arrive when the valuable MS. collections for Northamptonshire, now in the old house at Deane, brought together from Records, by the first Lord Brudenel during his imprisonment in the Tower, may become serviceable to antiquaries under similar auspices. We can only desire that each local society which sets its hand to such a task may be as fortunate as the Gloucestershire Society which has secured, as Editor of the Smyth MSS., the valuable services of Sir John Maclean. For the real value to the public of documents such as we have indicated very much depends upon the discretion, care, and intelligent labour that is expended in annotating and extending them for general use. We could have wished that the special subscription for bringing out the Smyth MSS. had not been strictly confined to members of the Gloucestershire Society, and a hope may be expressed that some few copies may be placed within the reach of the public by means other than those of expressly becoming a member of the Society; because a too close publication of a work of this nature would to a certain extent fail to do away with the hindrance to free research which the long-wished for appearance of the MSS. would at last seem happily to obviate.

The Smyth MSS. will form three volumes demy-quarto, the price to Original Subscribers being £1 a volume. The printing of the Register of the Abbey of St. Augustine will be proceeded with after the issue of the Smyth volumes.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PRESERVING THE MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD.—With a most laudable object and under distinguished support this Society has been lately established, and certainly not a moment too soon; indeed many persons will think that in order to have done much real good it should have been called into being fully forty years ago, and before "restorers" had begun to sweep away from walls and floors of parish



churches the principal part of the sculptured and graven history that did not happen to come within their charmed "Gothic" period. It cannot be denied that the loss of much of these evidences of local history lies at the door of the very persons who were their proper protectors, and it is to be hoped that the exertions of this Society may at last open the eyes of the clergy and churchwardens to the fact that memorials of ancestors, even though they be only "rude forefathers of the hamlet," give a human interest to a church which all the crude vulgarities of modern tile paving can never produce, and that the simple inscribed stone of even an honest grandfather is more interesting—and what is of more importance—more historical than an acre of encaustic tiles be they never so garish and slippery. It is further to be hoped that this Society may be the means, not only of resewing numberless church and churchyard monuments that are in danger of being removed from their proper places, but also of bringing out of unseemly dark corners, restoring, in fact, in the best sense, such memorials of the dead as have in our own time been so hidden away.

A wise discretion has been exercised in establishing this Society upon a broad basis by setting the amount of the subscription to it as low as possible so that subscribers of not less than one shilling a year become members. There is thus the probability of the formation of an extensive body of persons of all classes—for the subject should appeal to the feelings of the whole of the intelligent community—having the single and high purpose of protecting memorials of ancestors, the special objects of the Society being set forth as follows:—

"To *preserve* and *protect* the Memorials of the Dead in the Parish Churches and Churchyards:—(1) By securing a record of Sepulchral Memorials now existing being made, and a notification of the site of destroyed or removed Monuments, where such can be identified. (2) By a careful watching of work carried on in the Churches and Churchyards, especially during the period of 'restoration' or rebuilding. (3) By repairing and renewing any or such Memorials as the Society may be advised as desirable, and, if necessary, under Faculty. (4) By granting funds for the purpose, where no branch of the family remains. (5) By using every legitimate means to prevent the desecration of the Churchyards by Railway Companies, Corporations, Faculties, &c. (6) By *promoting* and *procuring* Legislation. (7) By promoting a publication (illustrated if possible) of the more important and historical examples, and to form a Reference Library of works treating upon the subject of the Monumental Architecture and Sculpture of the Country."

If the above aims are successfully carried out we may perhaps finally wipe away the reproach of Weever, written in 1631. "Alas! our own noble monuments and preeyounes antiquities wych are the great bewtie of our lande, we as little regarde as the parynges of our nayles."

All communications should be addressed to Mr. W. Vincent, Lower Helledon road, Norwich.

**CHURCH PLATE IN THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE.**—We learn from the *Athenæum*, that the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archeological Society are doing a good work in making a catalogue of all the old church plate remaining in the diocese of Carlisle. Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A., the Society's editor, has already completed the lists for eight out of the twenty deaneries, and the others are in progress. A considerable quantity of plate from the sixteenth century onwards remains in our churches,

and some of still earlier date; but it is seldom seen by antiquaries, and those who have the keeping of it generally know nothing of its historical interest and value. Its intrinsic value is small, and the vessels are often dilapidated, and, it may be, not very convenient for use. So it often happens that when new ones are provided of better fashion the old ones are sold for the few shillings which their metal represents. Only two years ago a thirteenth century chalice, the only one of that date known to continue in use in England, was discovered by its being offered for sale by the parish, which had probably owned it for six centuries, and it is now in the British Museum. If the country archaeological societies generally will follow the example set them by that of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and prepare lists of what remains in their respective districts, they will certainly save much from destruction, and may chance to light on some unexpected discoveries.

We may add that the deaneries already done—though the papers are not all in print yet—are: Bampton and Maryport, Rev. H. Whitehead; Wigton and Whitehaven, Miss Goodwin; Cocker-mouth, Rev. R. Bower; Carlisle North and South, and Gosforth, Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A. Miss Goodwin will undertake Kendal Deanery; Mr. Bower, Appleby; Mr. Whitehead, Penrith; and Mr. Fletcher Rigge, Cartmell. Many very interesting pieces of plate have already turned up, bearing the old York, Newcastle, Chester and Dublin marks, as well as pieces by London makers. The oldest piece found is of London mark, date 1556; the Chester instances are all small cups and patens marked "For the use of the sick communicants." 1571 would appear to be the era at which, in this diocese, the "massing chalices" were got rid of. Many cups and patens of that year survive, and more seem to have been sold or lost within the last one-hundred years.

PUBLICATION OF THE DOMESDAY OF BEDFORDSHIRE.—Allusion having already been made to this forthcoming work (at p. 458 *ante*), we need only say further that the price of the first hundred copies subscribed for is 10s. 6d.; and that names will be received by Mr. R. Hill, *Mercury Press*, Bedford.



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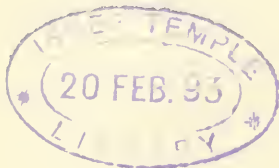
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